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Subsidiary Political Loyalties and Their Reflection on the Concept of Citizenship in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

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Abstract

The study aimed at recognizing the subsidiary political loyalties and their reflection on the concept of citizenship in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, in addition to answering the study question; "what is the role of the subsidiary political loyalties in affecting the concept of citizenship in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan?" The descriptive analytical methodology was implemented to investigate the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan as a model of diversity and pluralism, the culture of tolerance and respect. The study concludes that the tribal system in Jordan still plays an essential role in the political and social life. However, the subsidiary policies are still confronted with challenges and hindrances that prevent performing citizenship properly; the matter that calls for the necessity of achieving unity and integration through transforming the pluralized community into a culturally harmonized community that depends on political pluralism as a necessary requirement to confirm diversity and adopt the principle of the constant intellectual dialogue.

Keywords: Subsidiary Loyalties, Tribal, Minorities, Citizenship, Jordan.

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الولاءات السياسية الفرعية وانعكاسها على مفهوم المواطنة في المملكة الأردنية الهاشمية

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ملخص

هدف البحث إلى التعرف على الولاءات السياسية الفرعية وانعكاسها على مفهوم المواطنة في المملكة الأردنية، والإجابة على التساؤل الرئيس وهو: ما هو دور الولاءات السياسية الفرعية في انعكاساتها على مفهوم المواطنة في المملكة الأردنية الهاشمية؟ وقد استخدم المنهج الوصفي التحليلي في دراسة المملكة الأردنية كنموذج للتنوع والتعددية، وثقافة التسامح واحترام الآخر، وقد خلص البحث إلى أن النظام القبلي في الأردن لا يزال يلعب دورا أساسياً في الحياة السياسية والاجتماعية، ومع ذلك فالسياسات الفرعية لازالت تواجه تحديات ومعوقات تحول دون ممارسة المواطنة بالشكل المطلوب، مما يستدعي ضرورة تحقيق الوحدة والتكامل من خلال تحويل المجتمع التعددي إلى مجتمع متجانس ثقافياً يقوم على التعددية السياسية كمطلب ضروري للإقرار بالتنوع وتبني مبدأ الحوار الفكري المتواصل.

الكلمات الدالة: الولاءات الفرعية، القبلية، الاقليات، المواطنة، التعددية، السياسات الفرعية، المشاركة.

Introduction:

Linguistically, the term of subsidiary policies indicates that it bears in its folds some descriptive features of pluralism within a community, represented in the classifications according to the social mosaic (i.e. the relative relations embodied in the clan, and family), or to ethnicity (i.e. religion, belief, discordance, sex and origin…etc.), for the subsidiary policies with their forms and patterns are abundant. Ethnic diversity indicates great significance on both levels; the practical and the academic. A lot of ethnic conflicts have emerged in in different communities all along the states of the world, in addition to the great challenges they confront as they call for recognition of their existence. The term also refers to the difference in cultural identities, economic programs, religious beliefs, ethnic assemblies, and political regimes, all of which brings a sense of diversity in customs, traditions, and conventions, including the cultural distinction. This recognition is obliged to synchronize with treatment of these materialistic and true Symbolism, from which ethnics long for solutions that perceive multitude as non-individuality, or oneness. (A'shour, 2002, P. 20), and some people define the multitudinous community as being contradictory to the national melted community, it is a community consisted of numerous sects in one political frame (Mawlood, 20١٧, P. 370).

In English, "pluralism" means that there is multitude and non-individuality on different levels (Oninons, 1956, P. 1528). "pluralism" supposes "recognition of human rights in the community, his dignity and his message as supposes confirmation of his duty and responsibilities." Thus, pluralism is considered to be a condition for practicing democracy, but represents an extent of neutrality by the supreme authority (i.e., the state) which is obliged to respect powers and associations under its authority to deepen the public good for the country (Sultan, 2006).

On a conventional level, pluralism might be inclined to social conventions as well. For instance, there is a multitude of social spirit forms (sociability) within the scope of each group, and a multitude of groups within the community and a multitude of groups themselves (Badawi, 1986, P. 317).

According to *The Lexicon of Political, Economic and Social Terms* (1960) defines pluralism in the sense that "it is organizes the life of the community in accordance with mutual general rules that respect variety and the difference in trends of population in the communities with large frames, especially the modern where the ideological, philosophical and religious trends" (Sami, 1960, P. 138-139).

Also some people perceive the concept of pluralism as a liberal concept that views the community as consisting of variant political as well as non-political interests and separated with what makes barrier rather than concentrating government and achieves participation in the benefits (Manjoud, 1993, P. 4),

and in return the political pluralism can be in itself a production and reflection of the social multitude, (Mawlood, 2009, P. 5-7).

Based on what preceded, the different definitions of pluralism can be classified into two basic groups. The first group includes the superficial definitions that attempt to draw limits of the concept and identify its milestones in general, in addition to connecting between pluralism, diverse, and difference. They also associate pluralism to the domain of law and the state, differentiation between the purposeful role of liberation in requiring confronting groups to respect each other's beliefs, and the negative role in justifying exploitive practices and discrimination against a certain group rather than other groups. The second group includes the subjective definitions that are diverse according to the subject of pluralism, and connect between the concept of pluralism and the process of interaction between political and social fronts or more.

John Rex views that the multitudinous community can be recognized it in accordance with differentiation between the private domain and the public one, and in this respect four possibilities appear, (Rex, 1969, P. 16-17):

1. Perhaps it is a united community in the public domain and encourages the difference in the private domain and the societal matters.
2. Perhaps it is a community that approves of the right of difference and diversity in the public domain and encourages diversity in the cultural practices by the different groups.
3. Perhaps the community is united in the public domain and forced or encouraged to unite in the private or the societal practices.
4. Perhaps it is a community with different and diverse rights in the public domain even if there was a noticed unity in the cultural practices among groups.

Problem of study and main inquiry:

Problem of study conceals in searching in the subsidiary political loyalties and their reflection on the concept of citizenship in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and from them starts the main inquiry and it is:

What is the role of the subsidiary political loyalties in their reflections on the concept of citizenship in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan?

Aims of study:

The main attempt of the study is to know the role of political sub-loyalties in their reflection on the concept of citizenship in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, through showing the basic concepts of the study; the social structure,

religious and ethnic loyalties, and practicing citizenship among all individuals of the Jordanian community.

The study significance:

The study is scientifically significant as seen in the information collected and the recognition of the religious and ethnic multitude in Jordan. Another significance lies in suggesting recommendations to authorities in charge to implement plans that guarantee adapting the policy of maintaining the national unity in a multicultural country.

Study Methodology:

The study uses the descriptive analytical method to describe, paraphrase and analyze elements of the phenomenon. The descriptive method is one of the most important methods employed in scientific studies, in that it works with the phenomenon of the study, illustrates the study's surrounding circumstance to deduce the study results, and lays down the solutions represented in findings and recommendations.

The Study Theoretical Approach:

This study depends on Almond and Verba approach in classifying the political loyalties that were divided into three patterns according to their two studies (Almond, Verba, 1963, P. 17-26).

First pattern includes the participating loyalties. It depends on a political culture participating in the political process, and hence all members of the society can affect the political system and participate in its decision-making process, which makes such a culture prevail in the democratic communities.

Second pattern includes the subordinate loyalties (i.e. the citizens' loyalties). It refers to the culture that stresses the submissions of citizens to the government only and that the citizen is submissive or subordinate to higher authorities. And this culture prevails in relatively advanced communities with controlling political regimes, or communist regimes. According to this pattern, citizens do not participant in the political process or making the general policy; they rather submit to the authority and its styles and follow its decisions by submission and obedience. Also, the political loyalty denies tribal and religious loyalties which represent a negative practice of subordination.

Third pattern includes the narrow loyalties. It refers to culture leaning loyalties, classical tribal belongings, the geographical zone, and religion. Within the tribal system, citizens are governed by the chief of the tribe and don't admit the existence of a central government, neither succumb to its decisions.

Previous literature:

The two researchers did not find studies on minorities in Jordan but benefited from the few studies on this topic in the locally in internationally, which makes this study a scientific addition in this field.

The study of Al-Dajah, H. A., & Alshalabi (2020), entitled "The Political Culture of Ethnic Minorities in Azraq Region", aimed to know the political culture of ethnic minorities in Azraq region, which is inhabited by a mixed population of The Druze and Chechnya. The researcher used the descriptive and analytical method by adopting a random sample from both groups to study the political culture of the Druze and Chechen minorities in the Azraq region. The number of Druze citizens included in the study sample was as follows: (284) from Chechnya and (110) were Bagh. A questionnaire tool was prepared for the study purpose. The study showed that the Chechen minority has more political knowledge than the Druze minority, while the Druze have political participation and political confidence higher than Chechnya.

The study of Bentahar, Z. (2017) aimed to find out what challenges minorities face in the Arab world and to investigate the assumption that the Arab world was empty of any culture of minorities, since everyone spoke Arabic and were Muslims. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, minorities played a role in serving politics, and the book outlines how the perception of non-Muslims as a minority emerged and how minorities intended to cancel this designation and move towards nationalist rhetoric.

Gurr, T. R study (1995) entitled: "Minorities at Risk- A Global View of Ethno political Conflicts" aimed to study (230) minorities to identify the multiple aspects of ethnic conflict in the contemporary world. The study assumed that a few minorities in the world face many risks that needed to be identified, and thereby develop solutions to address these risks. The study used the descriptive analysis method and a statistical analysis to extract political connotations. The study results showed that the discrimination adopted by the dominant groups is the main source of harm and grievances against minorities, most of what results from the cultural differences that separate minorities from the majority, and that economic inequality is more resistant to expressing political inequality. Also, the study showed that few of these conflicts are difficult and complicated to solve, and open governments are more closely related and adapted to the interests of minorities than the authoritarian government. The study recommended the necessity to shed light on the dangers facing minorities while using other approaches, such as the comparative analytical method, to find out the reality of these risks.

Nehme, MG (1994) study aimed to survey the opinions of minorities members in the countries of the Fertile Crescent. The study showed that they suffer feelings of anxiety and fear as they try to engrave a sense of belonging to the Arab nationalism because of the dominant presence of the Sunni majority and that it is not possible to deny the historical aversion between members of minorities and Sunnis in the Fertile Crescent, as the study claims.

Massad's study (1988), entitled: "Minorities and Political Stability in the Arab World", sought to know the reality of minorities and their impact on political stability by showing modernization factors, the principle of the right to self-determination, and the absence of charismatic leaders, which make cultural pluralism one of the distinctive features of countries. The study assumed that pluralism can be considered an entry point to explain the phenomenon of political stability. The researcher used the historical method by reviewing the various historical incidents related to the subject of the study, and the study concluded that minorities in the Arab world reflect the pluralism. Identities and affiliations, whether they go beyond the borders of the region or fall short of them, have also shown that political stability is an entry point for the classification of minorities in the Arab world, and that underdevelopment is the first enemy in separating and ignoring people. The study recommended more studies on the dilemmas faced by minorities in the Arab world.

The study is distinguished by being the first scientific addition of its kind that deals with the study of minorities in Jordan and the subject of political sub-loyalties and their reflection on the concept of citizenship in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan according to the knowledge of researchers up to date. And we will handle the study as follows:

Firstly: pluralism and the concepts of relationship:

1. Concept of ethnicity: it is newly used in the social sciences, in spite of using it in the science of human study. It did not appear in lexicons and dictionaries except until the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies, and the guide word did not appear in the famous Oxford Dictionary except in 1972 (Glazer & Moynihan, 1975, P. 2). But the word ‘ethnic’ is ancient, and derived from the Greek word “ethnos” that in turn is derived from ‘ethnikos’ which means “otheist” and according to Eriksen the term was used in this meaning in English from the middle of the 14th century until the middle of the 19th century then it started to be used gradually to indicate the characteristics of ethnic streak (Rex & Guibernau, 1999, P. 33). and the term “ethnicity” is derived from the Greek word “ethnos” and it means “people’, and the “ethnicity” guides to “the symbol, slogan, and the individual’s identity; it is the cultural inheritance inherited by the individual from the ethnic group to which he belongs” (Burge ,1978, P226). This definition concentrates on belonging

to is the origin, and it is the basic element and the important factor and specifying to all ethnic definitions in the social and political sciences.

Also, researchers disagreed upon the evidence of ethnic group, there is no standard or agreed attribute. Some argue that the ethnic group is a Racial Group, others use the concept of ethnic group as synonymous to the nation, (Wahban, 2005, P. 74). Ethnicity can be perceived as a positive phenomenon conserving heritage, customs, traditions, and values, and as a negative one for it may threaten the national solidarity "so the ethnicity is a custom not viewed as negative, retarded and dangerous" (Al-Kayyali, 1995, P. 83). And the ethnic group may depend on one standard, but this does not mean that other standards are not importance. The ethnic group is a group of individuals live in a greater community having mutual ancestors (one streak) or history and as well as memories and culture, the members of which are connected by kinship, neighborhood, unity of physical traits, language, dialect, or the tribal connection (tribal union, or the religious belonging), or any combination of these elements altogether (Arris& Levy, 1975, P. 898). And this is what we find in New Colombia Encyclopedia, which "concentrated on culture as the most important standard that distinguishes an ethnic group from another and it is a kind of people whose culture usually differs from most of the community (Ryan & Whit, 1997, P. 3-4). And the element of the mutual origin and the ethnic difference are both the most important elements that distinguish the ethnic group from each other, and this is what (Stephan Rayan, Isikal, 2002, P. 3) concentrated on:

1. The group is viewed in the community as different from others in terms of characteristics of language, religion, and the mother homeland.
2. And difference among members from each other.

The British sociologist Anthony Smith (2004) defines ethnic group as a group of population that has a myth of mutual origin and shares historical memories, and cultural elements connected with a special region, and enjoys solidarity (P. 39). The importance of this definition lies in its representation of the basic elements that identify ethnicity:

1. A group of population which means concentrating on the number of members that is a certain considerable rate from the population.
2. The mutual origin is an essential element and cannot be dispensable and it is the basic prop of the ethnic group.
3. Connected to a private region as the homeland dwelled by the ethnic group.

4. Solidarity, cohesion, and coalition are essential conditions for the ethnic group, because the united ethnicity is the social basic of the nation and the source of its political and economic stability.

So the ethnic group depends on values, historical memories and fables, which are not enough, for it should have a particular region and a name to be called with so it becomes recognized. From what preceded, it can be said that there are certain conditions and characteristics that determine the existence an ethnic group such as the region where they live and the mutual origin. In this respect, Antony Smith laid down six standards that should be available for the ethnic group, which are (Gordon, 2000, P. 8):

1. The ethnic group should include a name to promote and develop a mutual identity.
2. The population of the ethnic group should share the same fables and historical memories.
3. The population of the group should have a mutual origin.
4. The ethnic group should feel its connection to particular region.
5. The ethnic group shares the same culture characterized by the same language, religion, customs, traditions, laws, and associations.
6. It should be aware of its ethnicity.

3. Minority Group: There are numerous terms to guide to minorities and abundantly used in English language and usually not used in Arabic language, such: Linguistic Minority, Ethnic Linguistic Minority, Ethnic Minority, Ethnic Cultural Minority and National Minority (Wirth, 1976, P. 8). Concerning the definition of minority, L. Wirth defines minority as "a group of people treated an unjust treatment and exposed to persecution and secluded from participation in community administration, that is because of the physiologist and cultural characteristics that distinguish them from the rest of the group" (Costellena, 1999, P.4). This definition was confined to clarifying and illustrating that minority groups are persecuted and deprived from the political participation; however, this phenomenon is not common and is not applied on some minorities. We may find that minorities are dominating the economic and political domains, such as the white minority in the period of racial discrimination in South Africa, or the Chinese in Malaysia, Indians in Kenya. In other words, minority in this case is not a matter of number, rather it is related to what role it plays and of what rank it has in the social, economic, and political pyramid inside the state. The reporter of the United Nations states that minority "is a group of which number is less than the rest of dwellers of the State and they are in a non-dominated and its members

possess the ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics that differ from the rest of population, and to keep to the awareness solidarity directed towards keeping on culture, religion, and language (United Nations Department, 1995, P. 19). Also, the term ethnicity has become a result of the number standard, connected with the concept of the ethnic group, because ethnicity loses its guide and meaning if it is not connected with the ethnic group to which it belongs.

3. Ethnicity: The concept of ethnicity is considered as the most abundant concept of dialectic and discussion, especially after the escalation of the ethnic national and identity extension since the beginning of the nineties, so it is employed to describe a minority, or a certain subsidiary group or tribe. John Stock claims that ethnicity is a group of individuals who share in numerous mutual characteristics like ethnicity kinship, religion, language, customs, and region (Heberon& Stack, 1999, P. 15).

Pankos views that ethnicity is derived from the word Ethnos that means the Word Nation and there is no difference between the ethnic group and the nation and it means a group of individuals who have mutual traits, and this may connect equally with migrants, minorities and the separated groups that share the same characteristics of their geographic concentration, marriage from members of their group, and so the particular ethnicity of these groups is immortalized by transferring from a generation to another (Panayi, 2000, P. 101).

Fredric Barth participates in crystallizing a dynamic concept of ethnicity, so ethnicity to his viewpoint does not express solid and stable groups, but they are instable human assemblies, their members change (on the long run), that is because their membership and limits relate to changes that emerge on the social conditions, and transfer within the scope of interaction between decision makers and the individuals (Barth, 1969, P. 9-11).

Meanwhile, American sociologists define the ethnic group as a group that shares mutual cultural and civilized constituents; its individuals prevailed with one mutual identity and live as a (subgroup) inside a larger community. (Wahban, Ibid, P. 84). The British Encyclopedia defines it as a social group, or class of individuals in the frame of a bigger community assemble them mutual ties of ethnicity, language, nationality, or culture (The New Encyclopedia Britannica Chicago, 1992).

Some people define it as a human group that shares certain cultural characteristics like language or religion, and it differs from other groups that are performed on natural organic unchangeable characteristics, and those characteristics connect essentially with abilities or mental and actual efficiencies and else of non-organic abilities that can be socially specified on a cultural basis (Bahr, 1982, P. 7).

Also Sa'del Deen Ibrahim defines it as a human group of which individuals share customs, traditions, language, religion and any other distinguished traits including that of origin and physical features (Sa'del Deen, 1992, P. 23−24). Thereupon, the ethnic group is an ethnic population that consists of the individuals, who are characterized and classified in classes by people in general and usually by the group members themselves as it is on ethnicity with specific nature, unique date and behavior.

Secondly: both models of the pluralized community:

It can be distinguished between two models of pluralized communities, they are: model of conflict and model of balance, and it should be indicated that each of both models is an expression of ideal pattern about the ideal patterns submitted by Max Fiber, that means they are pure patterns and not an experimented description to relations among groups (Awad, 1993, P. 20).

A comparison between the conflict model and the balance model in the pluralism communities (Awad, Ibid, P. 27).

Way of Comparison	Model of Conflict	Model of Balance
Basis of the community	Crispy structure of instable groups combining a mixture of groups that live inside one political unit each of which adheres with its culture, language, religion, and ideas.	Strong structure of stable and independent groups and mediator between the individual and the state.
The main trait	Cultural pluralism, linguistic variations, ethnic, sect, or has drawn limits distinguished with steadfastness.	Cultural harmony on the level of values, supreme political beliefs, and movable variations connected with public opinion and the elective process.
Pattern of Social Relations	An animate gradual system of relations among groups is performed on pure competition without restrictions, does not believe in sharing or equality, that is non-democratic system.	Relations of cooperation harmony and stable balance among groups as a result of participation in authority and in forming decisions that is a democratic organization of the social relations.
Nature of authority	Concentrated in hands of a group, or a limited class.	Spread and distributed among groups and the political and social powers.

Way of Comparison	Model of Conflict	Model of Balance
Condition of the State	It is raised above the community and imposes some procedures to organize the relations among the consisting groups in order not to become pure aggressive relations.	Ties and relations among groups in origin and the state as a political entity are nothing, except an expression of these pure integrative relations.
Basis of integration	Not optional, but imposed due to absence of mutual values and feelings of societal belonging either among the elites or the citizens.	Commitment to mutual values and feeling with the societal belonging among elites and respecting the verdict of law, and commitment with the gradual work.

Thirdly: demands of ethnic groups: what distinguishes the ethnic groups is keeping their ethnic nature, and these demands and initiatives reach to the assertion of respecting their privacy, that is beginning from respecting its cultural rights reaching the limit of demanding self-independence in the frame of the state in which they dwell. it must be indicated that the most important ethnic demands can be illustrated as follows (A'shour, 2002, P. 3):

1. Cultural demands: such as language, religion, customs, and traditions are the most present of subjects in the ethnic demands.
2. The political demands: most of them are represented in the following:
   a) Separation: demands of the ethnic groups related to the political regime to perform a separate political new and independent entity, like in the case of East Taymour, or separation to join another entity like Oghadeen Region having separated from Ethiopia and joined Somalia, and Kashmir that demands separation from India and join Pakistan.
   b) Administrative independence: in some cases, ethnics do not demand separation, but the recognition of the group's privacy leads to obtaining administrative independence, or self-government within federalism, or specializations for the same of obtaining financial grants, or recognizing and valuing the group and its distinction in the community, as in the case of Nigeria.
   c) Public posts: usually ethnic groups compete for the sake of dominating the civil service and the formal occupations in the state.

3. Economic demands: they are usually represented in demanding just distribution in wealth by observing the principle of equivalent opportunities among groups.

The Second Axis: Citizen

Firstly: a problematic concept:

The context of the historical development of this concept is reflected in its different definitions, so it transferred from the historical, cultural and civilized belonging indications to that sense of belonging to a certain country where new dimensions comprising rights and duties are never practiced except in a just community and calling for democratic practices of equality and equivalence of opportunities and beans burdens of sacrifice for the sake of stabilizing these principles, protecting and opening horizons of practicing them with a vision aspiring the future effectively (Khadri, 2010, P. 4).

Also the concept of citizenship is associated with the movement of humans struggling for the sake of justice, equality and fairness, which had been before the term of citizenship was identified alongside other related terms in the political, intellectual, and educational literatures. The struggle ascended and took the form of social movements since performance of agricultural governments in the Rafidein Valley passing with the civilization of Sommer, Ashour, Babel, and civilizations of Egypt, China, India and Persia. For those civilizations and the political ideologies that emerge from them in laying bases of freedom and quality transgressed the rulers' will, opening by that vast horizons of human seeking to assert his nature and prove himself and the his right in effective participation in decisions making and specifying choices (Al-Dajani, 1999, P. 5) by confirming equality with some people or abundance of citizens, according to the limit of (Robert Dal's) description of the present democratic practice (Al-Kawwari, 2001, P. 77).

Citizenship is considered a larger extent from the utterance of the word. so citizenship is derived from the homeland and as long as homeland and the origin are the issue, the word 'citizenship' is included by a larger frame and it is the national state (Al-Ghamri, 2007). In other words, it is the attribute of the citizen that limits his rights, and national duties.

Citizenship is also characterized by a particular type of loyalty to the homeland that requires serving it at times of peace and war and cooperating with other citizens associatively or individually, whether in formal or volunteering work in achieving objectives to which all yearn (Badawi, 2011, P.60).

The World Arab Encyclopedia defines citizenship as a term that indicates belonging to a nation, or a homeland (World Arab Encyclopedia, 1999, P. 311).

In the Dictionary of Sociology, citizenship is defined as a rank or social relationship performed between a natural individual and a political community (a Sate) and through this relationship the first party submits loyalty and the second party takes hold of protection, and this relationship is specified by law (Ghaith, 1995, P. 56).

Citizenship is also defined as a relationship between an individual and a state as specified by the law of that state and with what that relationship includes of duties, rights and citizenship guides by implication to a rank of freedom and the responsibilities that accompany it, and it generally, bestows upon citizenship political rights (Al-Husban, 2011, P. 27). And it is defined as the social and legal connection among individuals who, in accordance with it, are socially and legally committed to combine between individuality and democracy, respect law, follow rules, pay taxes, keep the state's money, perform the military service, participate in the renaissance of the local community, and improve the type of the civil and political life of the state (John, 1999, P. 2-3).

It also refers to representing the position of the individual in the community being considered as a citizen who is committed to a group of rights, duties, and identities that help embracing citizens within the national state to which they belong (Diversity Banks, 2008, P. 129).

Moreover, citizenship can be procedurally defined as the individual's feeling of belonging to a social group having culture, history and a mutual determination, and this feeling is socially, legally, and politically organized, and as a result the individual participates effectively in the social life.

And in the twenty first century, the concept of citizenship witnessed a development towards universality, and the specifications of the international citizenship were specified as follows (Holmes, 1980, P. 110-115):

- Recognition of different cultures existence,
- Respect of others' right and freedom,
- Confession of the existence of different religions,
- Understanding and activation of different political ideologies,
- Understanding of the World economy,
- Concern with international affairs,
- Participating in encouraging international peace.

- Participating in struggles management by the way of non-violence.

But in Europe, Al-Kawwari (2001) views that three dramatic transformations have occurred helped in settling principles of citizenship in the contemporary national state; here are some of them (p. 66):

1. Rising of the national state: The King's struggle with the Church ended with sub-ordinance of each of the citizens to their King and his beliefs, within the frame of the community in which his state is performed with its nationality, history and distinguished culture.
2. The political participation which results from the recognition of the mutual requirements and rights that both the state and its people share.
3. Verdict of law: it is dominant in the national state. Laws are issued to organize social relations and fulfill political and economic stability. The formation of these laws fulfilling the needs of those communities continued and then transferred after that, - either gradually- as in Britain – or revolutionary as in France and America to the state's people who have become the source of authorities and legislation; which resembles citizenship on its peak.

Also, there are levels of embracing citizenship within the individual, here are some of them: (AbulFatouh, 1960, P. 127).

1. The individual's connection to the rest of the group members in terms of blood, neighborhood, homeland, as well as social customs, traditions, systems, values, creeds, professions and laws.
2. The individual's belief in the continuation of this group all along ages.
3. The individual's feeling of connection to the homeland and belonging to the group.
4. Emergence of this feeling in one thinking, trend and one movement.

The third axis: subsidiary policies (social structure) of the Jordan community and its reflection on the citizenship:

Firstly: Social structure of the Jordan community:

The social structure of the Jordanian community is distinguished by the plurality of groups, classes, backgrounds, as well as social, cultural, and religious origins. Ethnic diversity in the Jordanian community refers to the pre-establishment stage of the state and the community in (1921), and this historical existential depth has its social and political guidance related with keeping the identity, solidarity, self-fortification, nature of connection with the social constituents of the community and the nature of connection with state all along

its history. What also adds to the harmony witnessed in the social Jordanian structure is the conformity to the widespread architecture in most communities and developed states of the country, which helps in creating subsidiary cultures for those classes, all belonging to the general culture. The Jordanian population includes Bedouins, rural Jordanians, Jordanians from Palestinian origins, Circassians, Chechens, Druze, Armenians, and others; as they are fundamental pillars of the social, political, economic structure of the Jordanian community. The Jordanian community can be classified according to religion and ethnic origins, as follows: (Hameed, 2008, P. 2-3)

1. From a religious perspective: Muslims form almost %95 of the total of the population, while the rest represents other minorities like Christians, Druze and Baathists. Inhabitants of Jordan belong to the one Arab Islamic Culture in spite of the limited diverse religion, but that did not prevent members of religious minorities from merging culturally and socially in the Jordanian community, and become a non-partial part of the Jordanian social structure. In Jordan, there are different minorities immigrating from other regions because of wars and persecution, such as Circassians (around 190000 members), and Chechens (around 15000 members), Kurds (around 30000 members), Turkman (around 25000 people), Druze (around 15000 members), Armans (around 4000 members), Baathists (around 1000 members) (Al-I'geili, 2016). The study's researchers adapt these statistics because of absence of formal statistics.
2. From an ethnic perspective: Most of the Jordanian population are Arabs by their origin, progeny, language, culture, history, and heritage. The combination of the social structure of the Jordanian community indicates that it combines a number of minorities belonging to other origins: like Circassians, Chechens, Kurds, Turkmans, and Armans. However, these minorities interact and merge socially and culturally within the larger community.

Also, there is an important factor led to rising of the clan's role in the political process in Jordan after announcing the Kingdom, which is the absence of agreement between authority and factions, the matter that led to announcing martial laws, factions' solutions and arresting communists and Baathists in 1957. And these procedures had led to influence the combination of the Parliament councils, from the Sixth Council elected on 22/10/1961 to the ninth council elected on 24/4/1967, when the factionists did not participate in them, with the leftist National belonging, who participated effectively since the unity of Both Banks in 1950. Therefore, these councils started to include the classical

leaders and Clans' Chiefs in the majority of them (Al-Khazaelah, 2003, P. 48). Also, the political system worked on including tribes and clans in numerous basic tracks through enlarging the range of the political positions, in that sons of the cultivating and Bedouin clans and their parliamentary representation, and also bringing them around by donations (Amawi, 1988, P. 132).

Speaking of the association of the clan and family in this dimension refers to the role that they play, and still tribes, clans and families play an important role in directing the daily life in Jordan and their overlapping with issues of loyalty and significance of kinship relations and affinity in the individual's political, economic and professional opportunities (Al-A'zm, 2003, P. 385). And to these roots, the saying that leans on the clan nature of the social and political relations, so in spite of that changes in the social structure (Al-Masalhah, 2009, P. 13), like cancelling the 'Clans Law' in 1976, had led to weakening the role of clans, but it still has a great role in the institutions of the state, for the government seeks refuge in them when it suffers from a crisis.

Tribes were the main powers in achieving stability and support of the ruling family, and has impact inside and outside the army (Jureidini & Mc Laurin, 1984, P. 37). The governmental concentration had emerged on setting values and principles of effective citizenship considering it one of the constituents of the modern civil state, evident in its reformation vision, beside its concern with stabilizing principles of democracy, believing that citizens have the right to experience it, yet they are inclined certain duties which they should succumb to, regardless of sex, creed, or thought, the matter that in the end leads to raise the level of trust between the citizens and the state, in addition to that it guarantees equality and justice among citizens in front of law.

Secondly: subsidiary policies and the most significant constituents and conditions of "effective citizenship" in the formal address:

Perhaps from the most significant constituents and conditions of "effective citizenship" being asserted at each talk about the hoped political reformation in Jordan are:

1. Effective participation in public life: It is represented in the participation in public events such as the right to vote in general elections, and the right to peacefully protest against the government policy; either through the participation in the national associations represented in the parliamentary councils, or the local associations represented in the municipal elections, both of which guarantee the right of eligible for Candidate Membership (Al-Husban, ٢٠١١, P. 29).

The Jordan constitution had stabilized the basic constituents upon which the right of citizenship leans without frankly wording, in 1952. But the constituent that leans to the political participation, we find the Jordan Constitution of 1952 had regarded the Jordanians rather than foreigners with a lot of political rights, such as freedom of opinion, right of meeting, forming political factions, right of submitting applications, right of occupying public posts, right of electing and many others (The Jordan Constitution, 1952). And by leaning to constitutional wordings, numerous laws were issued to organize the political affair, such as:

Political Factions Law No. 16, 2012, (Formal Newspaper, 2012), Amended Law of Public Meetings, 2011 (Formal Newspaper, 2011), and Elections Law No. 25, 2012, (Formal Newspaper, 2012), Municipalities law No. 13, 2011 (Formal Newspaper, 2011).

2. Equality: The effective citizenship cannot be replaced except by guaranteeing justice, equality and fairness among citizens in front of law, and public occupations and posts in the state, and in terms of distributing public wealth, rights and duties, participating in responsibilities, achieving justice, equality, equivalence of opportunities, acquiring development at all governorates, solving the problem of poverty and unemployment, stabilizing the rational governorship of the state and developing the social and economic policies by participating in setting the popular rules.

The principles of rights and freedoms lean basically on the principle of equality under the law and judicature, which guarantees justice in applying laws despite any social, religious or political differences, besides equality between man and woman (Raslan, 1993, P. 179). The Jordan Constitution emphasizes equality as prescribed in the article No. (6) indicating that Jordanians are equal in front of the law, no discrimination among them in rights and duties even if they differ in race, language, or religion. However, the Jordan Nationality Law of 1954 did not include equality between the two genders concerning the right of sons in receiving the nationality of both parents, and was confirmed for sons of the man rather than the Jordanian woman married to a foreigner which deprives them of some rights for a limited period at the beginning of obtaining nationality. Also, the Jordan Election Law No: 25 of 2012 did not guarantee equality among citizens in numerous subjects, like weight of the elective vote, distribution of elective departments, and distinguishing between who has been accepted as candidate without existence of objection against him and who proved the right after the objection against him in equal right in a period of elective publicity, in addition to violations related with quota.

3. Loyalty and belonging to homeland: Loyalty and belonging are a set of feelings that make the citizen work enthusiastically to promote his homeland and defend it and its acquirements. Loyalty and belonging are not mere words, theories or slogans, they should overstep that to the persevering work in the service of the homeland, whether the individual is a decision- maker or not.
4. The national unity: It is the remoteness from difference and dispute, disunity and departure; and this constituent is considered one of the most significant constituents of citizenship that encourages a meaningful and constructive dialogue among citizens and keeps stability of the homeland, its security and accomplishments, for all actions of violence, provocation against a person, or a group because of the race, color, affinity, the national origin, or racial is a crime punished by the Jordan Law, so the article No: (150) from Punishments Law had worded n that "Each writing and each address or work on purpose of, or resulted in exciting sectarianisms, racialism, or encouraging conflict among sects and different elements of the nation is punished by imprisoning for six months till three years and a time does not increase more than fifty dinars (JDs).

And relying on what preceded, the subsidiary legislative policies had guaranteed effective participation of the Jordanian citizen in the political life like voting and to be candidates, and equality between both genders, without discrimination in occupying public positions, at a relative form, sovereignty of law on all, and work on enhancing values of citizenship, rational government, loyalty and belonging to the homeland, and achieving the national unity without discrimination because of race, ethnic sect, racial or religion but the applied side is in need of true reconsideration goes together with the hoped reality, with what guarantees the rights of complete citizenship.

Conclusion:

The subsidiary political loyalties in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan still play a basic role in the social and political life, but they confront challenges and obstacles that make barriers in practicing the citizenship as hoped, and lead to negative results on the relationship that connects individuals with the state. The Jordan Legislative organization included advanced rights, whether in the constitution or the Jordan Legislations, and those legislations worded on true legal and political guarantees; from judicial authority to administrative and constitutional courts protect rights and freedoms, and the legislative

organization is about to be the best on the level of many states. And the true problematic conceals in the practical practices, such as:

Non-equality in citizenship is also obvious with all its levels, either the matter related to discrimination at a religious basis, doctrinal, regional, typical, or the sex basis, and existence of defector or decrease in the legislative organization, especially those legislations that clear individuals' rights and freedoms. Only a few constitutional, political, and legal laws are related to maintaining individuals' rights and their freedoms, especially those concerned with the political, social, and cultural rights, like Election and Factions Law, Unions, associations and laws related to social insurances and others. In addition, the negative practices represented in disrespecting laws, intermediary and favoritism, and classification of individuals and bequeathing in posts, lead to weakness of and refrainment from political participation, and negligence in applying the punishments worded upon by legislations, and weakness of control institutions and inefficiency leads to the lack of confidence between the citizen and the state, because of his feeling that possibilities of the homeland are monopolized on a group rather than the other. Besides certain social diseases might appear, such as poverty, unemployment, misunderstanding of the tribalism and subordination, the societal and racial classifications and exploiting religion in spreading the culture of violence and hatred among members of the community, and encouraging the appearance of the confessional loyalties, and imposing opinions of religious groups by force on individuals.

Accordingly, both researchers view that it is applied to the Jordan community according to the multitude model of communities; an intermixture of the conflict model and balance, and this naturally leads to inequality in citizenship, rights and duties, and reaches to future societal instability in Jordan.

And on applying the approach of Almond and Farba in the classification of political loyalties, we find that the Jordan community comes within the third pattern: it is a type of tight loyalties leaning on the tribal loyalties or the tight kinship, the geographical area and religion, and they are tight local loyalties. And the second pattern: it is a type of subordinate loyalties; it is the set of citizens' loyalties, and they depend on the citizens' submission to the government only and the citizen is submissive or subordinate, and does not possess any impact on it, and in this pattern the political loyalty becomes independent from the tribe, sect and religion, so there is evident separation in these loyalties, and the loyalties depend at the amount of submitting services at a negative subordinate form.

And this means that the state is stiff and does not dominate all constituents, and equality in applying law subdues to standards like, tribal loyalties and its geography Thus, citizenship needs stabilizing the institutional method among citizens.

So it is necessary to achieve unity and integration through transforming the multitude community into a community that is culturally harmonized, performed on the political pluralism, characterized by diversity and adopting the principle of communicated intellectual dialogue, working on achieving the political, economic and cultural equality, offering equal opportunities for education and occupations for all groups; working on achieving participation for all individuals and groups, so the political pluralism means legitimacy of multitude of powers and political views, and their right in co-existence, and in expressing themselves, and in participation in affecting the political decision.

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