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**THE PARLIAMENTARY EXPERIENCE IN THE STATE OF KUWAIT  
AND ITS DEVELOPMENT PATHS**

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**Abstract**

The parliamentary experience in Kuwait is one of the successful and advanced experiences in the Arab Gulf states. The societal structure in Kuwait is more open and more developed, whether in its geographical scope or the Arabian Peninsula, and this is generally in the social, educational, educational and political fields. In fact, practices of shura appeared in Kuwait for the first time in 1930s. This was represented by the formation of the country's first legislative council, which was formed to build an emerging democratic society based on power-sharing as well participation in it. This was clearly represented when Kuwait got its independence in 1961. The political currents and forces in Kuwait contributed to the development of the concept of democracy and the exercise of parliamentary order through the Kuwaiti National Assembly.

**Introduction**

The shura practice in Kuwait first appeared in 1938. This was represented by the establishment of the country's first legislative council, which was the building block for establishing a democratic society based on power-sharing and participation. This took a clear shape after Kuwait's independence in 1961. Political currents in Kuwait have also contributed to the development of democracy and the practice of parliamentary order through the Kuwaiti National Assembly. In recent years, especially after protests in Arab countries starting in 2011, Kuwait

has entered a new era represented by the escalation of popular opposition demands that a new electoral system based on the reformist approach be achieved.

**Research Problem:** This paper deals with a number of problems, most notably that Kuwaiti society in general and its political system in particular continue to live in a tribal environment that affects in one way or another the democratic process in Kuwait with the control of traditional forces maintaining the political decision-making process.

**Research Hypothesis:** The research is based on the hypothesis that the political system in Kuwait is still characterized by stagnation and its rejection of change and political mobility and does not allow the work of political parties. However, perhaps in the future the authority will bow to the demands of reform and the application of democracy properly through an active parliament.

**Research structure:** according to the nature of the subject, the research can be divided into the following sections:

The first topic: the course of the development of the parliamentary experience in Kuwait.

The second topic: the political forces and currents affecting the Kuwaiti parliamentary system.

The third topic: assessing the Kuwaiti parliamentary experience and the possibility of its future success.

## **1. The course of development of the parliamentary experience in Kuwait:**

Kuwait's democratic experience is one of the oldest democratic experiences in the Gulf region. This is institutionally embodied by the first legislative council in 1938, which was a starting point towards building a democratic society based on the sharing of powers and participation in governance. After Kuwait gained independence under Sheikh Abdullah al-Salem al-Sabah in 1961, a new political phase began, with the first Emiri decree issued in 1961 calling for general elections for a constituent council to prepare a permanent constitution (Al-Sabaghah, 2014b, p. 41).

During the independence crisis, the Emir won great popular support through popular demands for political reform, all of which were fundamental motives for the adoption of the parliamentary system. Indeed, Law (1) of 1962 was passed, including the statutes of government in the era of independence from the emirate to the state. This served as a signed constitution to be implemented during the period before the promulgation of the permanent constitution. The law referred the task of drafting a permanent constitution to the 20-member Constituent Assembly, which was elected, as well as 11 ministers, all from the Al-Sabah family (KNA, 2015, p. 4). Kuwait became a constitutional emirate, and in 1962 an elected constituent assembly drafted Kuwait's constitution. This prevented the ruling family from choosing the Emir as the head of the executive branch, which has the right to pass legislation by decree and govern Kuwait by this constitution, which also stipulated the establishment of the National Assembly. The constitution came into force on January 29, 1963 at the first Kuwaiti National Assembly (Abboud, 2009, p. 301).

The democratic development in the State of Kuwait can be based on two main pillars:

- 1- The 1962 constitution.
- 2- The National Assembly

### **1.1 The 1962 constitution:**

Sheikh Abdullah Al-Salem had approved the constitution as approved by the elected Constituent Assembly without amendment. In accordance with the 1962 constitution of Kuwait, the state is subject to the basic law that defines the basis of the system of society and the state, and the organization of its bodies, formation and activities, as well as the rights and duties of citizens. The constitution represents an important development in the relationship of the state with the citizen. This is because it achieves the process of subjecting the state to the law. The constitution of the state of Kuwait issued in 1962 is a written and rigid constitution because it stipulated the possibility of amendment and revision with more severe and complex special conditions and procedures (KNA, 2015, p. 5).

The Constitution of the State of Kuwait consists of 183 articles. In accordance with Article 79, a law shall not be passed unless it is approved by the National Assembly and ratified by the Emir. However, article 80 confirmed that the Kuwaiti National Assembly consists of 50 members elected by general direct secret ballot in accordance with the provisions of the Electoral Law (Bassiouni, 2005, p. 342).

### **1.2 The Kuwaiti National Assembly:**

It represents the legislative authority in Kuwait and consists of 50 members elected by the public. The Kuwaiti constitution requires no more than 15 ministers. The executive authority can choose a parliament member for a ministerial position, in which case he/she will be a minister in the executive authority and a representative in the legislative authority.

The National Assembly has a four-year term from the date of its first meeting and is being renewed within 60 days prior to the end of that term. Kuwait is divided into 5 constituencies, 10 representatives are elected for each constituency (Kuwait National Assembly, 2016, p. 1).

As for the arrival of candidates for membership of the National Assembly, it goes two stages: (Al-Sabaghah, 2014a, p. 32).

First: the nomination

The nomination to the National Assembly must take a certain path, which is to submit the application in writing to the police station at the electoral district headquarters during the daily working hours and within the 10 days following the publication of the decree calling for election. Anyone who wants to run must pay 50 dinars as a fee of participating in the parliamentary elections.

Second: the election

Kuwait's constitution stipulates that the National Assembly consists of 50 members elected by general election, but the election law stipulated a set of conditions that must be met in the member:

- 1- The requirement of nationality: a member must be a Kuwaiti national and naturalized individuals cannot stand for election to the National Assembly or be appointed to any parliamentary body.
- 2- The candidate must not to be a member of the ruling family as members of the ruling family do not have the right to run.
- 3- The candidate should not be a member of the judiciary, the public prosecutor's office, the chairman of a voter committee or a member of a committee.
- 4- The candidate must have a sound reading and writing proficiency in the general rules and principles of the Arabic language.

There have been several cases in which applications have been made to lift the parliamentary immunity of a number of members of the Council, including: (Kuwait National Assembly, 2016, pp. 2-3).

- 1- On February 15, 1994, a request was made to lift the immunity of MP "Ahmed Al-Sharayan" for entering a restricted area and assaulting a security guard, which was approved by a majority of 36 votes out of 53 representatives.
- 2- On January 21, 2014, a request was submitted to lift the immunity of MP "Safaa Al-Hashem" due to a defamation complaint filed by the Mubarak International Group, and it was approved by a majority of 40 votes.
- 3- On January 21, 2014, the immunity of MP "Faisal Al-Duwaisan" was revoked due to his accusation of a Canadian company of being Israeli, and it was approved by the majority of the attendees.

As for the regular annual session of the National Assembly, it is usually no less than eight months, and the Council meets every year in October at the invitation of the Emir. If the invitation is delayed, the Council meets on the third Saturday of the same month where it announces its invitation to the meeting (Abboud, 2009, p. 312).

The following are some of the cases of the dissolution of the Kuwaiti National Assembly and the reasons for that:

- 1- On December 6, 2011, the Emir of the country, Sheikh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jaber, issued a decree dissolving the National Assembly, and on November 30, the Emir ordered the appointment of Jaber Al-Sabah as prime minister, following the resignation of the government headed by Nasser Mohammed Al-Sabah on November 28, 2011.
- 2- The Constitutional Court of Kuwait issued a decision to dissolve the elected National Assembly in December 2013. It also approved the constitutionality of the one-vote law rejected by the opposition, which launched a wave of protests. The ruling dissolved the National Assembly due to the unconstitutional decree establishing the Supreme National Electoral Commission (Al-Jazeera, 2016, p. 4).

- 3- October 15, 2016, The Emir of Kuwait, Sheikh Sabah al-Ahmad Al-Sabah, issued a decree that included a decision to dissolve the Kuwaiti National Assembly and the resignation of the Kuwaiti government. The speaker of the National Assembly, Marzouk al-Ghanem, confirmed: "The next phase has internal and external challenges surrounding us and requires a new government team and a return to the polls (MEO, 2016, p. 3).

Accordingly, Kuwait was the oldest Gulf parliamentary experiment that began in the late 1930s and represented a reform movement called the Shura Council Movement. The practical embodiment of building a parliamentary model was not considered until 1962, when the National Assembly was elected under Sheikh Abdullah al-Salem Al-Sabah, and it was a realistic expression of the idea of a social contract in the building of states (Al-Mulla 2008, p. 96).

In light of the above, we find that Kuwait's parliamentary experience has its own history and characteristics and has a political culture stemming from the nature of Kuwaiti society. Also, the Kuwaiti constitution then came to regulate the relationship between the ruler and the public and set the beginning of the modern State of Kuwait in terms of parliament and law and try to establish a state of modern institutions. However, this does not mean that the course of development of the work of parliamentary institutions in Kuwait did not fail as we saw before.

## **2. Political forces and currents influencing the Kuwaiti parliamentary system**

There are a number of political forces and currents that have direct impact on the Kuwaiti parliamentary system, whether negatively or positively. Each of these political forces or currents has different ranges of influence that can be shown as follows:

### **2.1 The tribe:**

The tribe is a key unit of the Kuwaiti system due to several considerations and factors, the most important of which is the support of the Kuwaiti authority to the tribal system in the parliamentary elections from independence until today. The clans in each tribe in fact stand for the work of political and economic unity or as can be described as small units in the tribe. When the tribe came to the city, it represented one political unity that is in conflict with other sectarian and social units (Al-Otaibi, 2013, p. 52).

The regime's reliance on tribal support was one of the reasons why the government was able to block the development of strong opposition among the middle class and delay the emergence of a reform program in the 1960s and 1970s. The inability of tribes to gain influence and status commensurate with their numbers prompted them to look for their representatives who have the ability to express their demands. In the political Islam movements, they found that the transformation of tribes into a base for political opposition and popular protest is not surprising as they became one of the relatively disadvantaged groups in Kuwaiti society that have fallen behind in terms of enjoying education and modern services and are centred around the margins of the city (Al-Ghabra, 2016, p. 120).

With regard to the Bidoon issue, we see that it has evolved in a natural way as a result of the transformation of groups of people, tribes and other arrivals to Kuwait who have been cut off from their connection to the homeland, whether this is mainly in Iraq or in Saudi Arabia, or in Iran. The issue of Bidoon has emerged as a group that does not have any nationality while it has

relatives of Kuwaiti nationality holders. In 1986, Kuwait stopped considering the Bidoon as part of the Kuwaiti census, which initially led to widespread dissatisfaction with the new situation among their ranks. Measures were issued that prevented them from the rights to education and treatment like the rest of the Kuwaitis, but the difficult stage was Iraq's occupation of Kuwait (Al-Sabaghah, 2014a, p. 121).

## **2.2 Civil society.**

Civil society organizations are the first pillar of the development of political visions that have a prominent role in the establishment of intellectual, political and religious organizations in the country. There are dozens of public interest associations in Kuwait with different interests and the presence of these organizations indicates the primacy of Kuwait in establishing a well-established democratic experience with characteristics different from others (Al-Sabaghah, 2014a, p. 33).

The activity began with the oil boom and the wave of independence and national governance. It initially focused on political activities with national and Arab ideas, consisting of educated people, intellectuals and the Kuwaiti economic elite as well as Arab expatriates. It was brought together in the early 1950s by the National Cultural Club, as Islamic groups began their activities through the National Guidance Association. After the liberation of Kuwait in 1991, multiple groups of political groupings emerged (Al-Sabaghah, 2014a, p. 34).

Civil society in Kuwait received early attention in the spring of 1991. The newspaper Al-Sharq al-Awsat published a study by Professor Shafiq Al-Ghabra entitled "Voluntary Associations in Kuwait, the foundations of a new system). In this study, Al-Ghabra focused on the analysis of voluntary associations in Kuwait where there were more than 50 registered associations before Iraq entered Kuwait on August 2, 1990 (Ibrahim, 2007, pp. 73-74) (Abdul-Rahman, 2005, p. 139).

## **2.3 Islamic and political organizations, associations and movements**

Kuwait includes many Islamic and political organizations, movements and currents that appeared early and are imbued with various political, intellectual and cultural ideas, including:

### **1- Islamic organizations**

In the post-independence period, Kuwait witnessed a clear activity of Islamic political forces, especially since the middle of the last century with the emergence of the Muslim Brotherhood movement and the arrival of many Islamic intellectual figures in Kuwait after an atmosphere of political and intellectual openness. Among the most important Islamic organizations were the Islamic Guidance Association and the National Islamic Alliance, and the Islamic National Consensus Movement (Al-Sabaghah, 2014a, pp. 34-35), (Al-Otaibi, 2013, p. 62).

### **2- Left currents:**

The cultural and political diversity that Kuwait embraced from Arab youth from different countries contributed to allowing the spread of some communist ideas in the Kuwaiti

political arena, especially in the political, economic and social fields. This is in light of the presence of a large Arab working class in Kuwait and the emergence of many trade unions that sought to protect the rights of Arab workers.

### 3- National Currents

Kuwait has known a clear activity of national political currents since its modern inception in the early 1920s and the Kuwaiti people showed their affiliation and association with security issues, especially in light of the major crises (Al-Sabaghah, 2014a, pp. 36-39).

## 2.3 The role of the youth movement in activating democracy

The youth movement in Kuwait is one of the important and key pillars on which Kuwaiti social cohesion depends. In light of the current division and the existence of great concerns among different groups of society, the youth movement remains one of the unified and transit components of communities, tribes, urban and Bedouins. While many of the values of social cohesion in Kuwait appear to be declining, the atmosphere of young people, who are the majority of the population, seems to be different from the atmosphere that came with the movement despite some existing negatives. It represents a historic opportunity to open the door to the growth of phenomena that go beyond the tribe and sect in favour of achievement, justice and national participation. The institutions of the state and its infrastructure in its legislative and executive parts play a major role in promoting and maintaining the youth movement (Al-Otaibi, 2013, pp. 62-63).

After the events of the Arab Spring in 2011, the political situation in Kuwait reached the height of the crisis. There became marches and clashes between demonstrators and police and arrests of representatives from the majority of the lawless council. In February 2012, the political climate entered the feud phase and was punctuated by an escalation in political statements bearing a tone found on all sides. The political crisis was represented by the desire of opponents to amend the voting mechanism in the parliamentary elections (Al-Sabaghah, 2014b, p. 47).

Despite the wave of demonstrations that took place in 2012 and 2013 and the wave of political activities that pervaded young people and traditional opposition, the regime's decisions remained in force, and a new nation council was elected in early December 2012 after 62% of voters boycotted the election. The new National Assembly became the subject of ridicule and a goal of monitoring and follow-up by citizens with a growing critical sense (Al-Ghabra, 2016, pp. 131-132).

After the Constitutional Court approved the one-vote system on June 16, 2013, which was announced by the Emir, it confirmed that the existing council is illegal and called for new elections. Some liberal and tribal forces of the opposition decided to participate in it, while others decided to boycott it. The elections were held on July 27, 2013 with a turnout of 52.5%. It is considered the 15<sup>th</sup> national assembly in the history of the democratic experiment in Kuwait amid a political crisis between the government and opposition forces in the dissolved council in 2012 on issues concerning the rest of the state administration and the review of the electoral district system. The government succeeded in dispersing opposition forces and scattering them before participating in these elections between Islamists and tribal forces, which reduced their chances of obtaining a large number of seats (Al-Zaydi, 2016, p. 71).

In light of the above, we see that the State of Kuwait has many social and political forces and currents that possess weight and influence in the Kuwaiti street on the one hand and in the Kuwaiti parliament on the other. Kuwait has not gone through its parliamentary history in continuous stages of stability, but its work has been subjected to violent shakes, especially after the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait in 1990 and the occupation of Iraq by the United States of America in 2003, which we will see later.

### **3. Evaluating the Kuwaiti parliamentary experience in light of the 2020 elections and the possibility of its success in the future**

Kuwait is a unique political situation. On the one hand, it has a constitutional system based on a very long history of political development that began with the emergence of Kuwait at the end of the seventeenth century. On the other hand, the history of Kuwait has recorded a set of influential internal factors that played a major role in the formulation of political decision as well as social, tribal, sectarian, factional, family divisions. As a result of these divisions, we see that they have their effects on decision makers (Khalifa and Jawhar, 2010, p. 398).

The issues discussed in the Kuwaiti National Assembly are ideas emanating from diwaniyas. So, the idea is usually discussed quickly and without sufficient consideration to be presented in the constitutional decision institutions in the form of a bill or a proposal for a law. Decision makers in Kuwait often make serious mistakes because of this improvisation and are forced to quickly abandon it (Khalifa and Jawhar, 2010, p. 399).

In recent years, the country has seen a wide corruption of political life at its different levels. This took the form of a range of cases such as corruption of the electoral process through parliamentary practice and the purchase of the voices of the majority of the representative to the creation of special media outlets representing the pillars of propaganda. Parallel to this widespread corruption of the realities of political life in Kuwait, the absence of partisan life and the weakness and non-declaration of political organizations have perpetuating extant democracy to a minimum (Ahmad Al-Deen, 2013, p. 187).

What we can emphasize on the issue of dividing the work of the Kuwaiti parliament is the issue of the debate on the need to legalize the work of political parties in Kuwait, which is necessary to hold free and fair elections. When preparing the Kuwaiti constitution, there were two directions on the subject of political parties (Al- Faily, 2006, p. 6). These run as follows:

First: there is a trend that parties should be declared and organized and the logic from which it starts is very important. This is because the orientation of the parliamentary system becomes incomprehensible in the absence of political parties. The essence of the parliamentary system is a known majority in parliament that can be dealt with to form a government. Without the presence of declared parties with an electoral program, it becomes infeasible to determine a majority and deal with it in this description.

Second: there is also a trend that sees that political parties as being only a source of instability and that the relationship between the ruler and the public does not call for a mediator. The Kuwaiti society is small in number, and the relationship depends on the method of disclosure. On the other hand, the founders were not in agreement regarding the traditional parliamentary system. Their orientation was towards another system in the relationship between the authorities



and this was based on the passage of the parliamentary system by introducing elements of the capitalist system.

The current reality in Kuwait pushes towards an atmosphere in which political parties must be declared and organized. The reason is that they are functionally and organically present without having a legal presence to control them, and perhaps their future role is the one that influenced the orientation to publicize and organize them. The Kuwaiti Constitution does not take the traditional parliamentary system. Rather, it takes a system that allows it to get very close to it and also allows it to move away from it to a large extent. According to Article 56 of the Kuwaiti Constitution, the Emir shall appoint the prime minister by an Emiri order. So, the formation of the government is not necessarily related to the existence of a parliamentary majority but is linked to the individual will of the secretary and prime minister (Al-Fayli, 2006, pp. 9-10).

The existence of political parties and the importance of recognizing them and the legitimacy of their organization are not intellectual luxury, nor is a form of wish or idealistic perception. Rather, the call for this comes as consolidating and crowning a reality. The resolutions concerning the Constitution show that they did not contain a provision on political parties. This is shown in the fact that they were not called for and were not banned in the future, but left an open option at the discretion of the circumstances of political expediency as they were established and organized. On January 29, 2005, the Islamists announced the formation of the Umma Party (Al-Sabaghah, 2014b, p. 48).

By studying the political reality in Kuwait, we believe that political organizations emerged significantly after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 because they were considered closer to the Kuwaiti national concern and identity and focused on internal affairs and issues. These organizations have made a qualitative leap in the democratic movement of Kuwaiti society. This was through their participation in the policy-making of the country through their representatives in the Council of the Nation and the Government. Or through their role in political education for Kuwaiti citizens. This in turn takes the form of raising the Kuwaiti citizens awareness of their political rights and encouraging them to exercise their right to political participation and to choose their representatives in the National Assembly. Although there is no law to regulate party work and multipartite in Kuwait, and the authority does not recognize or allow the existence of political parties, these political organizations have exercised their role as such and the issue of advertising only is a matter of recognition of the authority and the constitution (Al-Sabaghah, 2014a, pp. 63-64).

What can be said by emphasizing the role of political parties in Kuwait can be shown according to the following points: (Al-Fayli, 2006, p. 15).

- 1- Political parties in the objective sense exist in Kuwait and the law does not criminalize their existence as long as they do not aim to change the social and economic systems of society by force or by illegal means.
- 2- The lack of effective political parties for legal regulation is contrary to the interest of transparency.
- 3- The development of political life in Kuwait calls for the organization of political parties. This is because their lack of organization led political action to adopt frameworks that did not exist in the first place for the purpose of carrying out political work and playing this role that harmed them and harmed political work.

Despite the faltering state of the Kuwaiti democratic experience, it remains the best among political, constitutional and democratic experiences in the GCC countries. However, there is a persistent problem that the Kuwaiti constitution, despite its historical legacy in the region, does not provide any guarantees of the idea or freedom to establish, form and organize political parties and this problem has remained so far (Al-Zaydi, 2016, p. 72 ).

In recent years, Kuwaitis have been increasingly discussing the idea of forming a parliamentary government based on party competition. The scandal of 2010, or what is known as the “Million Deposits” issue, i.e. bribery of representatives to vote with the government, revealed the fact that the Prime Minister of Al-Sabah lacks the support of the majority within the Legislative Council. This prompted him to circumvent this by all legal and illegal means, and this would mean bringing the Kuwaiti political system into a predicament due to the lack of support for the prime ministers chosen by the Emir in general. Kuwait’s parliament has limited policy influence and has no authority to reflect the will of the legislative majority and is unable to work together to meet voters’ choices (Al-Ghabra, 2016, p. 134).

Kuwait has begun holding parliamentary elections on November 26, 2016. The Minister of State for Cabinet Affairs Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah Al-Mubarak Al-Sabah announces this date, after he issued an Emiri decree dissolving the National Assembly on October 16, 2016 following an extraordinary meeting at the Bayan Palace. He said the results of these elections are important, because the political situation in Kuwait needs real reform. The main obstacle to political reform and reform in general in Kuwait is the Kuwaiti Parliament, and reform needs to democratize the thinking of the royal family (Al-Hayajnah, 2008, p. 145).

The elections for the Kuwaiti National Assembly were held on December 5, 2020 under precautionary measures to reduce the spread of the Corona virus. 326 candidates competed in these elections, to win the seats of the Kuwaiti parliament, and the main committee of the elections of the Kuwaiti National Assembly 2020. On Sunday, December 6, 2020, the results of the vote were announced, which included the victory of 50 male members and the loss of all 29 female candidates (Adel, 2020, p. 1).

The results of the Kuwaiti National Assembly elections for the year 2020 have changed the composition of the Council by a large percentage (namely 62%). The most prominent aspects of change in the composition of the Council can be reviewed as follows (Adel, 2020, p. 3).

1. The majority of the former members failed to retain their seats, as only 19 deputies from the previous National Assembly won in 2016.
2. The number of Kuwaiti opposition seats increased from 16 in the 2016 assembly to 24 in the 2020 assembly.
3. With regard to the representation of Islamic movements in the National Assembly, the Salafist Islamic bloc has failed to win representation within the National Assembly, while the Islamic Constitutional Movement, which is affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood, has won three parliamentary seats. Shiite representation has gained six seats in the National Assembly.

4. In terms of tribal representation in the Council, we find an increase in the number of seats allocated to tribes from 26 in the 2016 Council to 31 seats in the 2020 Council.

After a full session, Marzouq al-Ghanim was able to preside over the Kuwaiti National Assembly for the third time, winning 33 votes to 28 for his rival Badr al-Hamidi. The presidency was resolved in the first regular session of the first session of the 16<sup>th</sup> legislative term. Immediately after the announcement of the victory of Al-Ghanem, he spoke about the “New Testament”, announcing the extension of his hand to all deputies (Al-Dabas, 2020, pp. 3-4 ).

Two months after the success of the elections of the Kuwaiti National Assembly, Kuwait made remarkable progress in the index of the status of democracies around the world. This was evidenced by ranking 106<sup>th</sup> in the world out of 179 countries, according to the Swedish Institute “V-DEM”, which specializes in evaluating democracy globally. It ranked second in the Arab world behind Tunisia, having advanced 5 places in 2020, from 111 in 2019 to 106 globally (Al-Hamoud, 2020, pp. 1-3).

The 2020 elections showed that there was a significant change in the new National Assembly, which indicated the dissatisfaction of voters with the performance of the previous Council and also indicated the their desire to change the situation in all its aspects. However, despite the positive results of the elections, it can be noted that there remains the continued inferior view of women and a clear failure to support efforts to empower women at the level of education, administrative work and civil society organizations. The other issue is that no new government in the country that is formed after the elections can impose a settlement and go beyond the issue of corruption and it is difficult for the government to overcome it without a political settlement on issues of corruption and political governance (Al-Zaydi, 2021, p. 59).

The Kuwaiti elections also showed a strong return to tribalism in the political reality of the country, and that it will be misled not only by the National Assembly, but also by the political process and in the way the government was formed. This is because it consisted on the basis of tribal backgrounds and the share of tribes in this formation, as well as the growing strength of the tribe in the hierarchy of social peace at the expense of civil and liberal forces seeking to overcome the tribal crisis (Al-Zaydi, 2021, pp. 59-60).

The future of the parliamentary system in Kuwait depends on a number of matters, the most important of which are the following: (Al-Sabaghah, 2014b, p. 51).

- 1- The lofty principles enshrined in the 1962 Constitution should be fortified so that they are not subject to tampering once a simple majority has come to power.
- 2- There should be a real, serious and clear application of the 1962 Constitution in order to ensure the integrity of the development of the people in the culture of legal constitutionality and to allow for real democratic development.
- 3- The role of civil society organizations should be activated, as they play an active role in the political reform movement, which stems from their role as a public oversight tool and mediator to express popular demands.

What should be known about the Kuwaiti situation and in an assessment of its parliamentary experience is that the conflict in it is not exclusively within the democratic system. This is because this system is still not fully available in Kuwait. Rather, the struggle for access to a

democratic system is a conflict between parties that believe in the need to develop experience in order to reach a democratic system on the one hand, and parties that believe that the limited margin of political freedom in Kuwait must be reduced on the other. There is also a conflict between parties that believe that the constitutional gains guaranteed by the 1962 Constitution is the minimum that is no longer acceptable in this age (Al-Sanad, 2021, pp. 1-3 ).

Despite some shortcomings in the parliamentary experience of the State of Kuwait, it is an experience that is considered important in spreading freedom and providing a measure of public freedoms, especially freedom of expression in a way that has not been seen in its geographical surroundings. Also, Kuwait, like some Arab countries, has a measure of democracy (Al-Kuwari, 2005, p. 59).

In light of discussion above, we see that the parliamentary experience in Kuwait is a good experience compared to its counterparts in the Arab Gulf states. However, the parliamentary reality in Kuwait suffers from a number of political, social and economic problems. Social conflict, especially the tribal one, is one of the most important pillars of the political conflict and its reflection on the work of the representatives in the National Assembly is a problem that accompanies the parliamentary elections for 30 years. Therefore, there must be controls for the arrival of representatives to the Council because their without gradation means that there is no political maturity in the democratic process.

## **Conclusion**

The political system in Kuwait is also committed to the manifestations of the presidential system. The National Assembly does not have the right to put confidence in the ministries. Rather, there is what is known as the establishment of non-cooperation, which is the same consequences of the decision no-confidence vote against the government. There are also many problems and sensitive issues facing the Kuwaiti National Assembly, which has to be dissolved in more than one time, and for reasons that are ambiguous, intertwined and often repeated. Kuwaiti society suffers from intellectual fragmentation and is beginning to be evident in political work and parliamentary elections. There is a bias led by the political opposition to a certain group and tribes that reject pluralism and the prevailing principle that has the dominance of the single social culture. Therefore, it does not achieve social integration, and its negative impact is reflected in the problems that occur in the National Assembly. Undemocratic societies that do not respect diversity and difference are formally coherent but penetratable, which may lead to future social chaos. Kuwait today suffers from a decline in some important laws concerning freedoms and equality, including the women's law and the separation of women and men, which struck disappointed groups in society with deflation and isolationism. However, the tribe is a fundamental pillar in the formation of Kuwaiti society, but belonging to the tribe prevailed over belonging to the homeland and the supreme interest of the state, in the sense of preferring the interest of the tribe to the national interest. This is what we see in the dominance of some tribesmen over a number of seats allotted to them in the Kuwaiti National Assembly, and this exposes democracy to a great danger and may even decline further.

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