

| Facebook Role in Active Political Participation : Effects of Privacy, Online Participation and Exposure | العنوان: |
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هذه المادة ُمتاحة ُبناء على الإتفاق الموقعُ مع أصحاب حقوق النشر، علما أن جميع حقوق النشر محفوظة. يمكنك تحميل أو طباعة هذه المادة للأستخدام الشخصي فقط، ويمنع النسخ أو التحويل أو النشر عبر أي وسيلة (مثل مواقع الانترنت أو البريد الالكتروني) دون تصريح خطي من أصحاب حقوق النشر أو دار المنظومة.

| | EXP1. I encounter so much political news about Jordan on | |
|-------------------|--|--------------------|
| | FB. | |
| | EXP2. I receive many message | |
| | of political nature on FB. | Vita et al |
| Exposure to | EXP3. I encounter so many | (2009),Castelrione |
| political content | Jordanian politically oriented | (2014) |
| via FB | groups on FB. | |
| | EXP4. I receive so many | |
| | invitations to join Jordanian | |
| | politically oriented groups on FB. | |
| | EXP5. I receive friendship | |
| | requests from Jordanian political | |
| | activists on FB.* | |
| | EXP6. I receive invitation to | |
| | join Jordanian politically | |
| | oriented events. | |
| | ACT1. I am willing to do | |
| | anything to actively participate | |
| Intentions of | in politically oriented activities. ACT2. I aim to actively | |
| active political | ACT2. I aim to actively participate in politically oriented | Lenan and Chen |
| participation | activities | (2006) |
| puricipation | ACT3. I will do my best to | (2000) |
| | actively participate in politically | |
| | oriented activities | |
| | ACT4. I am determined to | |
| | actively participate in politically | |
| | oriented activities | |
| | ACT5. I have thought seriously | |
| | of actively participating in | |
| | politically oriented activities | |
| | ACT6. I have strong intentions | |
| | to actively participate in | |
| | politically oriented activities | |

*. Item was dropped due to poor factor loadings during

| APPENDIX A | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| Construct | Construct's Items | Source | | | | | |
| | PRI1. I am confident that I | | | | | | |
| | know all the parties who collect | | | | | | |
| | the information I provide during | | | | | | |
| | the use of FB.* | | | | | | |
| | PRI2. I am aware of the exact | | | | | | |
| | nature of information that will | | | | | | |
| | be collected during the use of | | | | | | |
| FB's Privacy | FB.* | | | | | | |
| | PRI3. I am not concerned that | Shin (2010) | | | | | |
| | the information I submitted on | · · · | | | | | |
| | FB could be misused. | | | | | | |
| | PRI4. I believe there is an | | | | | | |
| | effective mechanism to address | | | | | | |
| | any violation of the information | | | | | | |
| | I provide to FB. | | | | | | |
| | PRI5. I believe the information I | | | | | | |
| | provide with FB will not be | | | | | | |
| | manipulated by inappropriate | | | | | | |
| | parties. | | | | | | |
| | PRI6. I am confident that the | | | | | | |
| | private information I provide | | | | | | |
| | with FB will be secured. | | | | | | |
| | PRI7. I believe inappropriate | | | | | | |
| | parties may deliberately view | | | | | | |
| | the information I provide with | | | | | | |
| | FB.* | | | | | | |
| | PAR1. I publish politically | | | | | | |
| | oriented news on my FB | | | | | | |
| Online political | account.* | Vita et al (2009) | | | | | |
| participation via | PAR2. I send messages of | | | | | | |
| FB | political content to my FB | | | | | | |
| | friends | | | | | | |
| | PAR3. I establish FB groups of | | | | | | |
| | politically oriented nature. | | | | | | |
| | PAR4. I send friendship | | | | | | |
| | requests to political activists on | | | | | | |
| | FB. | | | | | | |

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Mu'tah Lil-Buhuth wad-Dirasat, Humanities and Social Sciences Series, Vol. 33, No.3, 2018. sample of Jordanian university undergraduates also adds to its contribution, considering the fact that they represent the majority of FB users in Jordan.

Nevertheless, the paper has a number of limitations. Firstly, the paper adopted a convenience sampling technique. Although the decision of adopt such technique was justified due to time and cost limitations, it had an inherited weakness in terms of ability to generalize paper's findings. Secondly, the decision to focus on university undergraduates was justified by the fact that they represented the majority of FB users in Jordan. However, this has resulted in excluding young people who belonged to older age groups, they were ill represented in the sample because they already graduated from university or never joined universities in first place. Those people might be more involved in political issues compared to university undergraduates. Thirdly, the paper has focused on one FB feature only, i.e. privacy and its impact over users' online political participation via FB. While such focus is consistent with previous empirical research (e.g. Acquisti & Gross, 2006; Govani & Pashley, 2005; Gross & Acquisti, 2005, Dwyer et al, 2007; Lovejoy et al, 2009), other FB characteristics and features might have a significant impact over online political participation via FB, e.g. security, trust, participation options, etc. Finally, while both "exposure to online political content" and "online political participation" via FB had considerable and significant impact over respondents' intentions of active/offline political participation, other factors might have their impacts too, e.g. respondents' attitudes towards active political participation, respondents' self efficacy, perceptions if respondents' families, friends and colleagues, etc.

Accordingly, future research can attempt to expand sample size to include more respondents from different parts of Jordan and with different age demographics. It can also explore the impact of other factors over Jordanian youth's use of FB for political purposes. Those factors do not need to be related to FB features per se, as proven by this study. Further, future research can explore the nature of political messages individuals get exposed to, in terms of whether they are similar to their own or contradictory to individuals' political points of view. It can also further explore the extent of intentional exposure to political content compared to unintentional one. Finally, future research can explore the impacts of other factors over Jordanian youths' intentions of active political intentions.

While traditional marketing and communication approaches might require certain budgets political parties cannot afford, FB provides a wide spread, free communication platform with most of Jordanian youth. As for government, it should not focus on using SNSs for sending its own political messages. Jordanian governments should actually encourage, finance, and train political parties to develop their own online marketing and communication campaigns so that their political ideologies and messages can reach wider spectrums of Jordanian youth.

This issue is becoming of vital importance currently due to the fact that extreme political movements and terrorist organizations are massively infiltrating SNSs with their destructive messages that might appeal to so many young Jordanians. Developing an open political climate, where people can freely express their political orientations and ideologies can help in building positive constructive political environment; SNSs in general and FB in particular can turn out to be effective tools for such endeavors. Failure to do so might result in directing young Jordanians towards negative and extreme political ideologies of destructive nature. As any other type of SNSs, FB is a double-edged sword; its political entities duty to make it a constructive one.

7. Contribution, Limitations and Future Research Avenues:

This paper's contribution stems from several points. Firstly, the paper adds to already limited research on FB's role in promoting online political participation, and the impacts of such participation over individuals' intentions of active political engagement (Zhang et al, 2010; Gordon et al, 2012; Halpern and Gibbs, 2013). Secondly, it explores the potential impact of one important FB feature, i.e. privacy, over young Jordanians' online political participation. Such impact has been addressed rigorously in other research contexts but not in Jordan (e.g. Acquisti & Gross, 2006; Govani & Pashley, 2005; Gross & Acquisti, 2005, Dwyer et al, 2007; Lovejoy et al, 2009; Alawneh, 2012; Bani Salameh, 2013). Thirdly, the paper emphasizes the important role of online political participation via FB as a major predictor of users' level of exposure to online political content and future political intentions. Fourthly, the fact that the study was conducted on a

6. Conclusions and Recommendations:

While most political uprisings and conflicts surrounding Jordan were, and are still being, motivated and fueled by social networks like FB, YouTube, twitter and the like, young Jordanians' adoption of FB for political purposes is considerably low. Consequently, and despite crediting FB with high levels of privacy, Jordanian youth seem to be unconcerned with privacy issues associated with political participation via FB, Jordanian youth does not perceive an impact of privacy over political participation via FB. While several justification were provided for such result, it would be interesting to observe whether or not this lack of impact remains if Jordanian youth decide to increase their level of online political participation via FB.

Despite low levels of political adoption and participation, Jordanian youth are still being exposed to political content via FB. While such exposure might be mostly unintentional, it still exerts a direct effect over Jordanian youths' intentions of active political participation. Although such impact is considerably low, the fact that Jordanian youth are heavy users of FB increases the chances of them being intentionally/unintentionally exposed to online political content, which can result in changes to their intentions of active political participation. While exposure to political content exerts some impact over intentions of active political participation, actual political participation via FB is the most influential factor in driving intentions of active/offline political participation. vouths' Further. participation considerably affects exposure to political content, arguably intentional exposure in particular. Accordingly, political participation via FB is the major direct and indirect predictor of Jordanian youths' intentions of active political participation.

Despite the considerably high levels of FB use, this online communication platform seems to be underutilized, and perhaps unappreciated, by political entities in Jordan, i.e. government and political parties. Jordanian political entities in general and Jordanian political parties in particular are lacking when it comes to political marketing and political communication; Jordanian political parties have failed to use and develop modern online political communication tools such as SNSs. (Abu Sharar, 2016). Jordanian political entities should monitor and take advantage of youth's use of FB for political purposes; due to its vital impact over exposure and youth's intentions of future active political participation.

respondents' "exposure to online political content via FB" (M= 2.1073) was considerably higher than their actual "online political participation via FB" (M= 1.4756), which basically suggests that respondents were still exposed to political content via FB even though they did not seek or encourage it through online political participation via FB itself.

In addition to its impact over their "exposure to online political content via FB", respondents envisaged a considerable significant impact of "online political participation via FB" over their "intentions of active political participation", hence, H3 was supported (Beta= 0.460, T value= 6.325). While consistent with previous findings (Valenzuela et al, 2009; Vitak et al, 2010; Conory et al; 2012), respondents might felt that "online political participation via FB" would actually improve their attitudes towards active/offline political participation and, perhaps, enhance their confidence in their own capabilities to participate in actual political movements an endeavors; which should increase their intentions of such kind of participation.

Finally, and in relation to H4, respondents' "exposure to political content via FB" had a direct significant impact over their "intentions of active political participation" (Beta= 0.160, T value= 2.374). Exposure to political content through the usage of FB should increase respondents' knowledge about political issues, this increase might motivate them to be more involved with political concerns and, consequently, increase respondents' intentions of active political participation. While the acceptance of H4 was consistent with previous empirical findings (e.g. Bond et al, 2012; Zareen et al, 2014), the actual impact of exposure over respondents' intentions was relatively weak. Interestingly, the impact of exposure over intentions was considerably lower than that of online political participation via FB (Beta values for the impacts of exposure and participation were 0.160 and 0.460 respectively). This observation emphasizes previous argument that exposure might be unintentional and, consequently, its likely impact over intentions of active political participation would be weak. On the contrary, and in relation to H2, online participation is more of a predictor of intentions since that it usually results in both more intentional exposure and increased intention of active political participation.

Pashley, 2005; Lovejoy et al, 2009). Three points attempt to provide justification for such rejection. Firstly, respondents might not be aware of the negative consequences lack of privacy on FB can cause, e.g. identity theft. stalking, political and legal retaliation by authorities, etc. Consequently, they do not associate it with their online FB activities, particularly those of political nature. Secondly, while previous research in Jordanian context has focused on the opinions of Jordanian unionists and political activists (i.e. Alawneh, 2012; Bani Salameh, 2013), this paper has actually focused on perceptions of Jordanian youth, 85.1% of sampled respondents were between 18-22 years old. Accordingly, while respondents in previous research were actually involved in politically oriented activities both on and offline, "online political participation via FB" for this paper's respondents was considerably low (M= 1.4756). Since that FB's privacy can give users some security and freedom when it comes to expressing their political opinions and orientations, the fact that this paper's respondents scarcely use FB for politically oriented purposes, issues related to FB's privacy do not actually concern them. Consequently, they overlook the importance of privacy for such particular purposes. Thirdly, and adopting a contrasting argument to previous point, respondents might believe that participating in politically oriented actions, and sharing political content online is a matter of principle, and that it should be identified with those individuals who have such political orientations to actually have more substance and reach public masses. Accordingly, privacy issues become irrelevant and have no impact on actual political behavior online in general, and on FB in particular.

On the other hand, and consistent with previous empirical research (Brundidge, 2010; Kim, 2011; Casteltrione, 2014), respondents envisaged a strong impact of "online political participation via FB" over "exposure to online political content via FB", accordingly, H2 was supported (Beta= 0.620, T value= 9.730). Political participation on FB usually involves joining political groups, following certain politically oriented pages or/and individuals, posting political messages and information, and exchanging political opinions. Such actions should result in an increased exposure to political content; this content might be consistent with individuals' political opinions/orientations or it might be contradictory to them. While most of such exposure should be intentional due to the actual political involvement and participation of individuals, descriptive results have implied that exposure might actually take place unintentionally. While still low,

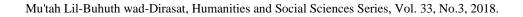
| Hypothe | Variables in the paths model | Standardized | T-Value* | Hypotheses |
|---------|--|--------------|----------|------------|
| ses | | Beta | | Testing |
| | | Coefficients | | Results |
| H_1 | Students' perceptions of FB's privacy have a direct positive impact over | | | |
| | their levels of online political participation. | 0.05 | 0.878 | rejected |
| H2 | Students' level of online political | | | |
| | participation has a direct positive impact over their levels of exposure to online political content. | 0.620 | 9.730 | accepted |
| H3 | Students' level of online political participation has a direct positive impact over their intentions of active political participation. | 0.460 | 6.325 | accepted |
| H4 | Students' levels of exposure to online political content have a direct positive impact over their intentions of active political participation. | 0.160 | 2.374 | accepted |

Table (5) Structural Path Model Results

| Model Goodness of Fit Indices: Desired Level | $\begin{array}{c} \chi^2 \\ P \geq 0.05 \end{array}$ | NFI≥0.90 | CFI≥0.90 | GFI≥ 0.90 | SRMR≤0.08 | RMSEA< 0.10 | |
|---|--|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|--|
| Model Goodness of Fit Indices | 341.649 (0.000) | 0.92 | 0.940 | 0.904 | 0.060 | 0.065 | |
| * Significant at $P < 0.05$ | | | | | | | |

5. Discussion:

Statistical analysis has provided significant support to three out of the four hypothesized relationships between the model's variables. The following discussion addresses the paper's findings on relation to its four hypotheses. Contrary to previous descriptive findings suggesting that Jordanians' favorable perceptions of FB's privacy have encouraged them to use it for politically oriented purposes (i.e. Alawneh, 2012; Bani Salameh, 2013), this paper's hypothesis suggesting a direct and significant impact of respondents' "perceptions of FB privacy" over their "online political participation via FB" was rejected, i.e. H1. This finding was consistent with a certain stream of research which didn't find a relationship between FB's and other SNS's privacy perceptions and general use (e.g. Govani and



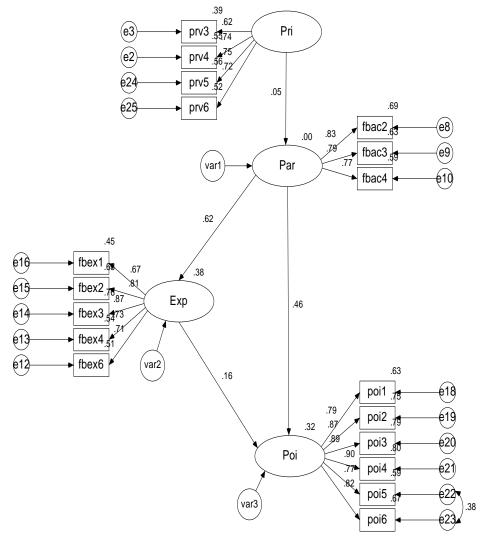


Figure 2. Structural Path Model

| Construct | Mean | Std. | Strength |
|-----------|--------|---------|-----------------------------|
| FB Use | 3.8206 | 1.13265 | High level of agreement |
| PRI | 3.0177 | 0.96009 | Moderate level of agreement |
| PAR | 1.4756 | 0.80561 | Low level of agreement |
| EXP | 2.1073 | 0.94960 | Low level of agreement |
| POI | 2.1008 | 1.00775 | Low level of agreement |

| Table (4) Mean sc | ores for researc | h constructs |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------|
|-------------------|------------------|--------------|

4.6. Structural Model and Hypotheses Testing

The analysis of the proposed model was conducted by a structural path analysis model which is shown in Figure 2. The structural path model was created by running a direct path from "perceptions of FB privacy" to "online political participation via FB". Two direct paths were run from "online political participation via FB" to both "exposure to political content via FB" and "intentions of active political participation". Finally, a direct path was run from "exposure to political content via FB" to "intentions of active political participation".

Table 5 shows the structural path model goodness of fit measures and the structural paths results. As shown in Table 5, the goodness-of-fit measures indicated that the model had an excellent fit to the data. The structural findings showed that three out of four hypotheses were supported. Structural findings showed that the research hypothesis H₁ was rejected. "perceptions of FB privacy" had a very week and Respondents' insignificant impact over their "online political participation via FB" $(\beta=0.05, t=0.878)$, consequently rejecting H₁. On the other hand, structural path results indicated that both H2 and H3 were supported. Starting with H2, respondents' "online political participation via FB" had a positive significant effect over their "exposure to political content via FB" (β =0.620, t = 9.730). As for H3, respondents' "online political participation via FB" had a positive significant effect over their "intentions of active political participation" ($\beta = 0.460$, t = 6.325). Finally, structural findings show that H4 was supported too. In H4, respondents' "exposure to political content via FB" had a direct significant effect over their "intentions of active political participation" ($\beta = 0.160, t = 2.374$).

4.5. Descriptive statistics:

Consistent with previous empirical research (i.e. Ababneh, 2008; Alarabiat and Al-Mohammad, 2015), and based on statements' mean scores, levels of agreement with questionnaire statements for each construct were divided into three categories: a mean value of 1.00 to 2.49 indicated a low level of agreement, a mean value of 2.50 to 3.49 indicated a moderate level of agreement, and a mean value of 3.50 to 5.00 indicated a high level of agreement.

Accordingly, and in relation to Table 4, respondents exhibited high levels of FB use (M= 3.82). Such result was not surprising considering previous research suggestions that young Jordanian individuals are heavy users of social networks in general and FB in particular (e.g. Alarabiat and Al-Mohammad, 2015; Mubaideen, 2014). Interestingly, respondents' perceptions of FB's privacy were moderate (M= 3.017). This finding seems consistent with earlier perceptions of Jordanian political activists who felt that FB enabled them of freely expressing their opinions without governmental scrutiny and control over what they say or share (Alawneh, 2012; Bani Salameh,2013; Swedan, 2015). Nevertheless, the fact that respondents' perception of FB's privacy weren't high suggests that respondents might have some concerns when it comes to FB privacy, which prevents them from scoring high on FB privacy.

Despite the high level of FB use, respondents' "online political participation via FB" was considerably low (M= 1.47). The fact that 85.1% of respondents were between 18-22 years provides a probable justification for such low score for online political participation. Respondents at this age group are not often involved in political debates and activities on FB, they are more likely to have and share other interests than political ones, e.g. sports, entertainment, fashion, etc. Nevertheless, and despite being low (M= 2.107), respondents' "exposure to online political content via FB" was higher than their "online political participation via FB", which suggests that, despite their low interest in online political participation, respondents still got exposed to political content unintentionally. Interestingly, and despite being also low (M= 2.1008), respondents' "intentions of active political participation" was higher than their actual "online political participation via FB", which suggests that respondents are more likely to physically participate in political endeavors rather than do that online. Respondents might perceive the impact of online political participation to be less than that of active, offline participation.

| Table 2 continued | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|-----------|--|--|
| | Intenti | ions of Ac | ctive Politic | al Participati | on | | | |
| Construct's m | easurement | items | CFA | Cronbach | Composite | Average | | |
| | | | factors | Alpha | reliability | variance | | |
| | | | loadings | | | extracted | | |
| ACT1. I am wil | ling to do a | nything | 0.790 | | | | | |
| to actively parti | cipate in po | litically | | | | | | |
| oriented activitie | s. | | | | | | | |
| ACT2. I aim to | actively par | rticipate | 0.870 | | | | | |
| in politically original | ented activiti | es | | | | | | |
| ACT3. I will do | | | 0.890 | 0.936 | 0.897 | 0.708 | | |
| participate in | politically of | oriented | | | | | | |
| activities | | | | | | | | |
| ACT4. I am det | | | 0.900 | | | | | |
| participate in | politically of | oriented | | | | | | |
| activities | | | | | | | | |
| ACT5. I have t | | | 0.770 | | | | | |
| actively particip | | litically | | | | | | |
| oriented activitie | | | | | | | | |
| ACT6. I have s | | | 0.820 | | | | | |
| actively partici | | litically | | | | | | |
| oriented activitie | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | tion" Constru | | | |
| Model | $\chi^2 \mathbf{P} \geq$ | NFI≥ | | | SRMR≤ | RMS | | |
| goodness of | 0.05 | 0.90 | 0.90 | 0.90 | 0.08 | EA< | | |
| fit indices: | | | | | | 0.10 | | |
| Desired Level | 4 700 | | | | | | | |
| Model indices | 4.799 | .980 | .984 | .966 | 0.0204 | 0.10 | | |
| results | (0.000) | | | | | | | |

Table 3. Correlation amongst Research Constructs

| Research | PRI | PAR | EXP | POI |
|------------|------|------|------|------|
| constructs | | | | |
| PRI | .709 | | | |
| PAR | .012 | .769 | | |
| EXP | .081 | .544 | .760 | |
| POI | .071 | .483 | .416 | .841 |

| | | Fit In | dices for Priva | acy Const | ruct | - | | |
|-----------|----------------|-----------|------------------|-------------|-------|-----------------------|------|------------------|
| Model | $\chi^2 P \ge$ | NFI≥ | CFI≥ | GFI≥ | S | SRMR≤ | F | RMSEA< |
| goodne | 0.05 | 0.90 | 0.90 | 0.90 | | 0.08 | | 0.10 |
| ss of fit | | | | | | | | |
| indices: | | | | | | | | |
| D 1 | | | | | | | | |
| Desired | | | | | | | | |
| Level | 1 510 | | | | | | | |
| Model | 1.510 | 0.002 | 0.009 | 0.000 | | 0.01.40 | | 0.027 |
| indices | (.221) | 0.993 | 0.998 | 0.996 | | 0.0140 | | 0.037 |
| results | | Onling | nolitical nonti | instion . | rio E | D | | |
| Constant | ct's measur | | political partic | | | | 4.0 | A |
| Construc | items | ement | CFA factors | Cronba | | Composi reliabilit | | Average variance |
| | nems | | loadings | Alph | a | renadim | .y | extracte |
| | | | | | | | | d |
| ΡΔΡ2Ι | send messa | uges of | 0.830 | | | | | u |
| | content to 1 | | 0.050 | | | | | |
| pointiear | friends | III I D | | | | | | |
| PAR3 | . I establish | FB | 0.790 | 0.83 | 0.836 | | | 0.635 |
| _ | s of politica | | 0.770 | 0.020 | | 0.749 | | 0.000 |
| | ented nature | | | | | | | |
| | I send frien | | 0.770 | _ | | | | |
| | sts to politi | | | | | | | |
| - | vists on FE | | | | | | | |
| F | it Indices f | or "Onlin | ne political par | rticipation | n via | FB" Cons | stru | ıct |
| Model | $\chi^2 P \ge$ | NFI≥ | CFI≥ | GFI≥ | | SRMR≤ | | RMSEA< |
| goodne | 0.05 | 0.90 | 0.90 | 0.90 | | 0.08 | | 0.10 |
| ss of fit | | | | | | | | |
| indices: | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Desired | | | | | | | | |
| Level | | | | | | | | |

| | | 0.04 | 0 | 0.071 | 0.050 | 1 | 0.0407 | 1 | |
|--------------|----------------|--------|------|--------------|------------|------|-------------|-----|----------|
| Model | 33.09 | 0.94 | 8 | 0.951 | 0.958 | | 0.0405 | | 0.020 |
| indices | (0.000) | | | | | | | | |
| results | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | nline Politi | | | 1 | | |
| Construct | 's measuren | nent | - | FA factors | Cronba | | Composi | | Average |
| | items | | | loadings | Alph | a | reliabilit | y | variance |
| | | | | | | | | | extracte |
| | | | | | | | | | d |
| EXP1. I en | | | | 0.670 | | | | | |
| | ical news at | oout | | | | | | | |
| Jordan on l | | | | | | | | | |
| EXP2. I re | ceive many | | | 0.810 | | | | | |
| message of | political na | ature | | | | | | | |
| on FB. | - | | | | 0.86 | 8 | 0.831 | | 0.579 |
| EXP3. I en | counter so | | | 0.870 | | | | | |
| many Jorda | anian politic | cally | | | | | | | |
| oriented gr | oups on FB | | | | | | | | |
| EXP4. I red | ceive so ma | ny | | 0.730 | | | | | |
| invitations | to join | - | | | | | | | |
| Jordanian p | | | | | | | | | |
| | oups on FB | | | | | | | | |
| EXP6. I re | ceive invita | tion | | 0.710 | | | | | |
| to join Jord | lanian | | | | | | | | |
| politically | oriented eve | ents. | | | | | | | |
| Fit Ind | ices for "Ex | posure | e to | Online Po | litical Co | nten | t via FB" (| Coi | nstruct |
| Model | $\chi^2 P \ge$ | NFI | | CFI≥ | GFI≥ | | SRMR≤ | | RMSEA< |
| goodness | 0.05 | 0.90 |) | 0.90 | 0.90 | | 0.08 | | 0.10 |
| of fit | | | | | | | | | |
| indices: | | | | | | | | | |
| Desired | Desired | | | | | | | | |
| Level | | | | | | | | | |
| Model | 6.530 | | | | | | | | |
| indices | (0.000) | 0.96 | 5 | 0.970 | 0.996 | | 0.0378 | | 0.120 |
| results | | | | | | | | | |

examining the previous empirical and theoretical work of the research constructs. With regard to **Convergent validity**, it was assessed using the average variance extracted (AVE). For all constructs, table 2, the values of AVE were higher than the recommended threshold of 0.5 (Hair et al, 2010), indicating high convergent validity. As for **discriminant validity**, it is demonstrated when the square root of a construct's EVA is higher than the correlation between that construct and all other constructs in the model (Hair et al, 2010). Accordingly, and as shown in table 3, discriminate validity was satisfied since that the diagonal elements (square root AVE) were greater than the off-diagonal elements in the same row and column. Finally, and to establish reliability, a composite reliability value of 0.70 or greater was considered acceptable (Fornell and Larcker, 1981). Computed reliability of all four constructs sufficient reliability, table 2.

| Privacy on FB | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| Construct's measurement items | CFA factors loadings | Cronbach Alpha | Composite reliability | Average variance extracted | | | | |
| PRI3. I am not concerned that the information I submitted on FB could be misused. | 0.620 | | | | | | | |
| PRI4. I believe there is an effective mechanism to address any violation of the information I provide to FB. | 0.740 | 0.800 | 0.798 | 0.503 | | | | |
| PRI5. I believe the information I provide with FB will not be manipulated by inappropriate parties. | 0.750 | | | | | | | |
| PRI6. I am confident that the private information I provide with FB will be secured. | 0.720 | | | | | | | |

 Table (2) Confirmatory Factor Analysis, Reliabilities, and AVE for research constructs

constructs' relationships (Hulland, 1999). Second, the structural model was tested by estimating the paths between the constructs in the model. T-values and their statistical significance were assessed for that purpose, as indicators of the model's predictive ability. In addition to SPSS, Amos software, version XX, was adopted to perform data analyses of both measurement and structural models.

4.4. Constructs Validity and Reliability:

In accordance with Wilson et al's (2014) suggestions, and since most constructs and many relationships hypothesized in the paper's model were derived from previous literature, confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was chosen to validate the measurement models. CFA is appropriate in situations where strong theory suggest known relationships among the indicators and their intended factors (Brown, 2006). To assess the CFA, goodness of measurement model fit indices using SEM were followed (Chau, 1997, p. 318; Wilson et al, 2014, p. 9): χ^2 (P \geq 0.05); goodness-of-fit index (GFI \geq 0.90); normed fit index (NFI \geq 0.90); comparative fit index (CFI \geq 0.90); standardised root mean-square residual (SRMR \leq 0.08); and root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA < 0.50). Factor loadings are the correlations of the variables with the factor, the weighted combination of variables which best explains the variance. Higher values (e.g. > 0.40) making the variable representative of the factor (Hair et al., 1998, p. 106).

In relation to the above criteria, and due to their poor loadings on their respective constructs, three items were dropped from the "Privacy" construct, one item was dropped from the "Online Political Participation via FB", and one further item was dropped from the "Exposure to Political Content via FB" (Appendix A). As a result of this procedure, and as underlined by Table 2, all refined models exhibited acceptable fit to the data. Accordingly, correlations, reliabilities, and AVEs were calculated in order to assess constructs' factorial validity.

The validity of the research constructs was assessed through different types of validity. Face validity was evidenced through the pilot work of the research instrument with three academics from reputable business schools in Jordan who checked the relevance and appropriateness of the questionnaire to achieve the research objectives. **Content validity** was evidenced by

the convenience sampling approach was justified because of the novelty of the research filed, in addition to time and cost limitations. Due to the personal nature of questionnaire administration, all 400 Questionnaires were returned. Careful examination of returned questionnaires resulted in disregarding 18 incomplete ones. With a response rate of 95%, 382 Questionnaires were deemed suitable for statistical analysis. The resulting sample characteristics are shown in table 1.

| Sample Characteristics | Frequency | Percentage |
|---------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Respondents'' Gender | | |
| Male | 198 | 51.8 |
| Female | 184 | 48.2 |
| Respondents' Age | | |
| 18-22 years | 325 | 85.1 |
| 23-25 years | 44 | 11.5 |
| 26 + years | 13 | 3.4 |
| Respondents' Faculty | | |
| Social Sciences faculties | 218 | 57.1 |
| Scientific faculties | 164 | 42.9 |

Table 1. Respondents' Characteristics

4.2. Measurement Items:

Items used to measure the model's constructs were adapted from previous empirical research. Seven items were used to measure "FB's privacy". Four items were used to measure respondents' "online political participation via FB", while six items were used to measure their level of "exposure to online political content on FB". Finally, six items were used to measure respondents' "intentions of active political participation". All items were measured using a 5 point Likert scale. Appendix A underlines all measurement items in addition to their sources.

4.3. Data Analysis and Results:

Following Hulland's (1999) procedure, a two-phased approach was used for data analysis. First, and in accordance with Anderson and Gerbing (1988) recommendations, four measurement models -representing the four major constructs of the paper's model - were estimated using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to test the overall fit of these models, as well as their validity and reliability to ensure that only reliable and valid measures of the constructs were used before drawing conclusions about the nature of the

al, 2013; Lee and Kweon, 2013). Accordingly, and consistent with previous research findings and arguments:

H3: Students' level of online political participation via FB has a direct positive impact over their intentions of active political participation.

Finally, and having been affected by "online political participation VIA FB", available research suggests that "exposure to online political content via FB" has a direct effect over users' offline political participation. For instance, and in a massive experiment conducted by Bond et al (2012) on FB users during the 2010 US congressional elections, results showed that exposure to politically oriented messages directly influenced real world voting behavior of millions of people. Further, and applying a survey research on a stratified sample of 120 students at one Pakistani university, Zareen et al (2014) underlined that 55% of the students who were exposed to political content on FB were involved in offline political activities, and that 25% of them participated in politically motivated rallies. The argument behind such impact was underlined by Price et al (2002) who suggested that; due to increased exposure to political content, People who discuss public affairs are better educated, more attentive to media messages, more knowledgeable about politics, and more politically involved. While knowledge is one of the participatory and facilitating factors leading to political engagement (Kwak et al. 2005; Verba et al. 1995), exposure to online content via FB should lead to more political participation. Accordingly:

H4: Students' levels of exposure to online political content via FB has a direct positive impact over their intentions of active political participation

4. Methodology:

4.1. Sampling:

A structured questionnaire was personally administered by a team of volunteering students to a convenient sample of 400 BA students at one Jordanian university situated to the south of Jordan. While consistent with previous similar research (e.g. Conroy et al, 2012; Zhang and Lin, 2014),

political content was established in different contexts. For instance, and based on a survey of 1000 American users of chat rooms and discussion boards, Wojcieszak and Mutz (2009) found that online political participation in politically oriented groups exposed users to homogenous opinions, while occasional political discussion in leisure groups (revolving around socializing, sports, general trivia, movies or TV shows, or hobby or interest) has resulted in exposure to heterogeneous political views.

Further, applying a survey on a sample of 2254 American respondents aged 18 and older, Kim (2011) underlined that online political messaging via social networks had a direct effect on exposure to dissimilar viewpoints. In addition, Brundidge (2010) found that online discussion in political networks had a positive effect over users' exposure to political differences. In the particular context of this paper, it is proposed that, regardless of the homogeneity or heterogeneity of political content, online political participation is a direct perquisite for exposure to such content. Accordingly:

H2: Students' level of online political participation via FB has a direct positive impact over their level of exposure to online political content via FB.

I relation to the later effect, previous research has underlined an impact of "online political participation via FB" over users' "offline political participation". For instance, Vitak et al (2010) found that political activity on FB (e.g., posting a politically oriented status update, becoming a "fan" of a candidate) was a significant predictor of other forms of political participation (e.g., volunteering for an organizing, signing a paper or online petition). Further, Feezell et al (2009), Valenzuela et al (2009) and Conory et al (2012) found that users' participation on FB political groups had a significant relationship with their offline political participation. The argument behind such impact was explained earlier by Wang (2007) and Kim and Geidner (2008) who declared that Political use of the internet in general, and social networks in particular, promotes feelings of trust and efficacy, and make an individual more likely to participate in active/offline campaigns and politics. While most students might not be currently involved in any political endeavors, it is their intentions of getting involved in such endeavors that matter. Intentions can be a strong indicator of students' current and future political behaviors (Glasford, 2008; Eckstein et

H1: Students' perceptions of FB's privacy have a direct positive impact over their levels of online political participation via FB.

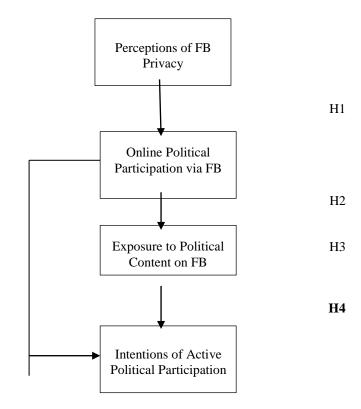


Figure 1. Proposed Model and Hypotheses

With regard to online political participation via FB, research has underlined its dual effect over users' exposure to online political content and active/offline political participation. Starting with the former effect, people who are interested in politics on FB, and who are actively involved in online political participation, can follow political pages and news organizations or even be members of political groups. In this case, FB users pro-actively select informative sources and, as a consequence, exposure may take place (Casteltrione, 2014). Empirically, and in relation to general use of social websites, the impact of online political participation over users' exposure to

Consistent with many available research (e.g. Dwyer et al, 2007; Govani and Pashley, 2007; Debatin et al, 2009; Lovejoy et al, 2009), and in relation to the fact that most FB users in Jordan are young people embarking on their undergraduate studies, the paper develops its hypotheses with university students in mind.

3.4.1. Proposed Model Hypotheses:

Research on "privacy" effects over users' attitudes and behaviors on FB is contradictory. While some research has underlined users' general lack of concern towards security breaches and invasion of privacy encountered on FB (e.g. Debatin et al, 2009; Feezell et al, 2009; Lovejoy et al, 2009; Conory et al, 2012; Zareen et al, 2014), other research has underlined users' genuine interest in such issue to the extent that they affect those users' attitudes and behaviors on FB (e.g. Acquisti and Gross, 2006; Shin, 2010). A reasonable explanation for such contradiction was provided by Shin (2010) who declared that perceptions of security and privacy might be subject to gender biases, global biases, and user expertise. In the context of Jordan, descriptive empirical research has suggested that users' favorable perceptions of FB's "privacy" were major drivers of users' actual adoption of FB for" online political participation" (i.e. Alawneh, 2012; Bani Salameh, 2013). Nevertheless such suggestion was not examined in a solid statistical manner. This paper proposes that with the restrictions imposed on traditional media environment, FB seems to represent an alternative form of media for Jordanian politicians, activists and general public to freely express themselves and engage in political endeavors online. The paper further proposes that users' perceptions of FB's "privacy" are the drivers for such adoption of FB. Accordingly:

For instance, Vitak et al (2011) found that FB users who were exposed to politically active friends' networks tended to engage more often in political activities on FB, which in turn was related to increased general political participation. In addition, and examining 113 million status updates to compare 200 thousand users' political discussion during the 2008 US election, Settle et al (2015) found that Posting a political status update—a form of day-to-day engagement with politics-has mediated almost 20 percent of the relationship between exposure to political competition (content) and self-reported voter turnout (offline political participation). Nevertheless, a more recent study conducted by Zareen et al (2014) found a direct relationship between exposure to online content via FB and users' offline political participation. Applying a survey research on a stratified sample of 120 students at one Pakistani university, Zareen et al (2014) underlined that 55% of the students who were exposed to political content via FB were involved in offline political activities, and that 25% of them participated in politically motivated rallies.

3.4. Proposed Model and Hypotheses:

Thorough observation of previous research suggests that very little research has attempted to examine the structural relationships between online political participation via FB, exposure to online political content via FB and users' offline political participation (e.g. Vitak, 2011; Settle, 2015). Most noticeably, no research has attempted to examine the role FB's privacy plays in shaping such relationships. Accordingly, Figure 1 introduces the paper's proposed model which suggests that FB's privacy will affect users' "online political participation via FB". The model further suggests that "online political participation via FB" has a direct effect over both "exposure to online political content via FB" and users' "intentions of offline political participation". The model finally proposes that "exposure to online political content via FB" has a direct over users' "intentions of offline political participation".

political participation, is defined as "the undertaking of any offline politically motivated endeavors, whether in support of or opposing governmental policies. Such endeavors include attending or participating in political elections, debates, seminars, marches or demonstrations. Further, they include composing political content and joining political groups, movements or parties". Applying a multi-method design incorporating content analysis of political group pages on FB and original survey research of 455 university undergraduates, Feezell et al (2009) found that participation in online political groups strongly predicted offline political participation by engaging members online. Further, Feezell et al (2009) underlined that online groups performed many of the same positive civic functions as offline groups, specifically in terms of mobilizing political participation. In a survey of 683 undergraduate students at a large public university in the Midwestern United States, Vitak et al (2011) stated that Political activity on FB was a significant predictor of respondents' political participation manifested in voting behavior during the 2008 U.S election campaign. Vitak et al (2011) suggested that through FB participation users cultivate political engagement through their online friends' network and develop civic skills which positively affect political participation elsewhere (Vissers and Stolle, 2014). More recently, and applying both content analysis of online political groups and a survey of 455 university undergraduates, Conroy et al (2012) underlined that participation in online political groups was strongly correlated with offline political participation. They declared that online political groups formed on FB produced similar effects to traditional offline groups, specifically in their ability to foster offline political engagement.

I addition to online political participation, research has attempted to understand the particular concept of exposure to online political content via FB (e.g. Kim, 2011; Casteltrione, 2014; Grevet et al, 2014; Kwon et al, 2014). Exposure to online political content via FB refers to "*individuals*" *encounter with, and comprehension of, politically oriented information introduced and shared on Facebook in the form of news, views, messages, debates, events, images and clips*". Although most of available research has emphasized that exposure was affected by online participation (e.g. Brundidge, 2010; Kim, 2011, Casteltrione, 2014), yet some few research has underlined a relationship between exposure to online political content via FB and users' offline political participation. In most cases, the relationship between the aforementioned concepts was not examined in a direct manner.

Despite the validity of such suggestions, no previous research has attempted to examine the relationship between FB's privacy and political communication in the context of Jordan. What is available, however, are general remarks based on descriptive and qualitative analysis. For instance, and applying a descriptive survey to 296 Jordanian unionists in one Jordanian city, Alawneh (2012) found that FB was the most used SNS by respondents. Further, he underlined that the main reason for respondents' participation in online political debates on FB was respondents' feelings that FB provided a safe environment for them to freely express their political opinions. In another study, Bani Salameh (2013) conducted a survey on 500 young Jordanian political activists to explore their perceptions of current political movement and SNSs' role in it. Bani Salameh (2013) declared that the majority of sampled respondents (87.8%) used SNSs in their political activities. According to respondents, Reasons for SNSs' appeal were; (1) ease of use and communication, (2) freedom of expression with no governmental censorship and control (Bani Salameh, 2013). Accordingly, this paper will attempt to examine the association between privacy and different manifestations of political communication, namely; online political participation via FB, exposure to online political messages via FB and intentions of active political participation.

3.3. Political Communication on Facebook: Participation and Exposure.

Political communication entails sending and receiving politically oriented messages. In other words, political communication is about participation in sending politically oriented messages in addition to getting exposed to others' messages. Through online political participation, individuals post and share political messages online, further, they get exposed to online political content posted and shared by others. FB is one online platform available for online political participation and exposure. FB online political participation refers to "user's engagement in online political activities and endeavors available via FB such as participating in online political events, posting and sharing politically oriented messages, images and/or videos; and joining online political groups/pages". Most of available research has underlined a direct relationship between FB online political participation. Active

invasion risks. According to Lovejoy et al (2009), sampled students claimed to understand privacy issues, yet reported uploading large amounts of personal information. Students reporting privacy invasion were more likely to change privacy setting than those merely hearing about others' privacy invasions. Lovejoy et al (2009) suggested that students' lax attitude towards privacy threats may be based on a combination of high gratification, usage patterns, and a psychological mechanism similar to third-person effect.

On the other hand, the other stream of research has underlined a direct effect of users' perceptions of FB privacy over their attitudes and behaviors towards it. For instance, and in a study conducted by Acquisti and Gross (2006), users' privacy concerns had some direct impact over their decision to actually join FB. Applying a survey on a sample of 294 students at an American college, complemented by analysis of data mined from 7,000 profiles from the FB network of the same college; Acquisti and Gross (2006) declared that some FB users managed their privacy concerns by trusting their ability to control the information they provide and the external access to it. Further, and applying an online survey to a sample of 370 respondents, Shin (2010) found that users had concerns about the vulnerability of SNS security and privacy breaches when they used SNSs. Further, he found that perceived security and perceived privacy had direct effects over users' trust and attitudes towards SNSs. Shin (2010) also underlined that users' attitudes towards SNSs had a direct effect over their intentions to use them. Acknowledging the fact that his findings contradicted with other similar research, Shin (2010) declared that perceptions of privacy might be subject to gender biases, global biases, and user expertise.

With regard to the relationship between FB's privacy and political communication, available research has suggested that users' perceptions of FB privacy could be associated with their participation in political communication (e.g. Alawneh, 2012; Bani Salameh, 2013). The argument supporting such association is that privacy provides the opportunity for individuals to form their own viewpoints, craft arguments, and develop political identities free from state surveillance and public pressures to conform to social norms. Further, it also provides a secure environment for social movements and activists to prepare for engagement with the state (Kreiss and Howard, 2010).

3.2. Facebook Privacy, Impacts on Use:

Despite documented concerns about FB's privacy (e.g. Govani & Pashley, 2005; Gross & Acquisti, 2005, Acquisti and Gross, 2006; Dwyer et al, 2007; Shin, 2010; Fuchs, 2012), relatively little research is available on how exactly this issue plays out in the social world of Facebook users and how much users know and care about this issue (Lovejoy et al, 2009). Privacy can be defined as "a person's right to keep his/her individual information from being disclosed without authorization". Specific privacy concerns of online social networking include inadvertent disclosure of personal information, damaged reputation due to rumors and gossip, unwanted contact and harassment or stalking, surveillance-like structures due to backtracking functions, use of personal data by third-parties, and hacking and identity theft (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). Addressing such concerns, FB allowed users to manage the privacy settings of uploaded content (photos, videos, statuses, links and notes), in addition to allowing them to re-use Specific People privacy settings via friends lists (Facebook Executive Answers Reader Questions. The New York Times, 2010).

Available research has shown some contradicting results when it comes to FB users' perceptions, attitudes, intentions and behaviors in relation to FB's privacy issues. One stream of such research has underlined that most FB and other SNSs users often overlook or ignore privacy issues, i.e. perceptions of FB privacy are not related to changes in users' behaviors in relation to FB use (e.g. Acquisti & Gross, 2006; Govani & Pashley, 2005; Gross & Acquisti, 2005, Dwyer et al, 2007; Lovejoy et al, 2009). For instance, and applying a study of 50 University undergraduate FB users of varying concentrations of study and age, Govani and Pashley (2005) found that most students were aware of possible consequences of providing personally identifiable information to an entire university population, such as identity theft and stalking, but nevertheless felt comfortable providing it. They also found that, despite the overwhelming majority of survey participants knowing that they are able to limit who views their personal information; participants did not take the initiative to protect their information. Relatively similar findings were underlined later on by Lovejoy et al (2009). Applying an online survey to 119 college undergraduates at a large university in the Midwestern United States, Lovejoy et al (2009) found that students had a lax attitude towards privacy

Facebook allows users to register and create profiles, upload media, contribute to message threads, and keep in touch with friends, family and colleagues (Raoof et al, 2013). Major features that promote communication include a "message" system that allows for private communication and a "wall" system that allows for a more public form of communication (Grimmelmann, 2009; Raoof et al, 2013). Further, users can post photographs and "tag" other users in photos (Fletcher, 2010; Lewis et al, 2008). Accordingly, politicians can use FB to communicate their messages with target communities while, at the same time, target communities have the means to express their opinions to politicians or even organize themselves to create and reach their own voice if they feel that politicians are underperforming (Westling, 2007).

Despite its increasing popularity as a political communication tool, little is known about the actual role of FB in promoting online political communication (Halpern and Gibbs, 2013). Furthermore, little effort has been made to look into the technological beliefs about systems embedded in FB and their role in political communication, participation intentions and behaviors. That is, although FB is a service supported by Web 2.0and ICT where people have access to it through diverse devices (e.g. PC, smartphones, Tablets, etc.), only a few studies investigate the interrelationships about the beliefs about the system, intention to use it, and actual behaviors of using it (Meth et al, 2015). Review of available research on FB and political communication has yielded two observations. Firstly, and despite all its interesting features, users' privacy and information security are two issues of concern to researchers when it comes to FB application (Dwyer et al, 2007; Shin, 2010; Kumar et al, 2013). Nevertheless, little research has attempted to associate such important features to the actual application of FB in political communication (e.g. Wills and Reeves, 2009; Fuchs, 2012; Stutzman et al, 2013). Secondly, considerable stream of research has attempted to understand the relationships that exist between FB users' online political participation, exposure to online political content, and offline political participation (e.g. Westling, 2007; Kushin and Kitchener, 2009; Valenzuela et al, 2009; Conroy et al, 2012; Halpern and Gibbs, 2013; Settle et al, 2015). Nevertheless, such relationships were not presented in a clear totalitarian model underlining the direction and association between all aforementioned constructs. The following two subsections discuss the above observations in more detail.

views, learn the political views of others, identify shared concerns and political preferences, and come to understand and reach judgements about matters of public concern (Delli Carpini et al, 2004). The importance of political communication and promotion to the success of political campaigns is so paramount to the extent that some earlier "political communications" researchers considered political communication as a more inclusive concept to include political marketing (Scammell, 1999). However, more recent research has underlined the comprehensive and strategic nature of political marketing (e.g. Henneberg, 2007; Menon, 2008; Gbadeyan, 2011); which makes it bind together political market research, campaign political development, political communication. market intelligence, political message design and promotion (Lees-Marshment, 2001). Traditionally, political communication took place through traditional mass media such as TV, radio, newspapers, magazines, flyers, billboards, etc. Recently, however, SNSs provided more direct, personal, and effective methods of political communication. In addition to costs reduction, the advantage SNSs have over traditional media lies in politicians' ability to create "two-way" dialogues with target audiences where ideas, opinions and concerns are exchanged freely at real time speed. Further, and in countries with a restricted media environment, SNSs represent alternative forms of media for politicians and general public to freely state their opinions and to engage in political debates (Raoof et al, 2013).

As the world's most popular SNS, recent examples of 2008 US presidential elections and 2011 Egyptian revolution represent compelling evidences of the vital role FB is playing in modern day political communication (Raoof Et al, 2013; Attia et al, 2011; Mansour 2012). In the first example, FB was effectively applied to give President Barak Obama leverage over other presidential candidates, while in the second example FB was used to motivate and organize Egyptians to actively demonstrate against, and oust, Hosni Mobarak's political regime. Interestingly, while the intensity and direction of political actions in both examples were completely different. they both underline FB's contribution. as a political communication tool, in moving general public towards different political actions. In addition to its worldwide popularity, especially amongst young people, one explanation for FB's appeal to political entities (i.e. activists, parties, groups, organizations) might by its distinguished features.

2. Research Problem and Questions:

The paper's main problem is to provide a thorough understanding of FB's role in shaping current and future political life in Jordan. The paper argues that Jordanian youths' perceptions of FB's privacy might encourage their online political participation, and such participation might be the first step towards more active, offline, political participation. In relation to its research problem and argument, and based on relevant literature review, this paper embarks on answering the following questions:

- 1. From the Perceptions of Jordanian BA students, how does FB score in terms of privacy?
- 2. Is there a direct effect of Jordanian BA students' "perceptions of FB's privacy" over their "online political participation via FB"?
- 3. Is there a direct effect of Jordanian BA students' "online political participation via FB" over their "exposure to online political content via FB"?
- 4. Is there a direct effect of Jordanian BA students' "online political participation via FB" over their "intentions of active political participation via FB"?
- 5. Is there a direct effect of Jordanian BA students' "exposure to online political content via FB" over their "intentions of active political participation"?

3. Literature Review:

3.1. Facebook and Political Communication.

Political marketing has been defined as "the application of marketing principles and procedures in political campaigns by various individuals and organizations. The procedures involved include the analysis, development, execution, and management of strategic campaigns by candidates, political parties, governments, lobbyists and interest groups that seek to drive public opinion, advance their own ideologies, win elections, and pass legislation and referenda in response to the needs and wants of selected people and groups in a society" (Newman, 1999). Amongst the most critical elements of political marketing mix elements (O'Leary and Iredale, 1976; Niffenegger, 1989) responsible for creating valuable exchanges of information and political messages between politicians and their target audience. Through political communication, individuals can develop and express their political

activists' political online opinions and endeavors (Alawneh, 2012; Bani Salameh, 2013; Swedan, 2015).

Recent statistical figures show that over 4.1 million Jordanians are subscribed to FB (internetworldstats.com, 2016). The highest percentage of Jordanian FB users (40%) is aged between 18-24 years (social bakers, 2013), the majority of them are undergraduate university students (Al Doghmi et al, 2013; Nassar et al, 2013). This particular group usually seeks to break free from cultural, social, religious, and political norms and restrictions imposed by society (Alarabiat and Al-Mohammad, 2015). While there are no available figures as to the number of undergraduate students involved in active political participation, this particular group is vital for the future political development in Jordan. Consistent with earlier findings in relation to reasons stated by Jordanian political activists for using FB in their political endeavors opinions (e.g. Alawneh, 2012; Bani Salameh, 2013), this paper argues that certain FB features might make it an appropriate environment for Jordanian youth in general, and university students in particular, to freely express their political thoughts and opinions. Accordingly, the purpose of this paper is to introduce a model examining the impact of young Jordanians' perceptions of FB privacy over their online political participation and, consequently, their intentions of active political participation.

In general, research on SNS's impact over active political participation is limited (Zhang et al, 2010; Gordon et al, 2012). More specifically, little is known about the role of Facebook in promoting online political discussion (Halpern and Gibbs, 2013), especially in the context of Jordan (Alawneh, 2012). Through examining its proposed model, this paper contributes to the limited research on the political impact of FB, especially in the Middle East region. Further, the paper's major contribution stems from developing a structural path underlining the role of young Jordanians' perceptions towards, and actual use of, FB in shaping their current and future political intentions and activities. With regard to its practical contribution, the findings of this paper can draw the attention of Jordanian politicians and policy makers to the vital role FB and other SNSs play in shaping and developing current and future political life in Jordan, an issue noticeably ignored by them (Swedan, 2015).

By definition, online social network sites are web-based platforms that integrate different media, information and communication technologies that allow at least the generation of profiles that display information describing the users, the display of connections (connection list), the establishment of connections between users displayed on their connection lists, and communication between users (Fuchs, 2011). They represent virtual communities in which people with shared interests can communicate by posting and exchanging information about themselves (Shin, 2010). The current impact of online social network sites (hereafter SNSs) is paramount. Their effects have spawned all aspects of human life. People all over the world are connected in mass numbers to different types of SNSs where they seek different goals such as connection, education, enjoyment, trade, etc. Having managed to surpass its competitors within only five years of its launch in 2004, Facebook is currently the most popular SNS worldwide (Alarabiat and Al-Mohammad, 2015). As of the second quarter of 2016, Facebook had over 1.65 billion monthly active users (www.statista.com, 2016). Accordingly, and echoing earlier remarks made by Westling (2007), Facebook may be a better means of achieving a true public sphere than anything that has come before it, online or otherwise.

Interestingly, Facebook (hereafter FB) was associated with different political uprisings that stormed the Arabic World in 2011. It provided a platform for several political parties and activists to share their political ideas and coordinate their movements. The most obvious, and debated, case of such phenomenon is the Egyptian uprising of 2011 which ousted Hosni Mobarak's regime (Attia et al, 2011; Mansour 2012). In Jordan, political unease has been ongoing since 2011. Peaceful, reform demanding, demonstrations have been organized and coordinated by different parties, movements and activists. They have been using FB to publicize their opinions and launch their campaigns. Accordingly, many profiles and groups were created on Facebook to ignite Jordanians' interest in politics and motivate them to actively participate in political life. Despite the fact that the momentum of demonstrations in Jordan has considerably declined since the last quarter of 2013, the application FB for political purposes still has considerable momentum. The most cited justifications given for FB's appeal to Jordanian political activists was the freedom of online expression FB provides, and the lack of governmental scrutiny and control over

دور موقع التواصل الاجتماعي Facebook في النشاط السياسي: دراسة لتأثير كل من الخصوصية، المشاركة الالكترونية، والتعرض للمحتوى السياسي

سامر موسى المحمد

ملخص

هدفت هذه الدراسة إلى قياس إدراك المستخدمين الشباب لخصوصيتهم على موقع التواصل الاجتماعي Facebook، وإختبار تأثير هذا الإدراك على إستخدامهم لهذا الموقع في الأنشطة ذات الطابع السياسي. كما هدفت الدراسة الى إستكشاف تأثير المشاركة السياسية الإلكترونية عبر الطابع السياسي. كما هدفت الدراسة الى إستكشاف تأثير المشاركة السياسية وعلى نواياهم في المشاركة الفاعلة في النشاط السياسي. إستخدمين الشباب للمحتوى ذي الطابع السياسي وعلى نواياهم في المشاركة الفاعلة في النشاط المياسية الإلكترونية. عبر المشاركة الفاعلة في النشاط السياسي. إستخدمين الشباب للمحتوى ذي الطابع السياسي وعلى نواياهم في مكونة من 381 مفاركا ومشاركة من طلبة البكالوريوس في إحدى الجامعات الأردنية. خلصت المشاركة الفاعلة في النشاط السياسي. إستخدمت الدراسة عددا من الإختبارات الإحصائية إلى رفض فرضية تأثير إدراك المستخدمين لخصوصيتهم في موقع متوائجة الي رفض فرضية تأثير إدراك المستخدمين لمعات الأردنية. خلصت المشاركة الإختبارات الإحصائية إلى رفض فرضية تأثير إدراك المستخدمين لمعات الأردنية. خلصت المشاركة الإختبارات الإحصائية إلى رفض فرضية تأثير إدراك المستخدمين لمياسي المعات الأردنية. خلصت المشاركة الإختبارات الإحصائية إلى رفض فرضية تأثير إدراك المستخدمين لحصوصيتهم في موقع المشاركة الإختبارات الإحصائية إلى رفض فرضية تأثير إدراك المستخدمين لحصوصيتهم في موقع المشاركة الإلكترونية عبر Facebook. كما أشارت النتائج إلى تأثير المشاركة السياسي المشاركة الإلكترونية عبر Facebook. كما أشارت النتائج إلى تأثير عبر المشاركة الإلكترونية عبر معوى المستخدمين في المشاركة السياسي عبر المشاركة الإلكترونية عبر معموعة من الإستنتاجات، التوصيات، والمقترحات.

الكلمات الدالة: Facebook، الخصوصية، المشاركة السياسية الإلكترونية، التعرض للمحتوى السياسي، نوايا المشاركة السياسية الفاعلة.

Facebook Role in Active Political Participation: Effects of Privacy, Online Participation and Exposure

Samer M. Al-Mohammad *

Abstract

The purpose of this paper was to explore the impact of Facebook's privacy over Jordanian youth's application of the social network in politically oriented actions. The paper also attempted to explore the impact of online political participation via Facebook over users' exposure to political content and their future intentions of active political participation. To examine the paper's proposed model and hypotheses, quantitative data was collected through a survey of 381 BA students at one Jordanian university. Empirical findings have rejected the hypothesis suggesting a direct impact of users' perceptions of Facebook privacy over their online political participation via Facebook. Nevertheless, the actual application of Facebook in political participation had significant direct effects over both exposure to online political content via Facebook and users' intentions of active political participation. Based on those findings, the paper reachescertain conclusions, introduces some recommendations, and suggests further avenues for future research.

Keywords: Facebook, Privacy, Online Political Participation, Exposure, Intentions of Active Political participation.

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