

THE PUBLIC SPHERE IN AMMAN: FROM CAFES TO NETWORKS: FROM 1920 TILL 2020

Abeer A.Al-Salahat

Lecturer at Faculty of Art and Sciences, Applied Sciences Private University, Amman, Jordan

ABSTRACT

This study aimed to explore the meaning of public sphere and the development of its forms in Amman. It aimed to explore the way it developed and its role in democratic political engagement since the beginning of 1920s till the year 2020. It aimed to explore that since the establishment of the Emirate of Transjordan. It focus on three types of public sphere in Amman (i.e. old cafes, newspapers and networks).

The researcher adopted a descriptive approach. She tracked the history of the development of the forms of the public sphere in Amman. It was found that the term (public sphere) emerged in Amman in various forms. Such forms include: old cafes, newspapers and networks. It was found that the term (public sphere) in Amman developed due to the social developments and economic, political and technological changes. The forms of the public sphere are connected with each other.

Keywords:

Public sphere, Jordan, Amman, social network, cafes, newspapers

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Introduction

Public sphere is one of the most debatable and popular terms. Although much literature is written about it, many scholars are still engaging in debates over the meaning and use of this term.

At the beginning, this term emerged in Europe. Later one, the use of this term spread in various societies due to the development of societies. The forms of public sphere include: cafes, media (e.g. TV channels and newspapers) and social network.

Habermas is the first one who used this term. He linked this term with the emergence of bourgeoisie. He considers the emergence of public sphere as a response for having aristocratic system in Modern Europe. The use of public sphere emerged due to the emergence of democratic practices. Such practices requires having a public sphere for interacting with family members, people in the markets and officials. Handling the challenges also requires a public sphere

Amman dates back to more than 5000 years. Many civilizations ruled in Amman. They include: the

Roman, the Greek civilizations and the Ancient Islamic state). They left many monuments. At the beginning of the establishment of the Emirate of Transjordan, Amman was a small town which area is 2 km² and included 5,000 individuals. It was considered the capital of the Emirate of Transjordan. Later on, it developed rapidly in structural areas. Such development is attributed to the Palestinian, Lebanese, Kuwaiti and Iraqi immigrants who were forced to immigrate to Amman (Gharaybeh, 2011).

At the end of 2020, Amman included 10,750,000 individuals. This number is based on the Jordanian Department of Statistics. The developments witnessed by Amman played a significant role in developing the forms of public sphere in Amman. Through the present study, the researcher aimed to shed a light on the development of the public sphere in Amman, Jordan. She aimed to shed a light on the forms, and formation of public sphere in Amman and its role in its role in democratic political engagement since the 1920s till 2020. She

concentrated on three forms of public spheres (i.e. old cafes, newspapers and networks).

Statement of the Problem

The problem of this study is represented in the following questions

Q.1. What is the meaning of public sphere?

Q.2 How did the public sphere develop in Amman

Q.3. What are the forms of public sphere in Amman?

The Study's Objectives:

The present study aimed to:

1)-Explore the meaning and development of public sphere

2)-Shed a light on the development of the forms of public sphere in Amman. This development is represented in having a shift from going to cafes to the use of networks.

The study's significance:

The forms of public sphere in Amman developed much. Such development is represented in having a shift from going to cafes to the use of networks). In this regard, one may ask the following questions: (what are the factors that fostered such development? What are the reasons behind having a change in the public sphere forms being used?

The factors that fostered such development may be tangible or intangible factors. The intangible factors include (factors related to the form and location of the public sphere). The intangible factors include factors related to social, cultural, technological and value-related aspects). Through this study, the researcher aimed to shed a light on the development of this term during the period (1920s- 2020) (i.e. since the establishment of the Emirate of Transjordan). This period consists from 100 years. This term has developed due to social, economic and environmental changes.

The study's limits

Thematic limits: This study aimed to shed a light on the development of the public sphere in Amman.

This development is represented in having a shift from going to cafes to the use of networks.

Temporal limits: This study targets the period (1920s-2020)

Spatial limits: This study targets Amman, Jordan

The study's methodology:

The researcher adopted a descriptive analytical approach. She tracked the historical development of the public sphere in Amman. She adopted the latter approach because it's suitable for conducting this study. This approach is suitable for reviewing the historical and social studies that shed a light on cafes in Jordan in general and Amman in particular. The researcher tracked the historical development of Jordanian press. She reviewed the global social changes that influenced Amman. Such changes are derived from cultural and technological development. The researcher linked such changes with the public sphere.

The Procedural definitions

Public sphere: This term refers to the social space in which individuals and groups come together to discuss political, and social issues freely.

Café: It refers to a public place that people go to in order to have drinks, communicate with others and entrain themselves. In this study, the term (cafés) refers to the cafés that are located in Amman during the period (1920 - 2020).

Jordanian press: It refers to the newspapers that were created after the establishment of the Emirate of Transjordan in 1921.

Networks: They refer to the social networks that can be accessed through having an internet connection. They include: Facebook and Twitter .

Previous Studies

Several studies aimed to shed a light on the term (public sphere) and its development. Despite that, there are few studies about this issue in the Arab World. Therefore, the researcher conducted this study. She also reviewed several studies that are shown below.

Drees (2007)

Drees (2007) aimed to shed a light on the use of public sphere in Algeria throughout various periods. He explored the reasons that are behind having a change in the public sphere forms being used. He shed a light on the meaning of public sphere in Arab cities in general and cities in the Arab Maghreb Union in particular. He found that there are major discrepancies in those cities. For instance, there are new public sphere forms in those cities. However, the use of the latter forms didn't lead to making major social, economic and political changes. The researcher found that (Tawoos Amroosh) square in Bugia and Al-Tasleya park in Sétif are used as public spheres. She found that the places in Algeria are chosen to serve as public spheres based on their location in the country and geometric shape. She found that the places used as public spheres change throughout time. She found that the places used as public spheres have been playing a significant role in fostering social changes.

-Al-Dababneh (2015)

Al-Dababneh (2015) aimed to explore the role of social networks in promoting political awareness in the Jordanian society from the perspective of the students enrolled in the University of Jordan. He adopted a descriptive survey-based approach. The population consists from all the BA students who were enrolled in the University of Jordan during the academic year (2015/2016). The researcher distributed questionnaire forms to 880 female and male students. This questionnaire consists from 45 students. The researcher found that social networks play a significant role in promoting political awareness. He found that there isn't any statistically significant difference between the respondents' attitudes towards the latter role which can be attributed to faculty or academic year. However, there is a statistically significant difference between the respondents' attitudes towards the latter role which can be attributed to gender for the favour of males. The researcher recommends activating the role of social networks in promoting knowledge

about political events and delivering political news.

-Ancuta-Gabriela Tarta 2010

Tarta (2010) shed a light on several distinguished views related to the public sphere in Europe and the impacts of this sphere. He shed a light on the cultural public sphere in Europe and its relationship with the political public sphere. He shed a light on several relevant issues. He shed a light on the manifestations of the cultural public spheres in the European Union (EU). The latter spheres are represented in the use of online methods (e.g. Facebook). He found that Facebook plays a significant role in shaping the public opinion.

-Al-Dibaisi and Al-Tahat (2013)

Al-Dibaisi and Al-Tahat (2013) investigated the degree to which students at Jordanian universities use social network. They investigated the factors that affect the public opinions of students. They investigated the severity of the competition between social network and conventional media. They adopted a descriptive approach and designed a questionnaire. They found that the degree to which the use of social networks is prevalent among students is high. They found that social network serve as significant sources of news and information. They found that social networks play a significant role in shaping the public opinion. There is a server competition between social network and conventional media. Some pieces of information on social network contributes to promoting belonging and loyalty to homeland. Other pieces of information on social network aim at connecting the promoting doubts in the information delivered on conventional national media channels (including official and non-official ones). They aim at establishing a link between the local events and the events in neighbouring countries. They aim at inciting protests and strikes. They aim at inciting bad behaviour through promoting religious misconceptions. They aim at encouraging people to refrain from engaging in the activities and celebrations organized by the government.

-Garcia et al. (2018)

Garcia et al. (2018) aimed to reconstructing the concept (public sphere) as a normative and empirical-descriptive category of research in the field of social management. They concluded that the latter concept has been reformulated and criticized through the works made by Habermas (1962; 1981; 1992). They found that the most current conceptions shed a light on the plurality of publics, opinions, interests, oppressive potentials and conflicting dimensions. The article of the latter researchers is theoretical. It presents an extensive bibliographical research. It focus on the literature that's related to "social management" and "public sphere". Several limitations and gaps were found in the way researchers perceive and understand the public spheres. They were found when reviewing the studies conducted in the field of social management. In the light of such limitations, the latter study aimed at moving forward from new elements. The latter researchers suggest that if the public sphere is considered a locus of social management research (normative and empirical-descriptive), it's significant to emphasize the following pieces of information: (1) the public sphere- is a locus of conflict and consensus; (2) the public sphere consists from democratic, oppressive and emancipatory elements; (3) the public sphere is formed by a diversity of publics (and counter-publics) with different 'capacities' of access and argumentation; (4) There was a formation of a subordinate public sphere in Brazil; (5) the characteristics of the public sphere formation can't be imported, and (6) The degree to which the public sphere is considered effective is affected by the systemic structures. The latter research indicates that reconstructing the concept (public sphere) defends the normative, descriptive, and critical potential of the public sphere, especially in case it's investigated with taking into consideration the views of Habermas, his commentators and critics.

-Rawabhi (2018)

Rawabhi (2018) add that there is a relationship between the state formation and the public sphere presence. He add that the emergence of the modern liberal state and the civil society led to the emergence of the term (public sphere), shaping public opinions and having these concepts developed. According to Habermas, public opinion and public sphere haven't been applied before the emergence of the modern state and civil society.

-Ateye and Ali (2019)

Ateye and Ali (2019) shed a light on the meaning of the term (public sphere) which is vague. They shed a light on the dimensions of this term and the terms related to it. They add that there are spheres that can't be considered as public spheres

Wessler and Freudenthaler (2018)

The latter researchers shed a light on the structural transformation that occurred to the public sphere. They shed a light on political communication, and social trends. They shed a light on the public sphere theory throughout the enlightenment age till the beginning of the 21st century. They shed a light on the contributions of American, European and Asian scholars who aimed to explore the way in which media creates public spheres. They aimed to shed a light on the way people use media for engaging in the public sphere. They explored the way in which the civil public spheres contribute to promoting solidarity between citizens and affecting political decisions.

-Adut (2012)

Adut (2012) adds that the dominant approach in the public sphere is perfect. He adds that this approach contributes to emphasizing the civil speech. He adds that this approach promotes equal participation. He sheds a light on the semiotic theory. He adds that this approach enables one to have a deep understanding for the public events. He sheds a light on the debatable relationship between public sphere and political aspects. He sheds a light on that through determining the procedures that turn vision and advertisement into resources or limitations for

the ones who are politically active. He sheds a light on the political organization of the visions. He sheds a light on the political role of public spheres in struggling. He made an analysis for the role of social structure, social standards, and political works in making changes to the public sphere.

-Sæbø and Flak (2013)

Sæbø and Flak (2013) investigated the role of social network –as public sphere- in the promotional public sector. They aimed to explore the way in which the social network ought to be used for holding discussions. They aimed to explore the challenges hindering the promotion of democracy. They aimed to explore the reasons behind having low number of electors, and the number of members in political associations. They aimed to explore the low attention provided for public issues and discussions. They add that discussions are necessary for promoting democracy, increasing the number of electors and members in political associations and meeting public interests.

- Rauchfleisch (2017)

Rauchfleisch (2017) conducted a review for the relevant recent literature that's related to public sphere. She aimed to shed a light on the development of the meaning of (public sphere) throughout time in various fields. He add that the latter meaning is not fixed and changes throughout time. First, she presented the meaning of this term which is debatable. Second, she analyzed 5386 publications. She identified the targeted population and analyzed the development of societies throughout time. She sheds a light on the elements of the definition of this term.

-Brigid (2013)

Brigid (2013) shed a light on public sphere and its various forms in Australia. He sheds a light on Habermas' perception for public sphere. He sheds a light on the role of public sphere in society and the way it's affected by social movements. He sheds a light on the way in which the public sphere is affected by information technology. He sheds a

light on the way in which the public policies affect the functions of the modern public spheres. He sheds a light on the way in which the public policies control the communication and social interaction. Such control led to having a society that is defined based on differences in terms of gender, race and class. Brigid (2013) found that Habermas' quadrant model isn't valid anymore due to the complexity of social relationships.

-Poor (2017)

Poor (2017) shed a light on the theory of the online public sphere theory and people's capability to communicate with others at any place online. He shed a light on the following questions: (Can internet lead to having new online public spheres?) (If so, how would those spheres operate?) The latter researcher adds that there are online public spheres. He adds that online public spheres enable people to communicate and express themselves.

The researcher reviewed the aforementioned studies which shed a light on public sphere and Habermas' theory. Such spheres may include: cafes, social network and Facebook. They have been developing much worldwide due to social, political, economic and technological changes.

Theoretical framework:

The meaning of public sphere

European countries in general and England, France and Germany in particular witnesses several political and social changes during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. Such changes include: capitalism. Habermas developed the public sphere theory. This theory is based on political perceptions and the role of civil society worldwide.

The term (public sphere) was used for the first time by a German scholar named (Habermas) during 1960s. It was used in his book (The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere). Habermas perceives public sphere as a mediator between state and civil society.

Habermas defines public sphere as a space that constitutes a part of one's social life which affects

public opinion. He defines public sphere as a social space that is formed when people come together to meet the needs of society and engage in discussions about public rules regulating social and political works and activities. In the public sphere, people use their logic and thinking abilities to hold discussions about such rules. The public sphere is a social space that is independent from the government and economic authorities. It is used for holding logic-based discussions. It can be easily accessed by all people. Based on Habermas' public sphere, there are two types of rights which must be distinguished by one. These rights are: 1)-one's right to express his/her own opinion. 2)- one's right to make his/her opinion influential. In order for one to enjoy those rights, several conditions must be met. Those conditions include: 1)- having a public sphere that can be accessed by all people. 2)-eliminating privileges from the public sphere 3)- Ensuring that the public sphere grants people the right to engage in discussions and express their opinions freely. That shall enable people to set standards for regulating the way of carrying out political activities (Habermas, 1989).

Frazer defines public sphere as a social space in which people in modern communicates interact. Through this space, citizens strive to meet common interests, interact with each other and hold discussions. This space isn't limited to the sophisticated people (Frazer, 1990).

Habermas sheds a light on the difference between public sphere and private sphere. He adds that the public sphere is the space in which the public interact with each other. He adds that private sphere is the space in which the family members, people and civil society interact with each other. He adds that private sphere is the space used for social work and communication. He adds that the public sphere is the space that separates the government from society. He adds that the public sphere is derived from the private sphere.

According to Habermas, the public sphere is

connected to communicative democracy. It is considered valid in case it's based on logic and free from oppression. It's considered valid in case it's not subjected to obligations. In other words, communication is the main principle in the main goal in the public sphere. All problems and disputes can be resolved through open discussion (Habermas, 1989).

According to Habermas, public sphere is similar to political life during the ruling of Ancient Greek. To illustrate more, political life was distinguished from the financial field. To engage in political activities, people used to gather in public squares as people who are equal in terms of rights, and responsibilities in order to discuss affairs related to their cities.

According to Habermas, public sphere is the space that separates the government from society. It's derived from the private sphere. The public sphere must be distinguished from the private sphere. The public sphere refers to the space in which the public interact. The private sphere refers the space in which the family members, and civil society institutions interact. It allows people to do social works and communicate socially. The public sphere is related to the government and ruling family. The political public sphere developed through public opinion. That made the state informed about the needs of the society (Habermas, 1989).

Habermas developed four hypotheses related the formation of public sphere. Those hypotheses are listed below

Hypothesis 1: People must be provided with space to hold discussions about important issues and exchange information. That should be done with achieving quality and avoiding discrimination in terms of the socio-economic conditions. That's because the socio-economic conditions isn't a condition for engaging in discussions

Hypothesis 2: Having many audiences in multidisciplinary public spheres is not related to the democratic public sphere. There must be one

compressive public sphere that allows people in society to communicate.

Hypothesis 3: The discussion held at a public sphere must be limited only to public issues that are related to the public interests

Hypothesis 4: The democratic scope of the public sphere requires having a full separation between the government and the civil society (Hypothesis, 1992).

Rémy, and Voyé (1981) add that the public sphere has a gradual nature. For instance, the strong public sphere is a strong space that is accessible at any time. Thus, it doesn't close nor open at a specific time. It includes streets and public squares. It can be accessed by all people of various social classes without having discrimination in this regard. One can freely move in the strong public sphere and interact with others freely. One can act in the strong public sphere freely without having control over him/her. That applies provided that one doesn't violate the laws. In the strong public sphere, one can discuss the issues that he/she is concerned about freely. This sphere can turn into a base for holding discussions freely based on logic. Rémy, and Voyé (1981) provide new ideas related to the public sphere in contemporary societies. The latter ideas are based on tangible elements based on Habermas' ideas (Rémy, and Voyé, 1981)

Habermas (1989) adds that the public sphere has a spatial dimension. He adds that the public sphere is a theoretical idea that's based on a set of socio-economic factors.

Many scholars shed a light on the public sphere and offer ideas in this regard. However, the present study sheds much light on the public sphere based on Habermas' ideas. Many scholars criticized Habermas' ideas in this regard. That's because the public sphere is limited to the bourgeoisie and civil society based on Habermas' ideas.

Many scholars –e.g. Armando Salvatore- criticized the idea suggesting that the public sphere in Europe developed. That's because those scholars believe

that the public sphere has been existing since ancient ages, and during the ruling of Christian and Islamic civilizations (Abed Al-Mohsen, 2015).

An intellectualist named (Alan Maki) add that the public sphere is undividable in religious or cultural areas (Maki, 2005).

Arab intellectualists –e.g. Ibrahim Ghanem- criticized Habermas' ideas in term of the public sphere. For instance, Ibrahim Ghanem adds that Habermas addressed the public sphere in the Western countries only. He adds that the public sphere exists in the Arab countries, but researchers didn't address public sphere exists in the Arab countries. He adds that elements of the public sphere has a western modern nature. Despite that, he adds that public sphere in Arab countries can be examined (Ghanem, 2009).

The researcher shed a light on several forms of public sphere in Amman (i.e. old cafes, newspapers and networks)

Cafes in Ancient Amman:

This part sheds a light on the cafes in ancient Amman and its role as public spheres during the period (1920 – 2020). It sheds a light on the significant role of those cafes –as public spheres- in the political movements in Jordan.

Cafés have been spreading since the beginning of the 19th century in the Arab countries neighboring Jordan. There are known cafes that are visited much by sophisticated people, such as: (Al-Fishawi café) and (Reesh Café) in Cairo, Al-Nofarah Café in Damascus, and Al-Hors Sho Cafe, and Al-Dolshfeeta Café in Beirut.

Since the beginning of 1920s, people have been establishing cafes in Amman, especially in the central areas of Amman. Cafes were considered much significant for Jordanian sophisticated people. That's because cafes were used for organizing political and social events and transformations that affected the development of Jordan since 1921 (Sulaiman, 2016).

Al-Mansheye Al-Tahta Café is an ancient café that was created in Cinema Al-Batra Street behind Al-Hussaini Mosque. It closed in the early 1960s. Most officials, businessmen and sophisticated people used to go to this café. They used to engage in discussions about political news and issues and social issues with having hookah.

At the late 1920s, a well-known café called (Hamdan) was established in King Faisal Street. In the latter café, the first Jordanian national conference was created. Many politicians and representatives of national events attended the latter conference to hold discussions. They used to hold urgent conferences daily at the latter conference for holding discussions about local, regional and global issues. During the latter period, a well-known poet named (Mustafa Wahbi Al-Tal) used to go to Hamdan Café. The name of the latter café turned into (Al-Jam'a Al-Arabeyah). The latter poet is called (Arar) (Sulaiman, 2017).

During the early 1920s, well-known cafes were established. For instance, (Balat Al-Rasheed Café) was established in 1924. Some well-known cafes were demolished during the 1930s and 1940s. Due to the development of Amman, some well-known cafes were established (E.g. Al-Ordon Café and Al-Central Café). A part of the latter café was demolished. However, the latter café is still a place for holding meetings by Jordanian and Arab sophisticated people. Other well-known cafés that were established in Amman include: Kawkab Al-Sharq Cafe and Al-Obraj Café. During the early 1990s, Amoon Café was established. In the latter café, Jordanian novelists and sophisticated people – e.g. Mu'nes Al-Razaz- used to gather with each other (Suliaman, 2016).

During 1930s, Mahroom Café was established in Amman. In the latter café, people used to play (Al-Rababah). There was a story narrator in the latter café for narrating stories. Other cafes were established in Amman, such as: Matilda, Wadi Al-Neel, Al-Arizota, Al-Barazeel, and Al-Karnak

Cafes. All those cafes were demolished or closed during the mid-1940s.

Through an interview held by a journalist named Salam Al-Shama', a Jordanian author named Waleed Al-Salman suggested that the café in Amman in which the most significant events were held is Hamdan Café. The first Jordanian national conference for national movements was held in 1928 in the latter café. The latter conference aimed at getting rid of the British colonialism and improving the citizens' living conditions (Al-Shama', 2017).

Through an interview held by a journalist named by Salam Al-Shama', a Palestinian author named (Salim Al-Najar) talked about the political role of the cafes in Amman. He said that the cafes in Amman served as places in which Jordanian authors to express their political views. The most significant cafes that played a significant political role in Amman include (Al-Soodaneyeen Café). The members of the Arab Nationalist Movement used to hold meetings in the latter café. Later on, the members in the Communist Party used to hold meetings in the latter café. The most significant cafes that played a significant political role in Amman include: Al-Central Café. Members of Palestinian parties used to hold meetings in the latter café, such as: Fateh, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palest, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Left Wing Party. The members of the Democratic Party –Yaser Abed Rabu- used to meet in the latter café. Yaser Abed Rabu became one of the leaders in the Palestine Liberation Organization (Al-Sham', 2017).

Most of the ones who used to go to those cafes are politicians or members in parties. Few ones of the public used to go to those cafes. Thus, can those cafes be considered as accessible public spaces for discussion and criticism?

The cafes in Amman have been developing much. All people today go to cafes in Amman. Thus, the latter cafes are not limited to a specific class. There

are 691 cafes in Amman today. There are 1274 cafes in Jordan. Those numbers are based on statistics issued in 2010 by the Public Statistics Department.

The most significant characteristics of the public sphere including being free and public based on Habermas' ideas. Do cafés in Ancient Amman enjoy those characteristics? According to Rémy, and Voyé (1981), the strong public sphere is accessible at any time by all categories of people without bias. So, do cafés in Ancient Amman meet those conditions? Otherwise, those cafes are considered as public sphere weak public spheres.

Jordanian Newspapers:

Jordanian press is considered new in comparison to the press in Egypt and Syria. The same applies to cafes. That is because Jordan was established during the modern age. Jordan wasn't existent before 1920. Since the latter year, several Jordanian newspapers were established (Khamash, 2020).

The Jordanian press developed much throughout time due to political and economic reasons. The first Jordanian Newspaper is Al-Haq Ya'loo Newspaper in Ma'an. It was issued for the first time during the autumn of 1920. The slogan of the latter newspaper is (Arab revolutionary journal) (Abu Arjah, 1996).

After the creation of the latter newspaper, another newspaper was created. The latter newspaper is named (Al-Sharq Al-Arabic). It was created on 28/5/1923. In 1926, the name of the latter newspaper was changed into (the Official Newspaper of Emirate of Transjordan). The latter newspaper was responsible for publishing data, laws, regulations, and articles in the field of literature, science and politics. The editor of the latter newspaper is a poet named (Mohammad Al-Shareeqi). This poet served as the president of the (Department of Publications and Publishing). In 1947, after the independence of Jordan, the name of the latter newspaper became (the Official Newspaper of the Kingdom of Jordan) (Abu

Soofah, 1996).

Several newspapers were established in Jordan. For instance, four newspaper were established in 1927. They are: Jazeeret Al-Arab, Al-Sharee'a, Sada Al-Arab and Al-Ordon Newspapers). Thus, during the latter year, the private press sector flourished (Mousa, 1989).

Specialised journals emerged during an early period following the establishment of Jordan. Most of the Jordanian journals were concerned in literary and cultural issues. During that period, Al-Hamamah Journal was established. The latter journal is a journal specialized in literature. It was issued by Mohammad Abu Ghanimah in 1924 in Germany. Jazeeret Al-Arab Journal was established in 1927. It's a weekly journal that's specialized in cultural issues. Al-Hikma Journal was established in 1932 which is a journal specialized in Islamic, scientific, literary and social issues. Sawt Al-Jeel Journal was issued in 1949 by Irbid Secondary School for Boys. It's specialized in social and cultural issues. A monthly journal named Al-Wa'y Al-Jadeed Journal was established in Amman in 1950. It's specialized in Islamic, literary and scientific issues. A monthly journal named Al-Qalam Al-Jadeed Journal was established in 1952 It's specialized in lite.

y and intellectual issues. It aimed to make a revolution in Jordanian literature. Al-Rabeta Al-Fekreye Journal was established by an association concerned in cultural issues. The members of the latter association included Jordanian intellectualists and authors (Al-Mousa, 1997).

Khamash (2020) believes that all those journals don't enjoy stability and weren't issued in a regular manner. He adds that those journals have limited financial abilities. Most of those journals are weekly rather than daily (Khamash, 2020).

Press used to serve as a mean for striving to get rid of colonialism. It used to encourage people to strive for getting rid of British colonialism and claiming for independence. It used to do that through

publishing political articles and poems that can be easily memorized (Jum'ah, 2001).

Before becoming independent in 1946, the British colonist ordered to close several British journals and newspapers that opposed the British colonialism in Jordan. During the latter period, there were many political parties due to the increasing number of educated and sophisticated people.

Most of those parties used press as a mean for encouraging people to strive for getting rid of colonialism and promoting negative attitudes against the government collaborating with the colonist. Thus, many parties issues newspapers. For instance, the Communist party issued the following newspapers: Al-Watan, Al-Jabha, and Al-Ahd Al-Jadeed Newspaper. Ba'ath Party issues Al-Yaqatha Newspaper. The National Party issued Al-Rai Newspaper. Muslim Brotherhood issued a journal called (Al-Kifah Al-Islami). The National Socialist Party issued a journal called Al-Mithaq Newspaper (Abu Ghanima, 1986).

During the period following the war of 1967 in Palestine, Al-Dostoor Newspaper was considered the most significant Jordanian daily newspaper. During the latter period, the Jordanian government issues Al-Rai Newspaper Al-Rai Newspaper was issued in 1971 to support the views of the Jordanian government. It was the newspaper that was distributed the most. Later on, it incurred much loss. Thus, it was sold by the Jordanian government in 1974 for the Jordanian National Union. After that, much profit was gained by Al-Rai Newspaper (Sakejha, 1999: 44).

Zaid Al-Refa'y provided newspapers with much freedom. Thus, he decided to sell Al-Rai Newspaper in 1974. In 1975, he eliminated the control enforced on newspapers. He granted permits for the private sector to issue newspapers. Thus, in 1975, Al-Akhbar Newspaper was issued. In 1976, Al-Sha'b Newspaper was issued. There was much competition between Al-Sha'b, Al-Rai and Al-

Dostoor Newspapers. Within a very short period of time, Al-Sha'b Newspaper was capable to acquire the trust of the public, and achieve much success. Later on, it faced several obstacles. In 1977, the permit granted to the latter newspaper was terminated by the Prime Minister Muder Badran. The latter prime minister provided newspapers with resected freedom. For instance, he stopped Al-Rani Newspaper for a period of time. Zaid Al-Refa'y- during his second term- decided in 1988 to change the administrations of newspapers. He decided to purchase newspapers by the government. The Economic Security Committee decided to dissolve (Al-Rai, Al-Sha'b and Al-Dostoor Newspapers). It decided to assign a temporary committee for running those newspapers for two years (Sakejha, 1999).

After the military defeat in 1967, issuing the Publications and Publishing Law made a transformation to the Jordanian press. During this period, the daily and weekly newspapers and monthly journals provided much attention to political issues. Thus, a decline was witnesses in the number of the journals and newspapers that provided much attention to literary and cultural issues. The latter journals include: Al-Foonon Al-Sha'beye Journal, Al-Mada Al-Thaqafi Journal, Ab'aad Journal and Jalet Al-Kateb Journal (Abu Soufah, 1996).

On 13/12/1989, the press sector flourished due to the decisions made by the Prime Minsiter Zaid bin Shaker. The latter decisions provided the Jordanian press contributed to the promotion of democracy (Sakejha, 1999).

After 1989, Jordan went through several political events. Such events led to having many great Jordanian literary and cultural works. Such works include: plays, poems and pose. Many of those works addressed political issues and events (Khamash, 2020).

Newspapers weren't capable of achieving much success. Most of them stopped publishing issues.

That's attributed to several reasons. Such reasons include: most of the popular newspapers in the Jordanian market are daily newspapers. In addition, the cultural newspapers are monthly newspapers that target a specific category of people. Some newspapers were issued by scientific and cultural institutions with poor funding abilities. Thus, they had to stop publishing issues (Khamash, 2020).

It's suggested that the paper-based newspapers aren't popular anymore. That's attributed to the emergence of the radio, TV, and internet. However, the ones responsible for paper-based newspapers are still adjusting themselves with the surrounding reality. They seek developing themselves and keeping up with the latest updates. The paper-based newspapers complement the role of the electronic newspapers (Njadat, 2009)

According to Hebermas (1989), media play a significant role. For instance, it contributes to creating suitable social and political conditions. Other scholars believe that western media play a negative role in confusing the public and overlooking some issues at the expense of the public interests. According to Hebermas (1989), media may play a significant role in enabling the government to take effective decisions and supporting the public in social and political arguments (Hebermas, 1989).

Hebermas criticized the use of media as a public sphere. He believes that media must be neutral and objective ((Kasun Ubayasiri, 2006). He believes that because media doesn't offer people opportunities to interact and engage in dialogue. Can one say that newspapers in Amman serve as public spheres? Do newspapers in Amman serve as public sphere? That's because newspapers in Amman represent the public opinion and inform the public about the opinions of the officials. Do that newspapers in Amman provide people with space to have discussions for promoting democracy?

Networks in Amman today

Internet emerged and means of communication have

been developing much. Thus, people today are capable of accessing online global forums that serve as public spheres. In online global forums, thousands of conversations are held each day. In online global forums, people can express views freely without having control or limitations. Internet facilitates the process of communication and holding discussions. It facilitates the process of exchanging opinions and ideas in a democratic manner. Social networks today serve as virtual public spheres. For instance, Hebermas adds that public sphere is a social space that allows people to interact with each other (Kasun Ubayasiri, 2006)

Social network is a new means. It serves as a mean for delivering news and has a great influence on people. It is highly popular in the Arab countries. It contributed to promoting the culture of social accounting and encouraging people to engage in activities. The accessibility of social networks made it popular among people. It enabled to attract many users (Castles, 2017).

Rheingold is considered one of the first few people who provided much attention to examining virtual communities. He perceive virtual communities as social communities created through internet and consists from people located in various places. Those people communicate with each other and exchange knowledge and information about hobbies. They have common interests and interact with each other online in a manner similar to interaction in real life (Rheingold, 2003)

Virtual communities refer to social communities that exist on the web and provide people with space to have discussions for a specific period of time. They allow people to create personal relationships online (Ahmad, 2002). Similar to face-to-face assemblies in streets, and squares, there are virtual assemblies. Virtual assemblies exist on social networks.

Castells sheds a light on the way in which the ones in authority seek making social changes through influencing the minds of the public. He sheds a light

on the way those people do that through running the communication processes. He adds that communication, political authority and social movements are connected with each other. He distinguished between social network and internet. He adds that the way one thinks and feels determines the way he/she behaves and interact with others (Castells, 2014).

Castells believes that social networks have been developing much. He adds that such development serves as a threat to the national sovereignty. He adds that social networks contribute to eliminating ethical, religious and language-related standards (Castells, 2014).

Rapid ICT-related developments have been playing a significant role in developing the public sphere. For instance, they provided people with great potential. They have been spreading fast. They offer people a space for holding discussions. They enable the ones who oppose the ones in authority to express their views and engage in discussions. Such discussions are held virtually.

Individuals, groups, companies and institutions (including the civil society institutions) engage in virtual activities. They engage in virtual discussions for addressing personal or social issues for meeting interests (Helmi Al-Sari, 2016).

The social movements in Amman are organized today through social network. For instance, people were asked to join the 4th circle protests in Amman in 2018 through social networks (e.g. Facebook and Twitter).

Castells wrote a book titled (Networks of Outrage and Hope). Through the latter book, he suggests that the development of social movement is affected by the response of the government to events. In other words, if the government didn't respond to people's claims, the social movement shall develop. Therefore, King Abdullah II approved the resignation of the Prime Minister (Castells, 2017).

During the end of November, 2018 in Amman, there were protests for claiming for political and

economic reforms. While launching those protests, the Jordanian government decided to deactivate the use of Facebook and the delivery of its messages temporarily in all over Jordan. The live streaming on Facebook was deactivated too. This measure was carried out while the protesters were protesting near the circle. Protestors kept protesting till January, 2019 (Al-Masri, 2019).

A parliament member named (Dima Tahboob) claimed for illustrating the reasons behind deactivating the use of Facebook. In response to her claim, the Minister Muthana Gharaybeh suggests that the problem in is related to the company owning the website not the local internet service provider (Al-Masri, 2019).

The social networks serve as public spaces that are accessible at any time. However, the use of social networks may be interpolated or deactivated. That occurred in Amman and several other Arab cities too.

Conclusion

The meaning of the term (public sphere) is dynamic and changing. The meaning of the latter term changed in Jordan due to the development of the Jordanian society and the ICT-related development worldwide. First, politicians and members of political parties in Jordan used to go to cafes to hold discussions and assemblies. Then, Jordanian newspapers emerged. Thus, people started to express their views through newspapers.

Later on, social networks emerged. They serve as public spheres that allow people to communicate with each other regardless of the spatial limitations separating them. They were used to enforce cultural control and colonialism.

Based on many studies on orientalism, Arab cities are in need for having public spheres that are similar to the ones found in Western cities.

A French researcher named (Francoise Buchnina) suggests that the public spheres in western cities overlook some issues. She adds that searching about

public spheres in Arab cities is considered illegitimate. She adds that searching for public spheres in Arab cities is considered illegitimate due to the failure of the methodological instruments in the field of human sciences.

One may ask: Is it true that Arab cities don't have public spheres and western cities have? Regarding the cafes and newspapers that were existent in Amman during 1920s, can they be considered as public spheres?

According to Hebermas, it is necessary to have public spheres for engaging in discussions about issues. Hebermas believes that such spheres must be accessible by all people regardless of their social status.

Are Hebermas' public sphere conditions met by the cafes in Ancient Amman? However, it should be noted that cafes in Ancient Amman attracted politicians and members of political parties.

When shedding a light on the impact of media (e.g. newspapers) on societies in general and the Jordanian society in particular, it should be noted that newspapers play a significant role in delivering news. Newspaper also inform the public about the views of officials.

Social networks can be accessed by all people in any location. They played a significant role in organizing social movements in several Arab countries, such as: Tunisia, Egypt and Syria, in Jordan. They played a significant role in organizing the 4th circle protests in Amman. In this regard, one may ask (Is the 4th circle or the social networks serve as public spheres?) The severity of the impact of the social networks is much less than the severity of the impact of having protestors protesting in the street in 2018 in Amman. The public sphere in this case is represented in the 4th circle and the social networks.

Hebermas shed a light on the freedom offered by public spheres. Many western and Arab governments enforced several restrictions over cafes and newspapers. Many western and Arab

governments closed cafes and enforced control over media. Many western and Arab governments enforced several controls for regulating the use of social networks. For instance, the Jordanian government issued a cybercrime law that aim at fighting the misuse of social networks. It issued cyber security law that was recognized by the House of Representatives on 30 / 7 / 2019.

Based on statistics, by the end of 2018, there were 7.9 million internet subscriptions in Jordan, including broadband subscriptions.

Based on an official report published on the website of the Telecommunications Regulatory Commission (TRC), 74% of people in Jordan use internet. By the end of 2020, 10.750 people were residing in Jordan. The use of internet during the Coronavirus crisis became significant. That's because internet allows people to communicate virtually during the lockdown period in Jordan.

Due to having restrictions over the use of public spheres in Amman, can those spheres be considered less powerful than others? Can Hebermas' conditions be considered impossible to meet by the public sphere in any place? That's because in every society there are people who are marginalized due to their social status.

Is the public sphere represented in one type of space in each age? Can one overlook the role of (Dawaween) in Jordan as a public sphere? That's because cafes used to serve as the only public spheres in Jordan during the period following the establishment of the Emirate of Transjordan. Can one consider social networks today as the only public spheres in Amman with overlooking the role of squares, and streets?

There are numerous questions about public spheres and their developments. There is a debate over the meaning of (public spheres). However, all people agree that the meaning of this term is dynamic and changing due to the changes that occur to societies. In case social networks are considered as a trap

according to Bauman, would another public sphere emerge for promoting democracy?

Conclusion

The researcher concluded the following results:

- 1)- The term (public sphere) emerged in Amman in various forms (e.g. cafes, and newspapers)
- 2)-The term (public sphere) developed due to the social developments and changes witnessed by Amman. Such changes include: economic, political and technological changes.
- 3)- Due to technological developments and information revolution, a new form of public sphere emerged (i.e. social networks)
- 4)- There are various forms of public spheres in Amman. However, all of them complement each other. They offer people a space for holding discussions and engaging in dialogue.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

The researcher recommends:

- 1)-Conducting more studies about the public spheres in Amman. That's because the number of its forms has been increasing.
- 2)- Connecting the public sphere in Amman with the private sphere (e.g. the sphere in which family members interact with each other)
- 3)- Promoting awareness about the meaning of public sphere. People should realize that the public sphere is a social space for holding discussions and dialogue
- 4)- Connecting the forms of public spheres with each other (i.e. cafes, newspapers, and social networks). That is because those forms complement each other.
- 5)- Reducing the number of restrictions enforced over the public spheres in Jordan (e.g. cafes, newspapers and social networks). Doing that shall contribute to promoting democracy in Jordan.

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