

Youth Of University, Social Media And Political Transitions In Jordan

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Abstract

The study aimed to recognize the role of Jordanian university youth through social media sites in the political transformations in Jordan in the period of time (2000-2020). While the field study was conducted during the year (2019), the prescriptive curriculum was relied upon, and a sample of three Jordanian state universities distributed in the Kingdom's regions (North, Centre and South), which are: Yarmouk, Jordanian, and Timer, a resolution distributed to a sample of 600 female and 200 female students from each university. The curriculum has also been strengthened by an in-depth interview tool with a number of experts specializing in public affairs and information and political science, and some well-known youth mobility activists. The most important results were that Jordanian university youth relied heavily on the use of social media to achieve the desired transition towards democracy, justice, balance and integrity in covering youth mobility activities from rallies and demonstrations, allowing young people to participate in such activities even at least through social networking. Finally, although at this stage social media plays a concrete and influential role in public opinion, Success points have been achieved from time to time through the State and Government's response to some media campaigns through the media infrastructure in society and the State, however, may need longer and deeper radical changes, in order to advance the process of genuine democratization and achieve the desired goals.

Keywords: Youth University, Social Media, Political Transformations, Jordan.

The introduction

For more than two decades, Jordan has been witnessing political, economic and cultural transformations that have remained controversial in their evaluation. From an enthusiastic opinion that considers them a natural entitlement that is moving in the right direction and must be accelerated and consolidated in legislation, administration and public life, to another opinion that denies any progress, but perhaps the opposite when looking at To some reforms as a return to the past or to the consolidation of the status quo, and there is a third (conservative) trend that is apprehensive about the consequences of some of these transformations and calls in different ways to preserve the status quo and not progress towards the unknown that is

associated with everything that is bad, to a moderate opinion that recognizes only some of them. Failure appears in many aspects and levels.

In any case, the current calling for and supporting reform has become the dominant current in the street and in Jordanian political literature, unlike what was the case during the sixties, seventies, and eighties, for example. The modern state as the building necessary to preserve the humanity of the citizen and the safety of the homeland and the consolidation of democracy as a mode of administration and life and the transfer of power by peaceful means and in accordance with the law and community participation in decision-making and in electing governments and representatives and political, intellectual, religious and national pluralism away from ideological tension. (Badran, 2018)

Many rely on the role of the state in accelerating and consolidating reforms, through institutions, legislation, and regulations, such as the election law, the law on political parties, the decentralized administration law, work systems, discrimination, or equality between men and women. Such laws and regulations open or close certain horizons for political transformations. However, some transformations of various kinds, political, economic, or social/cultural, would not have been subject to the decisions and policies of the ruling authorities. Some of these transformations come from the dynamics of development, whether internal or external, the impact of globalization. And it interacts in the region, by virtue of its geopolitical location, and by virtue of the state of instability in its surroundings for decades, especially since the American occupation of Iraq in 2003, leading to the outbreak of the "Syrian revolution", some of whose repercussions penetrated Jordanian society, and perhaps this level that is linked to abroad is the most prominent example. Which emphasizes the importance of external factors in political transformations, especially those related to democracy and the march towards a state of civil citizenship (Al-Rai Center for Strategic Studies, 2015), and because the overlap between internal and external factors has become a controversial issue in analyzing the situation in Jordan, this requires delving into this matter. In detail in the theoretical chapters of this study.

Evaluation of the role of information and communication technology ranges from a strong belief in this role to a denial of it. The first trend is evident in the McLuhanian philosophy that believes that technology as tools stimulates change, regardless of the content, hence McLuhan's phrase that "the means is the message". As for the other trend, it is the one that believes that technology remains neutral, and the degree of its effectiveness is determined by the social factor or collective intelligence, as was the case with a number of Western researchers and thinkers, such as the French Pierre Lévy. Between these two trends, a third trend can be monitored, which is the one that looks at the process of Transformation is a complex process involving many social, cultural and technological factors and variables. Dominique Wolton expresses this trend by saying, "The touchstone of communication is not technical, but

is related to understanding the relationships between individuals (the cultural model) and between them and society (the social project)" (Fulton , 2012, 10), while some of them, such as the Spanish/American sociologist Manuel Castells, highlighted the dialectical interaction between social relations and technological renewal, or, according to Castells' expressions, between production patterns and development patterns, and this represents the third trend (Yesin, 2016).

And with the impact of the experiences of "revolutions" and uprisings that took place in a number of Arab societies, and before that also some well-known experiences in Western or Eastern societies, the problem of technology and transformations has gained great importance, especially with regard to the role of this technology in political transformations. However, these experiences did not lead to an understanding or scientific analysis regarding the role of technology, especially social networking sites that represent the face of this technology, and thus we have three points of view regarding this role. The second trend is the one that refuses to belittle the struggle accumulations of generations of activists, while a third trend emerges that looks at this technology in a negative way. These media have become involved in falsifying awareness and pushing marginalized youth into the furnace of jihadist action.

Anyway, communication - according to Fulton - has become today an essential element in society for three reasons: Communication presupposes the existence of free people, and for their sake the freedom of information and communication was found at the heart of all social and political ties, and it must manage the two contradictory trends that resulted from the political legacy of the eighth century Ten and nineteen: freedom and equality for all, and finally, communication is a condition of mass democracy (Fulton, 2012, 16). Centrally, it extends even to their daily lives, that is, these means It has established a regular or semi-regular relationship with all the dimensions of their social lives: work, unemployment, education, entertainment...and so on (Ben Ramadan, 2011, 9), and this may confirm the previous point of view that this technology has an internal role, which increases its effectiveness. And its illumination in moving political transformations and other dimensions.

The dialectic of the role of communication and information technology is the same dialectic in Jordan and other Arab societies. Since early 2011, Jordan has also witnessed a massive protest movement that followed the revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt. The regime, as happened in other Arab countries, however, the development of Jordanian popular movements proved once again the importance of the external factor in influencing the internal situation, as the escalation of the bloody conflict in neighboring Syria, and the arrival of large numbers of Syrian refugees to Jordan, raised internal concerns about the transmission of the phenomenon. To Jordan, which contributed to curbing popular movements and their regression, in addition to some quick responses,

some of which were initiated by the king himself, as the latter - a few months after the start of the Arab Spring revolutions - had put forward a roadmap for reforms in Jordan, and issued a decree to form a committee to amend the constitution, and the committee submitted its amendments to the king on August 14, 2011, and it included the amendment of 45 articles, the introduction of 15 new articles, and the abolition of many articles, and an independent commission for elections, defining the king's powers regarding the dissolution of parliament and the duration of parliamentary life suspension (Jordanian National Assembly website, 2018), then other amendments were made to the constitution in 2014, while more laws were enacted or amended.

Some believe that the influence of external factors may become a pretext for the ruling authority and conservative forces to resist reform efforts or justify their postponement. Therefore, you find that this justification remained strongly present in the official discourse during the years when the danger of explosion remained present in Jordanian society. From here, some people see that the established political authorities resort to this justification to intimidate the people and the opposition into accepting the status quo, which reflects the inability of the existing regime to build the national community and its waiting for the surrounding changes in the region, and most importantly, it reflects the absence of a specific vision for the concept of political reform, in addition to the absence of clear and approved measures for it from various parties (Al-Shunaq, 2014, 11).

At the analytical and theoretical research level, the status of the internal actor that may be manifested in youth movements is exposed to a great deal of ambiguity and ambiguity. What are the real reasons for the regression and dormancy of youth movements? And before that, its failure to establish an umbrella body or an organizing frame of reference for the large number of youth groups that used to launch under different names but with similar goals? Before that, what is the basis for the tensions of youth in particular and Jordanian society in general? Are they economic, political, social / cultural, existential, philosophical, or other tensions about which there is still not enough scientific research, not by the concerned government bodies? Neither by research bodies in and outside universities, which resulted in a confusion of visions, concepts, and diagnoses that were mixed with conflicts and complex bets. Media platforms and social media constituted the most important arenas in which this conflict and bets that express deep tensions in society and in the political system.

Study problem:

With the massive spread achieved by the modern and traditional media, it was necessary to ask: Were the social actors, along with the ruling and decision-making authorities, able to change their communication and administrative

strategies with their people to keep pace with the developments of the times? After the so-called "Arab Spring revolutions" played an important and decisive role in changing the structure of the traditional media system and its means during the last decade, and the important strategic transformations that the Arab world went through.

In fact, the transformations that the citizen aspires to, and which are determined by experts and specialists in development and modernization, include many and comprehensive dimensions, which also seem similar to a network connected to rings or cells. Decision and in electing governments and representatives, political, intellectual, religious and national pluralism, the consecration of the principles of justice, the rule of law and its authority over all, responsible freedom, citizenship, equality and equal opportunities, women's rights and empowerment and the promotion of their economic, social, intellectual and creative role, good governance, accountability, transparency and fighting corruption, and moving with strength and will towards the industrial societal economy Promoting scientific research, technological development and creativity, developing education, thought, culture and the arts, and "lifting pressures on minds". And the participation of parties and civil society organizations in governance and monitoring, empowering youth, building a national personality committed to the affairs of the country, developing governorates, deserts, and rural areas, and putting an end to poverty and unemployment (Badran, 2018, 169).

A number of specialists, and international bodies interested in democratic transitions in developing countries, are betting on the role of the Internet in general, the press and social networking sites in stimulating democratic transitions. They believe that the media and social networking sites have become providing young people with effective tools and mechanisms in advancing the process of transformation, and these convictions have increased and been strengthened. Following the discovery of the active role of the media and social networking sites in the success of the revolutions of Tunisia and Egypt, and to some extent other Arab countries.

As for Jordan, frequent youth movements have emerged since 2011, encouraged by the results of the revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt, and with an imbalance in The different circumstances between Jordan and those countries. The main goal of youth movements has crystallized towards the slogans of "reform", unlike other countries that aimed at "regime change". This study will focus on a major aspect of these transformations, which is the role of social networking sites in the political transformations of Jordanian university youth. These transformations include levels of: political culture, participation in public sphere discussions through expression of opinion, assessment of the role of social media in accessing adequate information, coverage of activities and news of the youth movement, aspirations and expectations of young people towards the future of political and democratic

life in the Kingdom and the most important obstacles that stand in the face of this transformation and the role of social communication in overcoming it or contributing to overcoming it.

The problem of the study can be focused on the following main question:

What is the role of Jordanian youth through social networking sites in the political transformations in Jordan?

Study questions:

Sub-questions branch out from the question as follows:

- What are the goals that the youth movement should demand through social networking sites from the point of view of Jordanian university youth?
- What is the importance of social networking sites in the field youth movement according to the representations of Jordanian university youth?

research aims:

The main objective of the research is to know the role of social networking sites in the political transformations of university youth in Jordanian society.

This objective is divided into sub-objectives as follows:

- Identifying the goals that the youth movement should demand through social networking sites from the point of view of Jordanian university youth.
- Revealing the importance of social networking sites in the field youth movement according to the representations of Jordanian university youth.

The importance of studying:

The study gains its importance at one level from the importance of the subject of transformations, a phenomenon whose cauldron is still spinning in our hands without fully knowing where we will reach after a while, and it seems unpredictable in the foreseeable future, because it has simply been proven that models or recipes may change from one country to another. to another (the difference between Tunisia and Libya), and from one stage to another (Mubarak's Egypt, Morsi's Egypt, and Sisi's Egypt), but nevertheless, some of its features can be seen in the level of results in behavior, in communication patterns, and in the dominance of new cultural models that are different from the previous one.

The importance also appears in the level of reading the youth movement in the modern society, or the networked society. The integration of youth into the networked environment represents a very important factor in the process of larger transformations, or democratic transformations at least. known traditional.

On the third hand, monitoring the transformations in its combined movement (youth / social media / freedoms / democracy) would reveal the mechanisms by which social media operates away from the culture of (disadvantages and benefits) and (pros and cons), as the matter now goes beyond this classification. As Pierre Levy asserts in his book "Our Virtual World: What is it and what is its relationship to reality?" (Pierre Levy, 2018).

Subject limits:

Geographical and human borders: The spatial borders are the borders of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The area of the Kingdom is (89,213) square kilometers, most of which are desert lands, while the arable lands amount to only (7%). It amounted to approximately 2,819 square kilometers in 2017 compared to approximately 2,615 square kilometers in 2007. According to analytical figures, the area exploited for agriculture or livestock in the Kingdom constitutes (4%) of the total area of the Kingdom of 89,342 square kilometers (Department of Statistics General, 2017), the Kingdom's population of citizens, residents, and refugees, according to 2020 statistics, is about (10,726) people, about (64%) of whom are concentrated in the central region, which includes the capital, Amman, and the cities of Salt, Madaba, and Zarqa (Department of General Statistics, 2020), According to statistical data, Jordanian youth from the age of (19 years to the age of 35) constitute (25%) of the population, and these are the age groups that are supposed to be either in the undergraduate study stage to the final stages of postgraduate studies, and this is despite the fact that the limits The higher levels of the youth groups remain flexible even if they are linked to the stages of education, as we can find those who completed the final stages before the age of 35 years, and those who continue studying in its various stages after this age as well. While the younger age groups constitute (42%).

Temporal boundaries: The period of study of transformations is determined since the beginning of the Internet era, that is, from the beginning of the year 2000 to the present day, which is equivalent to almost two decades of time. During this year, information was collected from the study population of young people, in addition to some experts and relevant people as necessary.

Theoretical limits: The theoretical limits can be divided into two areas: the first is related to the theory used in the study, and the second is the limits that the study adheres to as its main axes.

idiomatic selection:

Political transformations: Conversion is not far from its linguistic meaning, as it expresses the outcome of changes that arise at multiple levels, as it benefits change, but the concept of transformation is one of the concepts that has a linguistic overlap with many terms, including: change, development, growth .. However, there are qualitative differences between them, as transformation

differs from change, since the first - transformation - is characterized by comprehensiveness, generality and radicality, while the second - change - is partial and limited in scope. The dictionary of sociology defines transformation as: "a relatively rapid and widespread social change." It is noticeable that this definition focuses on the basic characteristics of transformation, which are comprehensiveness, depth, and speed (Tricky, 2017). Monitoring political transformations can be done by monitoring the political slogans of young people, their concept of political reform, their attitudes towards government policies, their attitudes towards freedom of expression, and their concepts about the intellectual and social/cultural references that guide them.

Jordanian university youth: This category of youth is considered one of the most important groups in any society, as it includes the largest percentage of the age groups, as the annual statistical survey of the Jordanian General Statistics Department for the year 2017 showed that the youth groups from the age of 18-44 years amounted to (43%) of the population, and this is a large percentage compared to the presence of other groups of children and the elderly. Table (1) shows the numbers and percentages of these age groups. The media, and the digital environment has provided enormous possibilities for these people, as they are no longer recipients of what is published by the various media, but rather they have become participants in building, interpreting and transforming messages as well.

The total population of the Kingdom has reached about (510) million people, of which about (7) million are Jordanians, while (30%) are non-Jordanians, the majority of whom are Syrians, although the number of Syrians decreased after 2017 as a result of some of them moving to other countries and a percentage of them returning to Syria after the relative calm in the conflict there (Jordanian Department of Statistics, 2019).

The following table (1) shows the distribution of the age groups of the intended youth in the current study.

Table (1) The age groups of Jordanian youth for the year 2019

percentage	number	age group
10.3	1397574	24-18
8.7	876030	29-25
7.7	774560	34-30
6.8	686800	39-35
5.9	591610	% 44-40
%43		total

* - Source: Report of the Jordanian General Statistics Department for the year 2019.

** This category has been deducted from another segment starting from the age of 15 years.

The theories adopted in the research:

The study relies on what has become known as theory Networking, which is a relatively new theory in communication studies, and it is a field that has become rapidly growing, and there are those who call it the actor networking to indicate the non-neutrality of the network.

There are multiple origins for the concept of the network. In sociological literature, the expression was defined to refer to the networks of individuals and social groups or social networks that have been known in social reality since the emergence of societies. Electricity and networks.

Perhaps what is most related to the literature of communication is what is related to the Internet, which has become a concept or a theoretical model for the concept of an effective network that will develop a theoretical and explanatory framework that has become commonly used in communication and cultural studies and research.

The Internet, in fact, is a group of interconnected networks, abbreviated as (Inter-net), and this network includes many networks connected to each other, the most important of which is the World Wide Web (WWW), in addition to other networks on the global level, and others on the local level. It is a system of infrastructure that provides connectivity and support for communication, and data transfer between networks, while other networks, regardless of their location on the Internet, organize and manage content and are governed by standards for content management and publishing on the Internet (Abdul Hamid, 2007, 14).

Networks consist of three main elements: nodes, links, and flows, and a node is a specific point connected to at least another point, although it is often a connecting point between two or more other points, while the link connects one node to another, and the flow is what passes between nodes and through them on The length of links (Barney, 2015, 39), and according to Castles, the networked society consists of networks of production, power, and experience that will create a realistic virtual culture of global flows that transcend time and space, and the networked society in which the form of networked organization replaces other forms, through the categories of politics Economics and Culture (Barney, 2015, 41).

Castells ((2000a; 2000b) made a significant contribution to rooting the concept of the network through a group of interrelated literature, and his analysis is based on the hypothesis that contemporary societies are undergoing transformations from the industrial age to the information age. This historical change is due to the emergence of new information

technologies - especially technologies Communication and biological technologies. Society remains capitalist, but the basis of the technological means through which it operates may change from energy to information. This information is of central importance in determining economic productivity. Communication technologies allow the reshaping of space and globalization through the possibilities of rapid and asynchronous communication as well, and while Castles stresses that networks are not a new form of social organization, they have become "an essential feature of social formation".

The shift towards the network was not only a revolution in communication and the media, but that affected the social, cultural and political structures to different degrees. Like the Internet, it allows for the decentralization of operations and centralization of control, which increases the effectiveness of networks related to hierarchical structures. He writes: "The main shift can be described as the shift from a vertical bureaucracy to a horizontal network (Castells, 2000b, 176).

If the individual enters a network, he will find in it sources of information that match him in terms of sources of entertainment, joy, and personal support, and all this means that the logic of the network indicates the rebuilding of social relations on a basis that is more personal and more affectionate, and therefore less normative or normative (Bin Ramadan, 2011, 10). .

However, the retina falls short of explaining the phenomenon in two cases, the first is related to individual use, which is the approach that is concerned with some small theoretical models such as the uses and gratifications model, and the second when it comes to major political transformations and events, and such an opinion is adopted by some researchers such as Abdullah Al-Haidari, who He studied the Turkish experience of the coup that took place against Erdogan on (July 15, 2016), which clearly confirms the limitations of social networks, and mass media in general, in absolute decisiveness when it comes to major social and political issues, and issues of public opinion. In other words, we say: the events have a complex sociocultural texture that the media pushes to appear. The style of appearance, which is an integral part of this complex fabric, is what gives the impression to the general public that what is happening in society in terms of influence on opinion and change in conditions is due to the media. Because the media, with its technical and artistic eloquence, and its high speed, when it pushes events to appear, at the same time blocks the elements of the network that form the factors of influence (Al-Haidari, 2017).

A big problem arises in this model when projecting it on developing societies, as despite the improvement of quantitative indicators in the infrastructure of communication technologies, the high percentage of participants in networked electronic communication, and the high rate of acquisition of

smart communication technologies (phones and computers), and despite some progress in the employment of electronic communication in government business (e-government) as well as the private sector, this did not achieve the various conditions or specifications of the information society, especially with regard to the production of information and reliance on it in drawing up policies and making decisions. Instead, developing societies, including Jordan, began to compete in consuming products. information society.

Nevertheless, the model of active networks provides us with a very important analytical explanatory framework, because the network itself, regardless of economic levels, can have an impact because it does not recognize many of the determinants of traditional social and political structures, such as hierarchical hierarchy, blocking and prevention. And cancellation, from here a great deal of communication justice, or communication democracy, is achieved, because most people are equal in communication opportunities, even in theory or at least in comparison to traditional communication systems.

Previous studies

The study was limited to research conducted from 2011 onwards, since this period measures the impact of social networking sites on university youth. The studies were arranged according to their time or the time of their publication, so that the reader can track developments in the interest and preoccupations of these studies over the years, despite the short time period of the studies. Listed here between (2011-2017). It was commented on at the end of the presentation of these research and studies.

- A University of Washington study (2011) aimed at exploring the role of social media in activating the Arab revolutions. It was carried out by a group of researchers at the University of Washington. The study relied on (3) million comments (Twitter) and countless hours of videos (YouTube and gigabytes) from websites Personal, to find out and explore whether the Web and social sites really played a big role in the spring of the Arab revolutions, and according to the study, the chatter about the revolution began a few times before the actual revolutions, and that people benefited greatly from participating in social networks in pursuit of democracy, and became Various media such as journalism and websites are an important part of the tools seeking freedom, and it was noted that users of websites and the Internet benefited from the exercise of freedom of comments and conversations remarkably. From here, the study confirms that modern technical media had a major role in the process of change in a large way.

The Study of Al-Darakeh (2015) aimed to identify the impact of the Arab Spring on all levels and forms of political participation, the degree of political interest, political demands and motives for political participation, the availability of its requirements and the increase in the intensity of political stimuli, which led to

the emergence of results represented in: the emergence of new social forces and the increase in participation activities Non-traditional politics and increasing the degree of activists. The researcher used the group analysis approach and the state and society approach, as they are the closest to addressing the research phenomenon of political participation, given that it is carried out by different groups such as youth, clans, and political parties to put pressure on power, with the researcher using quantitative indicators related to the number of different protests and the percentage of use of means of communication The researcher also used analytical tools related to the reasons for the emergence of new social movements and the nature of the relationship between political leaders and forms of political participation. Among the most important results of the research, in convergence with the axes of the current study, were the following: The events of the Arab Spring affected the increase in the factors contributing to political participation in terms of the emergence of new social forces and movements such as youth movements and the movement of tribal groups in some areas and labor protest movements. The events of the Arab Spring led to an increase in The use of social media as one of the tools and requirements for political participation in Jordan.

The study of Al-Shurafat (2015) aimed to shed light on the role played by social networking sites in the recent Arab protests 2010-2014 AD. The study concluded the following: The Internet in general, and the social networking site in particular, has created a new era. A qualitative cultural, political and legal shift for the Arab masses, as the Arab community used social networking sites as a source of political and social education, exchange of ideas and information related to what is going on around them, and talk about the problems of Arab countries such as unemployment, corruption, poverty and dictatorship. Social networking sites also provided the Arab street with openness to new terms such as the right to expression, the right to political participation and change, social responsibility, and other terms that the Arab street has become proud of on social networking sites. The intense presence of individuals on social networking sites and what distinguishes these sites has led to The existence of an appropriate and appropriate place for Arab societies to plan and coordinate protests and mass revolutions against Arab governments, and social networking sites have helped to expose government policies and then exchange information on how to respond to governments and declaring zero hour to start protests and documenting these protests and marches, and Arab societies have resorted to the media New and modern technology is not a love for social networking sites, but rather because of the policies of successive Arab governments that forced the Arab public to take such an approach. From a safe alternative far from the oppression of Arab governments, which is what social networking sites have provided.

The study of Al-Sarhan and others (2016), as an attempt to investigate the role of social networking sites in shaping the political awareness of university

youth from the point of view of Al al-Bayt University students. The various faculties at Al al-Bayt University, and this sample was drawn in an intentional stratified manner, taking into account that it includes equal proportions of males and females and students of scientific and human faculties. Its role in identifying the internal situation, regional and international developments and events, and that it contributes to enhancing political participation and highlighting new political personalities.

Al-Enezi's study (2016) aimed to identify the role of social networking sites in changing social values in Saudi society, and to verify the objectives of the study, the researcher used the descriptive survey method, and the questionnaire was also used as a tool for the study on a sample of (302) individuals that were selected through the multiple random sample stages, and this sample represents male and female secondary school students in Riyadh. The study reached many results, most notably: that there is a high degree of agreement among the members of the study sample on the social values reinforced by Facebook among secondary school students in Riyadh, and the most prominent of these values: (supporting humanitarian work, clarifying many other cultures), as it showed The results showed that there is a high degree of agreement among the members of the study sample on the social values reinforced via WhatsApp among secondary school students in Riyadh, and the most prominent of these values: (strengthening the relationship with others, strengthening the concept of religious values). There is a large degree among the members of the study sample on the social values reinforced by Twitter among male and female secondary school students in Riyadh, and the most prominent of these values: (promoting the concept of religious values, clarifying many other cultures), and finally the results showed that there is a large degree of agreement among the sample The study on the social values reinforced by Instagram among secondary school students in Riyadh, and the most prominent of these values: (clarification of many other cultures, promotion of support for humanitarian work among female students).

Al-Mutairi's study (2017) aimed to know the role of social networking sites in the future transformations that follow among young people. The study relied on a simple random sample of (448) individuals. The researcher used the descriptive method. The questionnaire was used as a tool for the study. Among the most important results: It was clear that the study sample agreed that the most important factors that led to future transformations among young people are: technical development in various fields of life, ease of access to interactive applications, in addition to the distinction of the Internet and social networking sites with suspense and excitement. The study sample showed that Internet services in activating the factors that led to future transformations among young people focused on helping to speed up the exchange of information and knowledge, and contributed to communication between young people and the development of scientific research, and finding

out the latest developments in advanced technology, and contributed to young people practicing electronic commercial activities.

The study of Abu Dames and Qorbaa (2017) aimed at highlighting the role that social media played in mobilizing youth during the Arab Spring revolutions, which led to the culture of the winds of change and contribution to comprehensive political transformations. The most important results of this study are as follows: First: Websites have proven Social communication plays its role in the use and dissemination of information and opinions, and the use of young people of these sites in which they exchange their views and their cultural, literary and political views, so it became a new media alternative to traditional media, and it led to revolution and the winds of change. Open to rebellion and revolution, and the beginning of eliminating convergence and spreading the spirit of change in three inevitable transformations: the technical imperative, the social imperative, and then the information imperative. Third: The role of social media was complementary, helping young people to lead the processes of mobilization and change. Fourth: These means opened great hopes for the people. In exposing facts and corruption, eliminating the barriers of geography, place, and time of tyranny, and breaking the barriers of fear and humiliation to mark a new political beginning, which is the culture of change for the better. desired.

Research case and its advantages:

There are many axes related to the studied phenomenon, and most of them belong to the empirical / American research that is concerned with collecting quantitative indicators about the dimensions of the phenomenon without delving into its depths or its theoretical and conceptual dimensions except a little. The researcher avoided including a lot of the research that was based on the perspective of uses and gratifications, which is the largest percentage among the other research that the researcher reviewed and was not included in the study.

Likewise, most of the research did not carry a comprehensive vision of the phenomenon and its socio-economic links in addition to the political one, because digging deeper into the hidden layers in the current situation of the Arab political and social systems is not available for Arab research in general, as the ceilings of freedoms do not allow this, nor is the information available for researchers to dive into the documents. depth, and the current study does not claim to have bypassed this dilemma. However, a high level of boldness of assumptions and conclusions can be observed in a number of researches, including the study of Darakah, Muhammad (2015), which dealt with the impact of the Arab Spring on political participation: Jordan as a model (2011-2013). And the study of Jaidour (2017) on the impact of social media on the process of democratization in the Arab countries, conducted in the best Algerian universities, and the study of Ghattas, Jamila (2015) on the role of

social media in the democratization of the Arab Spring countries, a descriptive case study (Tunisia and Egypt), Among the foreign research from this high ceiling was the University of Washington study (2011) on the role of social networks in the Arab revolutions.

And if we look at the research from the angle of the language or the region between Arab and foreign, we will find that the interest of Arab research began to go beyond the approach of uses and gratifications since after (2014) to move to relatively more complex issues, such as the impact of means of communication on values, and on the promotion of political participation, especially its role in The formation of political awareness and its role in the events of the Arab Spring, and some of them clearly touched axes related to democracy or supposed transformations. Some noted that the public creates unique patterns of obtaining information and making decisions on political issues. While some of them used innovative approaches, such as the group analysis approach and the state and society approach, as they are closest to addressing the research phenomenon of political participation, given that it is carried out by different groups such as youth, clans, and political parties to put pressure on power.

Regarding the foreign research and studies that the student was able to access from those related to the axes of the current study, they were few and rare, and this can be explained by three reasons: the first is the language factor, and the second is not being preoccupied with the slow pace of transformations. As for the third reason, it is that Westerners focus their attention on societies that Western politicians claim to be in the process of transformation or change, and it seems that Jordan does not fall into this category of countries, such as.

In conclusion, most of the research emphasized an important role for social networking sites or communication in general in bringing about transformations at different levels, and the difference in the directions of this research may be in determining the mechanism or dynamic that leads to this effect.

Study type and methodology:

Study type:

This study falls within the descriptive study that aims to describe the phenomena in an accurate scientific description that shows their characteristics and the variables that control their development. Research and monitoring from year to year.

Descriptive research is interested in portraying what is an object, i.e. the current situation or the incident, as it describes its characteristics and components, describes the factors that affect it, and the circumstances that

surround it, and identifies the correlations between the variables that affect that phenomenon, and based on this comprehensive perception, it is possible to predict and conclude the situations The future that the phenomenon will lead to (Al-Maghribi, 2011, 95).

The descriptive study is characterized by bringing the researcher closer to reality, where he studies the phenomenon as it is on the ground and describes it accurately, either with a quantitative expression about the characteristics and features of the incident or with a qualitative method. And drawing useful results and indications, including those that lead to the possibility of issuing generalizations or predictions about the phenomenon (Hussein, 1995, 123).

As for the methodological methods and tools that were relied upon, they are various as follows:

1. The survey method was used to collect data and information from the study sample.
2. The standardized/in-depth interview was relied upon with a number of young people and experts in the subjects of democratic transitions, media and communication.

Study population:

This paragraph was devoted to defining the methodological control of the study community, and due to the importance of the study community, two chapters were allocated for it in the study, one chapter dealing with Jordanian society in general, and another chapter reviewing the youth category, which is the focus of the actor in the study.

The research community consists of Jordanian youth in general, and there are different definitions globally for the age of youth, but they are very close, and because the study requires a procedural definition of the youth category, in connection with its problem and objectives, the youth groups have been identified in the age stages that start from the age of joining the university 18 From one year to the age of 35 years, considering that these groups are still either in the stage of formation and building attitudes, in addition to that these age groups are among the most used groups of social networking sites, and accordingly, all young people in Jordanian universities are the target study community.

The study sample:

The sample is based on the stratified random method, and the stratification includes the main regions of the Kingdom (north, middle and south), and on this basis, the sample included (600) individuals, on the basis of (200) individuals from each of the three regions, and each region was represented by a government university, They are: Yarmouk in the north, Jordanian in the

middle, and Mutah in the south. The students of these universities were addressed with an electronic questionnaire, through student groups on social media, and in cooperation with some active professors and students, until the number reached (200) responding students from each university who were chosen randomly, with a total of (600) items. The following are the personal data of the study sample, according to gender, age, university name, stage of study, year level, and type of college (literary or scientific).

Table (2) Distribution of study sample members according to personal factors

%	Number	Category	Variable
54	324	Female	Gender
46	276	Male	
10.7	64	years and over30	Age
28.3	170	year20 - 18 from	
46	276	year23 - 21 from	
8.7	52	year 26 - 24 from	
6.3	38	year 29 - 27 from	
33.3	200	The University of Jordan	The University
33.3	200	Yarmouk University	
33.3	200	Mutah University	
85.7	514	Academic level Bachelor	Educational level
3.7	22	Higher Diploma	
10.7	64	Master's	
56.3	338	The college is a humanitarian	college
43.7	262	Scientific Faculty	
23.3	140	first year	academic level
22.3	134	third year	
33.7	202	Second Year	
2.3	14	Fifth year	

15.3	92	Fourth year	
3	18	Sixth year	
100	600	Total	

Table (2) shows the distribution of the study sample according to personal factors, as we note the following:

1. Gender: The percentage of the study sample was male (54%), while the percentage of females was (46%).
2. Age: The percentage of study sample individuals between the ages of (21-23 years) was (46.0%).
3. University: The study sample consisted of equal percentages of students from the University of Jordan, Yarmouk University and Mutah University, with a rate of (33.3%) for students from each of the three universities.
4. A percentage of (85.7%) of the study sample are undergraduate students, and the rest are from other levels (diploma, master's).
5. (56.3%) of the study sample are students of humanities faculties, and (43.7%) are students of scientific faculties.
6. A percentage of (33.7%) are students of the second academic year, then the third and first years, with similar rates (23.3%) for the third year, (22.3%) for the first year.

Study tools:

Two tools were used to collect relevant data and information, namely the questionnaire tool and the in-depth interview tool. The following is a description of each:

The questionnaire tool, which is a form consisting of a number of questions and paragraphs related to the objectives and questions of the study, and was distributed to the sample members, and this method leads to obtaining quantitative results that can explain some aspects of the phenomenon under study.

The questionnaire consisted of 128 paragraphs, which were considered (by agreement of the arbitrators) useful and indicative indicators of the intended goals to raise the research problem. Communicative content and motives, and the fourth axis: the relationship of social networking sites to democratic transitions in Jordan, and the fifth axis: university youth, social networking sites, and youth mobility in Jordan.

In-depth interview tool:

The interview is based on setting a number of standardized questions that contribute to obtaining information and opinions about the studied phenomenon through a number of experts and specialists in communication, media, and other political and social sciences. . Thus, it is used when the goal is to obtain a qualitative description of reality, not quantitatively or numerically.

The interview questions were prepared after the completion of the statistical analysis and the initiation of the process of interpreting the results, which showed the need for the use of the opinions of experts and specialists, and the in-depth and standardized interviews were the best way to achieve this.

A number of experts and specialists in the fields of politics and media, as well as activists of the protest movement, were reached, and their dialogue contributed to shed more light on the current situation regarding the axes of the study and its problems, especially with regard to: the role of youth through social media in the supposed political transformations, as well as the separation of the nature of the role that Social media drives these transformations, then the nature of the obstacles and challenges facing the role of youth in this field.

Study tool stability test:

To test the stability of the study tool, Cronbach alpha coefficients were found, and the following table (3) shows this:

Table (3) Cronbach alpha coefficients for testing the stability of the study tool

Cronbach alpha coefficient	The dimension
0.82	Forms of interaction with others through social networking sites
0.87	Favorite topics on social networking sites
0.83	Motives for using social networking sites
0.84	features in social networking sites
0.88	The most important democratic aspirations of youth
0.90	The role of social networking sites towards democratic transitions in Jordan

0.88	Investing Jordanian university youth in social networking sites to express their youth needs on the cultural, political and social levels
0.90	Obstacles to democratic transition in Jordan and the role of social networking sites in overcoming them
0.81	The impact of social networking sites on the traditional affiliations of Jordanian youth (social, religious, political and (regional references
0.92	University youth, social networking sites, and youth mobility in Jordan
0.92	The importance of social networking sites in the field youth movement

Through the previous table (3), we notice that all the values of the Cronbach alpha coefficients are valid for the purposes of the study because they are more than 80%, and this is a very acceptable percentage for the purposes of such a study.

The results of the applied study

Percentage Grading Scale:

Three degrees of percentage strength were determined on the basis that the three-point Likert scale was used in the survey questionnaire (agree, neutral, disagree) through which information was collected and the responses of the study sample of university students were determined, and on that basis the percentage degrees are as follows:

$$100/3 = 33.3$$

Category 1 - Poor = 0 - 33.3

The second category - medium - 34 - 66.6

The third category - high - 67-100

Results

University youth, social networking sites, and youth mobility in Jordan.

This axis attempts, through two questions, to diagnose the goals of the Jordanian youth movement through social networking sites, and to determine or evaluate the importance of social networking sites in the field youth movement according to the representations of Jordanian university youth. Answering these two questions would contribute to answering the main question or the main proposition of this thesis. Related to the representations

of Jordanian university youth about the role of social media in democratic transformations in Jordan.

Here is the answer to my two main questions:

What are the goals that the youth movement should demand through social networking sites from the point of view of Jordanian university youth?

To answer this question, it was expressed in a number of paragraphs, and the percentages of the respondents' responses were extracted on the triple scale, and estimated in degrees, as in the following table (4):

Schedule (4)

The goals that the youth movement should claim through social networking sites from the point of view of Jordanian university youth

Class	OK	Scarcely	not agree	domains	the number
High	86.2	10.5	3.3	Demand constitutional reforms	109
High	87.4	9.0	3.6	Demand political reforms	110
High	89.5	7	3.5	demand economic reforms	111
High	88	8.3	3.7	Demand social reforms	112
High	79.4	14.6	6	Change the Jordanian government	113
low	26.8	22.5	50.7	Overthrow the Jordanian regime	114
Medium	64.3	30	6.6	Dissolution of Parliament	115
High	87	7.7	5.3	Conduct fair parliamentary and municipal elections	116
High	88	9	3	Fighting corruption	117
High	85.3	10	4.7	Restore the looted wealth of the country	118
High	91.3	6	2.7	Demanding justice and equality	119
High	90.3	6	3.7	Improving the economic conditions of workers and citizens	120
High	89.3	7.7	3	Addressing the problems of poverty and unemployment	121

The data of the previous table shows that the goals that the youth movement should demand through social networking sites from the point of view of

Jordanian university youth were represented by a group, most of which obtained high percentages and scores that ranged between (85-91%), and they are as follows, in descending order: (demanding justice and equality, improving The economic conditions of workers and citizens, addressing the problems of poverty and unemployment, fighting corruption, demanding economic reforms, demanding social reforms, holding fair parliamentary and municipal elections, demanding political reforms, demanding constitutional reforms).

What is noteworthy is that the paragraph "Overthrowing the Jordanian Regime" won a support rate of more than a quarter of the respondents (26.8). But perhaps the interpretation of the phrase varies from person to person.

All of the previous indicators indicate the awareness of Jordanian youth about the nature of the challenges and the desired goals in order to accelerate the democratic transition, as these demands and goals include broad and comprehensive reforms starting from constitutional reforms through political, economic and social reforms, achieving justice and fighting corruption.

What is the importance of social networking sites in the field youth movement according to the representations of Jordanian university youth?

To answer this question, it was expressed in a number of paragraphs, and the percentages of the respondents' responses were extracted on the triple scale, and estimated in degrees, as in the following table (5):

Schedule (5)

The importance of social networking sites in the field youth movement according to the representations of Jordanian university youth

Class	OK	Scarcely	not agree	methods	the number
High	85	11	4	Do news coverage of marches and protests	122

High	82.4	13.8	3.8	Provide opinions and ideas about the development of marches and protests	123
High	83.6	12.4	4	Commenting on the activities of the mass movement and reviving the public debate	124
High	82	14.5	3.5	Provide platforms for field coordination between movement groups	125
High	84.7	11	4.3	Social media provides mass sympathy for protest movements	126
High	80.5	13.5	4	The messages of the youth movement are conveyed to state officials without falsification	127
High	85.3	11.7	3	Communication sites provide a source of field information for the mass media	128

The data of the previous table shows that the Jordanian university youth's representations of the importance of social networking sites in the field youth movement were generally high, and were expressed through the following paragraphs arranged in descending order:

- 1- Communication sites provide a source of field information for the mass media, with a high rate of (85.3%).
- 2- Carrying out news coverage of marches and protests, with a high rate of (85%).
- 3- Social media provides public sympathy for the protest movements, with a high rate of (84.7%).
- 4- Commenting on the activities of the mass movement and reviving the public debate, with a high rate of (83.7%).
- 5- Presenting opinions and ideas about the development of marches and protests, at a high rate of (82.4%).
- 6- Providing platforms for field coordination between movement groups, with a high rate of (82%).
- 7- The messages of the youth movement are transmitted to state officials without forgery, at a high rate of (80.5%).

It can be concluded through the previous indicators that Jordanian university youth rely heavily on the use of social communication in achieving the desired transformation towards democracy and justice and achieving balance and integrity in covering the activities of the youth movement such as marches and demonstrations, in a way that allows young people to participate in these activities, even through social communication at least.

Jordanian university youth rely heavily on the use of social communication to achieve the desired transformation towards democracy and justice and to achieve balance and integrity in covering the activities of the youth movement such as marches and demonstrations, in a manner that allows young people to participate in these activities, even through social communication at least.

Ziyad Al-Shakhanbeh believes that the movement needs a communication tool between the participants, as well as mobilizing them, making their voice heard, and transmitting their movement strongly.

Amer Al-Sabaila supports the influential role that social media plays in serving the youth movement, and confirms that we have witnessed multiple attempts to create a culture of boycott, strike, etc., which indicates that the means of communication work to facilitate linking and coordination between community movements.

Dhiyab al-Badaynah does not agree with the existence of a real youth movement in the sense of movement. Few young people participate in the actual or cyber movement. But in the future, I expect more participation due to social media. Young people can participate heavily in the case of important

events, such as calls for the overthrow of the government or demands for work..... There is a large number of people who participate in the movement.

A study - University of Washington (2011) entitled "The Role of Social Media Networks in the Arab Revolutions" has reached close results. In the same direction, the study of Jedor (2017), which was conducted after the outbreak of the so-called Arab Spring revolutions, showed that the pressure of Arab peoples in the public virtual sphere leads to To push political regimes to engage in righteousness and democratize political life, examples of which are Tunisia and then Egypt.

And that the Arab political systems start from reading the outputs of interaction from within the virtual environment, to implement reforms and policies that are in line with the demands of the virtual audience.

Dr. Muhammad Bani Salama believes that communication sites are not a magic force to achieve miracles, but it is an effective means in the event that other conditions are available, such as the political will to achieve democratic transition or political reform, as well as other conditions related to society and regional and international beer.

Open questions: As much as the study revealed some facts and indicators, it also led to questions that still need answers. Demands have goals in their declared programs, so that these demands remained permanent elements in the royal speeches addressed to governments?

Among them are questions related to the role of social media in the transformation process: Is it reasonable for these means to contribute to the transformation process at a time when the mass media carry other contradictory discourses? Is it enough for us to have a youth movement of limited strength and number to wait for the political and economic transformation? Or does transformation require greater force, perhaps through parties and the legislative institution, in addition to the media, in addition to social media? Finally, it can be recommended to researchers who are interested in the importance of conducting similar studies based on larger samples of young people, a study that is not limited to university youth. It has a more influential role, given that its members are more involved in public life.

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