

CULTURAL QUALITIES OF SALAFI WOMEN IN POST-ARAB SPRING IN JORDAN: A PILOT STUDY

Dr. Shatha Sakher

Al- Balqa' Applied University

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Abstract

This study aims to identify the cultural qualities of Salafi women in Jordan, it also aims to identify the difficulties facing Salafi women. The study further aims to identify the prospects of the Salafi trend, by relying on the exploratory approach through the method of triangulation. The study tools are the content analysis of public publications for several Personal pages (Facebook) of Salafi women, and administering the interview for a discussion group consisting of (5) Salafi women, during the interview, the researcher used the observation method also to gain thorough data. The Finding of the study indicated to many results, the most important of which are: The process of Salafi education for women does not take place in one direction but through horizontal acculturation within the same level, which is the girlfriends, and vertical culture at several levels through internet sites and digital and traditional religious lessons. One of the most important cultural characteristics of the Salafi woman is her ability to adapt to the current data in terms of using technology and contemporary reality, openness to others, self-confidence and confidence in her abilities, as well as the multiplicity of tendencies and interests. The respondents have completed university education or are still pursuing university studies with different scientific disciplines and humanity. The results also showed that one of the most important difficulties that Salafi woman faces the insult and bad words being addressed to her, ignoring her right path, further associating her as (Alkawareg-) or related to Muslim brotherhood group. The results showed the possibility of prospects for the growth of the political work of Salafi women within the traditional Salafi trend if conditions and political stability and the prospect and maturity of the work of the team to which they belong to. This may indicate such changes like their thoughts as a result of new interactions and experience.

1. Introduction

Salafism is a component of the Arab Islamic community, as it is an integral part of the intellectual, cultural, political and social legacy in the Arab world. Although circumstances that the Arab and Islamic nation experienced Especially in the era of the Arab popular protests that grew and developed with the beginning of the year 2011 in what is known as the Arab Spring have formed a kind of instability. Salafi Movement, despite its diversity, became one of the most prominent Islamic actors in the Arab scene, politically, socially and culturally. It is vitally difficult to recognize the social mind of the Salafi movement without addressing the cultural qualities of Salafi movement through understanding and analyzing its leaders and affiliates, especially the young people, where Salafism provides them with such an identity and a driving force which might constitute a kind of satisfaction for their desires, feelings and beliefs. The attraction to Salafism might be motivated by a love of experiencing new thoughts, amazingly this assumption sometimes derived from the Salafis themselves, and sometimes might be based on drawn conclusions about Inner worlds of Salafi, and their Behavior patterns being observed, (Svensson, 2012). This indicates that there is a state of diversity within the Salafi group, it also sheds light on different sub-groups within this group in which these subgroups' role, effectiveness, cultural characteristics and qualities are unknown, especially the role of Salafi women within this group. Salafi woman constitutes an important part of the nature of the Salafi group.

1.1. Statement of the problem and the question of the study

Cultural features determine the style of people and their behaviour in society and help to predict the behaviour of an individual belonging to a particular culture. So his/her culture determines the way they deal with daily events and the problems they face. Salafism throughout the world, especially in Jordan, has witnessed many and comprehensive transformations, especially after the so-called Arab Spring; it is very necessary to identify the most important cultural features of Salafism and the transformations that took place after the Arab Spring, especially for Salafi women, whose role has been influential in society through some fields and from The most important ones is the advocacy field. Therefore, the study's main question which main to find a suitable answer is as the following
What are the cultural qualities of Salafi women in Post-Arab Spring in Jordan?

This main question is divided into the following sub-questions:

- 1- What are the challenges facing Salafi women in post-Arab Spring in Jordan?
- 2- What are the future perceptions of the Salafist movement in Jordan after the Arab Spring?

1.2. Objectives of the study

This study aimed at the following:

- 1- Identify the cultural qualities of Salafi women in Post-Arab Spring in Jordan.
- 2- recognize the challenges facing Salafi women in post-Arab Spring in Jordan.
- 3- Identify the future perceptions of the Salafi trend in Jordan after the Arab Spring.

1.3. Significant of the Study

The importance of the study can be considered from the importance of the topic itself, as the research on Salafism keeps pace with developments in sociological religious phenomena in the Arab society, especially as it scrutinizes a gender domain, where Muslim women are an important and fertile topic for global studies in general and Arab and religious studies in particular. It is expected that this study will enrich through its results the Arab Library in general and the Jordanian Library in particular, by adding a scholarly addition on the topics

of the study. This study is important, as it opens new horizons and entrances about the topics of study.

1.4. Definitions of basic terms

The study deals with the following terms:

Salafism is a religious intellectual movement that calls for the performing and conducting of religious practices as mentioned in the Salaf (Islamic predecessors). It appeared in Jordan at the beginning of the eighties, the founder of this movement was Muhammad Nasser Al-Albani, and then expanded this study is concerned with the traditional Salafi trend.

The traditional Salafi movement: the Salafi trend that calls for implementation approach and doctrine of the predecessors in everyday practices, and not involving in any political action, it is called in some scientific studies as conservative or Albaniani .

It is also defined as A movement that is addressed of being conservative and scientific in the north of Africa, represented in the religious, advocacy, and ideological aspect, avoiding involving into politics, establishing a party, or practising political opposition activities. And from the definitions of scientific Salafias a peaceful movement and its activities are confined on preaching and its advocates focus on the jurisprudential and ideological side (Ibn Omar, 2013).

Salafi woman is one of the members of society affected by the Salafi movement development in Jordan. Salafi woman is distinguished by a Salafi appearance for wearing the Islamic dress and black Niqab (veil).

The cultural quality: the simple unit or social pattern that cannot be divided or reduced to smaller parts, and the cultural quality is the way that scholars refer to compare communities and cultures to each other or to balance them one with the other (Badawi, 1977). This study examines the cultural characteristics of Salafi women in terms of education and access to various information in different fields, and practical experience, use Social media, and social status.

2. Literature review

In this part, the researcher deals with two sections: theoretical literature and previous studies related to the current study.

2.1. Salafism.

In the Arabic language (al-salaf) Ancestors linguistically is the plural of (Salef) - (Salaf) ancestors which have rhythm (Hares)-(Haras) guard and (khadem)-(khadam) servants. Ancestor means the people who have made some thoughts to be followed, and ancestors are a group of people that are preceded, Al-Zubaidi (2018) mentions that the predecessors are the advanced scholars from the first source of the Companions, the Successors and their followers. Wiktorowicz (2000) defined it as establishing religious behavior and practices that demonstrate the purity of Islam, as understood by the predecessors (the early companions of the Prophet). Salafis believe that it is because the ancestors knew Islam directly from the Prophet or from his companions who had more understanding and cognition of Islamic religion. Therefore all decisions related to the life of must be based on evidence from the Qur'an and Sunnah, as recorded in real sayings (who had allies) from the predecessors (Wiktorowicz, 2000).

Shehadeh (2018) indicated that scholars disagreed about the determining the exact time period of the predecessors, so Al-Ghazali identifies them with the companions and followers of prophet, and Abu Zahra indicated that they appeared in the fourth century AH, As well as a group of Hanbalis (followers of Ahmed Ibn Hanbal) claimed that a number of

their opinions ended with Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal, who revived the doctrine of the predecessors, and then their re-emergence in the seventh century by Sheikh of Islam Ibn Taymiyyah, and after that they appeared in the twelfth century by Sheikh Muhammad Abd al-Wahhab in the Arabian Peninsula, and some confined the predecessors to be the Companions, the Taabi'een(next generation of Companions), and the followers of the Taabi'een, Prophet hadith stating that "The best people are the people of my century, then those who follow them, then those who follow them, then there will come people who have an oath before the testimony of one of them).

2.2.Salafism in Jordan

Several studies mention that the Jordanian society is distinguished of being initially Belonged to the Sufi Hanafi or Shafi'i culture. in The early seventies, Salafi movement began to spread in Jordan a due to that several a number of individuals had been in contact with Salafi thought while they were studying outside Jordan, especially in Syria. At the beginning of the 1980s, there was a major turning point when Sheikh Muhammad Nasser Al-Albani settled in Jordan, the Salafist ideology began to spread and Sufism dissipated via the increase of his followers and students, and Salafi had strong presence in the Ministry of Endowments, and other Islamic movements, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, in which some leaders of Brotherhood emerged with clear Salafi leanings. During 1991 Gulf War with its global developments, a number of trends emerged within the Salafi movement in Jordan, as the case in many countries, like Egypt, Lebanon and Syria, the rise in Salafi activity coincided in this period with the end of the Afghan Mujahideen war against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and their return to the country which helped to the emergence of Salafi group named "the Afghans". which can be called The "second wave" is in Salafi movement in Jordan as that most of the young Salafis who joined at that time are now leaders and scholars in the movement. And at this point, the lessons of Salafism increased, as well as Religious preaching that related to Salafi thought, and sermons in Salafi mosques. some of these new groups succeeded to form an organization named the Quran and Sunnah Cultural Association- Non-governmental organization (NGO). this organization dedicated its work to boost Salafi thought via the Lectures, the publications the periodicals, and small scholastic groups. this group has developed the possibility of change through political participation in parliament and ministerial positions, This is what other Salafi groups consider it as a dangerous trend and gave a warning from involving in the field of political action and considers it a holocaust for the preachers and a waste of their efforts, (Ryan, 2008). Accordingly, it was popular, that several studies dealing with the Salafist topic, provided that Salafi groups in Jordan are divided into three schools. these schools are:

1. the traditional, conservative, or Albanian trend and they are those who refuse to involve in the political and partisan field and limit their activities to the scientific and advocacy aspect, and their principle is clear, which is clearance and education, i.e. revising religious sciences and educating people on them.
2. Salafi reformist trend is represented by the Organization of the Book and the Sunnah, which is a Salafi trend in its religious belief and its interpretation of religion, but it believes in organization and does not fight Islamists, and it is closer to the the political opposition movements to the government, But it does not believe in armed action.
3. radical upside trend which is the trend influenced by the ideas of Muhammad al-Maqdisi and al-Zarqawi and believes that the Arab political system is an infidel. The only way to be used is an armed confrontation (between jihadists and the regimes). This trend rejects peaceful and propaganda methods It considers the jihad

as the only alternative. This trend does not have licensed institutions operating in its name. It does not recognize the legitimacy of the regime or its institutions (Shehadeh, 2013).

2.3.Previous studies:

The researcher was unable to find direct studies that dealt with the relationship between the variables of the current study, which enhances the originality and novelty of the study. Based on what has been found from the studies that are partially related to this study, they have been classified chronologically, they are presented as follows:

Shahada (2013) conducted a study dealt with the interactions of Jordan's Salafis with the Arab Spring and the prospects of the Salafists. This study indicated that the diversity of attitudes between all Salafi groups and sometimes between the same group itself. This study reveals the impact of the Arab Spring on the emergence of Salafi political parties, coalitions and groupings, and the nature of engaging in voluntary and collective work from various Salafi groups. The result shows that there would be a new role for the Salafists in the future on several levels, but it needs more time, and this is a scenario linked to the evolution of the Salafi situation abroad, and its great effect on the Salafism in Jordan. This will help the emergence of new youth leaderships capable of providing insights, efforts and initiatives.

Abu Rumman (2014) conducted a study entitled: "I am a Salafi; a study of the real and imagined identity for Salafists", This study explored the real identity of the Salafis in Jordan by presenting the Salafi experience of the Salafis themselves, by conducting interviews from the three traditional Salafi, reformist and jihadist groups through the intended sample. The results showed that the Salafi is influenced by the role of the mosque and some sheikhs as a way to identify Salafism. The traditional Salafi depends on seeking knowledge and on Hajj and Umrah trips, and his/her identity is characterized by simplicity and decisiveness. The conditions and fatwas give a higher rank and place the mind in a second order. The study showed that the Salafi identity or the identity of the beginnings suffers from a crisis, as it is generally a reaction and a means for self-defence in the face of globalization and external challenges.

The study of Abu Rumman (2014) entitled: "Salafists and democracy in the era of the Arab democratic revolutions". The study dealt with the period of the Arab revolutions that produced a different political climate and imposed a different reality from what the Salafists had previously dealt with. The regimes began to collapse with the first wave (Tunisia, Egypt), and the second (Yemen and Libya, with the continuing crisis in (Syria), and protests and calls for reform and change in royal countries (such as Jordan, Morocco, Kuwait and Bahrain), and the researcher talks about a future scenario for the political participation of Salafists and the limits of their role and its various dimensions, which can express themselves, their interests and ideas through openness to associations and volunteer work and civil without being reduced to the political conflict, as the civil space is available to all.

3. Methodology of the study

The study is based on the exploratory approach because of its basic function in shedding light on the features of the studied phenomenon. The study population included Salafi women in the city of Al-Salt, and the sample was formed by the Snowball method, and the triangulation method was used as a tool for data collection. A content analysis was used for the public publications of six Salafi women personal pages (Facebook), and a semi-structured group interview was conducted with (5) Salafi women, and the interview was supported by observation, which is a complementary and necessary technique to verify and monitor the practices of the respondents. The researcher did that to have a clear vision about the conditions of the respondents. The study was conducted in August- 2018.

3.1. Study Procedures:

- 1- The researcher is guided by previous studies in the subject of the study: the Salafi trend, the Salafism in Jordan.
- 2- Monitoring several Facebook profiles of a number of Salafi women in the city of Salt.
- 3- analyzing the content of public posts for a number of these pages and they are six participants.
- 4- Communicating with a number of Salafi women to conduct interviews, and to determine the appropriate date and place for the interview.
- 5- Conducting a semi-structured interview through a discussion group consists of five Salafi women.
- 6- Analyzing the content of the interview for the discussion group - cross interview analysis.
- 7- Support corresponding observation technology.
- 8- Drawing Conclusions.

4. Data analysis.

The study data were analyzed to answer the study questions as follows:

First: Content Analysis

A number of personal pages of Salafi women were monitored in the city of Al-Salt after making sure that they followed the Salafi approach in terms of the connotations of the terms contained in the name or personal identification (Bio) such as (Salafism on Aljada (right path), on the approach of the female companions, and Salafism). The public content of the posts on these pages were analyzed which is represented by the following table:

Statement	1	2	3	4	5	6
Age	20	20	21	-	50	51
Qualification	English Language	Computer engineering	Software engineering	Business Administration	-	Accounting
University	Jordanian	Jordanian	Balqa Governorate	Balqa Governorate	-	Jordanian
Marital Status	-	-	-	Married	Married	Married
Profile Photo	Black veil	Black veil	Black veil	Black veil	Black veil	Black veil
Contents (Pages sharing)	Sheikh Mustafa Al-Adawi, Ahmed Deedat's lectures in Arabic, Khawatir Dr. Muhammad Ratib Al-	Dr.. Muhammad Ismail Al-Muqaddam, Professor Numan Ali Khan, Abdul Rahman bin Saleh Al-Ashmawi	Quranic verse, Simplified in the Science, of Tagweed, Scientific Thinking	Quranic stories, the simple science of Tajweed	Jewels of d. Muhammad Rateb, Nabulsi, Durrar (pearls) of Sheikh Muhammad Ratib al-Nabulsi, The lovers of Sheikh Dr. Muhammad	Abu Bakr Al-Shahhal, Mansour Al-Salmi, Ibn Uthaymeen, Ibn Taymiyyah

	Nabulsi				Ratib al-Nabulsi, Saad bin Ateeq	
Notes: After the bombing of Fuheis and the Salt Cell during the period 11-15 / 8/2018	Mourning for the martyrs' soul (photo)	May God protect Jordan	-	Picture.(No bloodshed)	Jordanian flag	-

The following content analysis showed:

Academic qualification, either for BA or for university studies, and the diversity of disciplines between scientific and humanities. The respondents were distributed to the University of Balqa and the University of Jordan; as they live near to the residential area - the city of Al-Salt, the place of study. The personal photo shows the appearance of the Salafi women in terms of a black Niqab. They are real pictures, not pictures that are online, where the wallpapers appear in natural places within the university, and with her husband, who also shows Salafi appearance.

The content of the public publications showed the participation of some pages of a number of sheikhs and scholars, and what the researcher noticed was the presence of a large number of pages for sheikhs who are not followers of the Salafi movement, such as Dr. Muhammad Ratib al-Nabulsi, which was included in the interview questions later for the focus group. After the events of Al-Fuhais and the Al-Salt terrorist cell: a national affiliation and great sympathy with security and the state appear in a situation that may be close to what is known as national Salafism, which calls for national belonging.

Second: The interview for the focus group

Through one of the Salafi women, a group of five Salafi women was identified and it was agreed to conduct an interview in a collective group (discussion group). A semi-structured interview was conducted for a discussion group consisting of five Salafi women. This interview was then written in form of texts, and after that a cross-analysis was conducted by extracting the main ideas to cover the main themes of the interview, which was adopted after reviewing the previous studies related to the study variables. The axes came as follows:

The results of the cross-sectional analysis of the interviews

Group personal data

Age: The ages ranged from 28-42 years.

Education and work: All of them have completed university education, Four of them work in the educational field, and one is a housewife. Activities: Advocacy work, charitable and cultural committees within the centres and houses of Quran Memorization, Al-Quds Committee to support and steadfastness of the family in Palestine, and support for the Palestinian issue, soap making at home, selling clothes and household items, charitable bazaars.

Salafi extension in the family: One reported the existence of a brother and sister from the Salafi thought, while there is no Salafi extension in the families of the four women in the group.

How to identify Salafism: Girlfriends, neighbours and religious lessons.

Why Salafism? : Love of knowledge and the acquisition of legal knowledge.

Sources for receiving the Salafi thought: The first answer was from the Qur'an and Sunnah, with more clarification of religious lessons in the designated centres, and religious lessons through

electronic forums and special pages. Use of social networking sites: The whole group owns Facebook accounts and uses the WhatsApp application, and four have accounts on Twitter and Instagram.

The main topics of the interview:

The first axis (difficulties Facing the Salafi woman): The environment and atmosphere in which that Salafi woman live is Kind of alienation, especially at this time, in addition to the complexity to distinguish the approach of Salaf to the public, and some insult this approach with hurtful terms, because of their ignorance of the Salafi approach. Some links and relates Salafism with Alkawareg (a group of Shia) and, the Muslim Brotherhood, and relating it with political Islam.

The second axis (the effect of spring Arab on Salafi women): They call it Arab Autumn. The group believes that it is not permissible to disobey the Leader or the ruler. and the effect of disobedience varies from country to county, in general, it has negatively affected Salafi women, especially adherent to her religion and dress. This poses some difficulties to her, which were mentioned previously. The Arab revolutions also negatively affected societies because of the conflicts and instability issues associated with these revolutions, A saying was cited from Sheikh Al-Uthaimin who said, "give me one country after the revolutions become better". The third axis (future The Salafi movement in Jordan): The group talked about that their good news from the Messenger Peace be upon him that the advocacy is still going on till the Day of Judgment, and history bears witness on this fact. Salafism from the days of Ibn Taymiyyah and continuing until today.

the Fourth axes (as a result of analyzing the content of public publications of a number of pages of Salafi women, and their sharing of posts from non-Salafi sources): The group reported that these pages may belong to women Salafist appearance without the Salafi approach; The approach means searching for evidence, and it must bring the evidence to the source (from Quaran or Hadith).

The fifth axis (political work): The Salafi woman is a strong activist in the preaching field, which don't seek fame or top the scene. and in her viewpoint, the Political action is prohibited, as it does not see criticism of the ruler, because the Ummah is one nation that cannot be partisan or divided.

Third: Observation

A simple direct observation was made on the group's interactions and reactions, and the following was concluded:

All respondents showed high confidence in Self-esteem and recognition of its capabilities, high social skills as well as they were characterized by being humorous and comfort during the interview, and a tendency to make a calm debate Salafi appears that all the respondents belong to the middle class, and of various origins and existence solidarity and cooperation relationship among the group. They are not isolated with the other party in religious lessons, religious events and meetings; This is because of Relationships of kinship, friendship and neighbourhood. They also have an intellectual and linguistic fluency that is largely dependent on the religious lexicon, and that most of the terms used are predominantly religious in nature, such as Allah reward you with goodness, my kind sister, ...etc.

5. Discussion :

What are the cultural qualities of Salafi women in Post-Arab Spring in Jordan?

The results of the study show that Salafi woman can adapt to the current facts in terms of using technology and current life, and the Salafi education process for women is not done in one direction, but rather through horizontal education within the same level, which is girlfriends, and

vertical culture at several levels through internet sites and digital and traditional religious lessons.

the finding of this study is not in consistence with the study of Abu Rumman (2014) entitled "I am my predecessor a research in the real and imagined identity of the Salafists" who said that the way to identify Salafism was through the sheikhs and the influence of the mosque's role.

Also, their attraction to the Salafi thought was through Internal motivation and he cognitive affinity and the love of learning and the acquisition of legal knowledge. This study is inconsistent with A number of studies thathave indicated that the attraction to the Salafi thought is a consequence to a state of social exclusion; Such as Qarawi study(2018), or feeling alienated as a Qarawi study (2017).The results indicated a multiplicity of tendencies and interests for Salafi women, even though they have an income from work, but they want additional work, and their interests are different. As she is a strong activist in the field of advocacy, charitable, and cultural action, but she avoids to be involved in political action.

The results indicated that the personal characteristics of Salafi women have multiple aspects such as religious and social aspects. This is a result of the interaction with the current community and the ties of kinship, friendship and neighbourhood, and it might be an attempt to attract many friends to convert them to the Salafi thought.

The results indicated that there is a group within the women's Salafi trend that adheres to appearance without the Salafi Approach, which might indicate the existence of a crisis of beginnings, which is what Abu Rumman (2014) stated in hisstudy 'Salafists and democracy in the era of the Arab democratic revolutions" as it might be due to pressure from within the family, or it might have been through an emotional and psychological aspect of imitating girlfriends. This might be consistence with the study of Shehadeh (2013), where he explained that there is a diversity of attitudes among the followers of Salafism, even among the same group of the Salafi movement.

1- What are the challenges facing Salafi women in post-Arab Spring in Jordan?

The environment and atmosphere in which that Salafiwoman live created a Kind of alienation, especially at this time, in addition to the complexity to distinguish the approach of Salaf to the public, and there are those who insult this approach with hurtful terms, because of their ignorance of the Salafi approach. Some link and relateSalafism with Alkawareg(a group of Shia) and , the Muslim Brotherhood, and relating it with political Islam.

2- What are the future perceptions of the Salafist movement in Jordan after the Arab Spring?

The results indicated that there are forms of committees in which numbers of Salafi women participate, and this study considers that there are prospects for the growth of Salafi women's political work within the traditional Salafi trend if conditions and political stability are provided. The development and maturity of the work of the committees to which you belong. Like the Al-Qudos Committee; this might indicatethat the changes like their thoughts as a result of new interactions and experience, which is consistence with the studies of Abu Rumman (2017) and the Shehadeh study (2013).

6. Recommendations

- Adopting more open channels and hearing perspectives for those who are attracted to the Salafi trend.
- Conducting further studies on national Salafism in Jordan.
- Transforming in the Afghan Salafist Group.
- Salafi women and advocacy work.

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