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The Fluidity Of Digital Spaces In Political Socialization: A Survey Study

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Abstract:

This study aims to examine the correlation between digital spaces, including platforms, social networks, and applications, and the processes of political mobilization and recruitment, which fall under the broader concept of political socialization. The power of the media has grown significantly with the emergence of virtual public spaces, and competition among these spaces to attract young people has intensified. This is achieved through the presentation of diverse ideologies targeting all segments of society, particularly youth at various age stages. This survey-based study seeks to identify the factors and motivations behind seeking political information from digital network spaces and to assess the extent to which these contents influence political behavioral trends. Additionally, the study aims to reveal the extent to which these spaces allow for the practice of both supportive and opposing political actions. The study draws on Oscar Negt's theory of the counterpublic sphere as an attempt to trace the fluidity of mobilization and recruitment through these virtual platforms. By limiting the research sample to followers of a political page, the study demonstrates that the internet, with all its services, is a powerful and effective tool for political socialization.

Keys words: Digital Spaces, Political Socialization, Counterpublic sphere.

1-Introduction

Virtual spaces play a pivotal and significant role in influencing and participating in political life in many Western and Arab countries and societies at various levels and aspects. This has been facilitated by those who have given them various names such as social media, new media, or alternative media, which encompasses a collection of virtual social networks, blogs, electronic forums, mailing groups, and other diverse forms and types.

As numerous studies and discussions have highlighted, the changes brought about by the internet, particularly social networks, have led to significant developments not only in the history of media but also in the personal, social, cultural, economic, and political lives of individuals. These developments have created a virtual world that offers unprecedented freedom for individuals, institutions, groups, and organizations of all kinds to express their opinions and stances on issues that matter to them. These virtual spaces have provided citizens with new channels to participate in political activities, making politics a public affair that can be practiced by most members of society, rather than being limited to specific groups. This is because these virtual spaces encourage non-active or non-political individuals to participate in political activities, suggesting that they can serve as a political platform for citizens without discrimination.

New media has provided new means and channels for communication and dialogue, opening up new avenues for members of society to engage in various forms of communication, moving from a state of non-communication and non-dialogue to communication and dialogue, and from one-way media and communication to horizontal media and multi-directional communication.

Given the rapid pace of technological advancements, the various forms of digital spaces, such as applications, blogs, and platforms, are evolving and increasing at an accelerated rate. Therefore, it is crucial that digital communication adheres to the principles of ethical dialogue, evidence-based arguments, and genuine freedom and citizenship, with the aim of achieving the common good and enabling public discourse, without a doubt, social, cultural, and even legal structures play a significant and distinctive role in developing or fragmenting the structure of this space. When this space is represented and crystallized, society tests its capacity for constructive dialogue, debate, and reflection on its problems, formulating solutions that can be publicized to shape public opinion and then be adopted by official institutions and translated into legal texts that serve the public interest. The content generated by users of various social media platforms essentially constitutes a virtual public sphere, forming an important foundation for a new perspective on human interaction with society and politics. The widespread use of this virtual space can be attributed to several factors, most notably the growing role of modern communication technologies, their multiple functions, and their large user base.

Digital communication has emerged as a result of the expanding functionalities of the internet, becoming a daily practice for its users. The fabric of the information space has broadened and branched out, transforming the web into a digital platform for creating communication spaces such as blogs, chat forums, and content creation.

This has given rise to a significant social dimension, enabling virtual communication and leading to the formation of an innumerable number of digital communication space users from various segments of society with diverse political orientations and levels of awareness, shaped by their accumulated experiences. Given the well-known concept of freedom of expression and interactivity in digital environments, the idea of a counterpublic consciousness has emerged as a new means for peoples and organizations to engage in struggles against systems and institutions. Consequently, Oscar Negt's concept of counterconsciousness has become intrinsically linked to these virtual platforms. This research explores the correlation between digital spaces and their ability to provide mechanisms for solidifying political socialization and constructing both supportive and oppositional consciousness, given their fluid and utilitarian characteristics.

The increasingly salient role of new media in young people's lives has led to a debate about the potential of the internet as a means of political communication and youth participation. While a growing body of scholarship has engaged with the issue, there is lack of empirical research linking young people's civic motivations to their internet uses, and in particular to their evaluations, as users. (Geromidos, 2010, pp. 98-99)

Therefore, this survey aims to answer the following primary question: To what extent do digital spaces have the capacity to solidify the political socialization of youth on Facebook?

Based on the previous discussion, we can ask the following sub- questions:

- a. What are the motivations behind seeking political information from digital networks according to the research sample?
- b. What is the impact of content on these digital platforms on the political behavior of the research sample?

c. To what extent do these platforms enable the practice of political opposition in virtual spaces according to the study sample?

2- Previous studies

Previous studies serve as a cornerstone for any new scientific research, providing researchers with a solid theoretical framework, it also identifies the research gap of the current study and provides a substantial amount of foundational theoretical material (McCombes, 2023), Since we are endeavoring to interpret the correlation between digital spaces and their enormous potential to establish political socialization owing to their fluid capacity to infiltrate and draw audiences, we can depend on the subsequent previous studies.

The first study "News Media and Political Socialisation of Young People: The Case of Bahrain", This study investigated the influence of various forms of media (old and new) on the political awareness and socialisation of secondary school students in the Kingdom of Bahrain. Data were obtained from focus groups conducted in eight schools and a survey of 1,179 respondents aged between 15 and 22 yearsfrom 12 schools located across Bahrain, This study revealed significant gender disparities among young Bahrainis, with males demonstrating higher levels of political interest, knowledge, involvement, and trust in politicians compared to females. Residence area influenced trust in politicians, while greater political involvement correlated with higher political knowledge. Additionally, strong religious interests were associated with increased political interest. (Al-Shaikh, 2013, p. 07)

The second study "Viral Politics, Political Mobilisation and Participation in Social Media" this research is based on Another debate concerns the effects of the ever more dispersed and advanced use of digital communications technologies – e-mail, web pages, mobile phones, social media – on political mobilisation and participation. Within political science, this discussion tends to be focused either on the causal effects of such technologies on the level and type of social capital, which is thought to spur participation, or on the effects of social or "new" media use on political knowledge and attitudes, also thought to spur participation. (Gustafsson, 2009, p. 04), While the third study, titled"Analysis of the role of communication devices shared on the internet - web 2.0 in the process of emergence of public sphere and democratization of Pakistan civil society"This research aims to analyze the role of the internet in Pakistan, with a particular focus on its role in the emergence of Pakistani civil society. The emergence of this civil society can be seen as a factor in the politicization and democratization of society. Pakistani society needs to be educated and guided so that democratic principles are better known and more real, and so that the country is more firmly committed to the democratic path. The intelligentsia has been engaged in this work for a long time, using traditional mass communication media such as the press, radio, and television, but civil society cannot be reduced to elites and intellectuals; other social categories must participate in the process, especially the middle class. One of the conditions for the democratization of society seems to us to require a broadening of civil society to bridge the gap between elites and the most modest categories of the population. (Rasool, 2013, p. 11)

Furthermore, a study entitled"The symbolism of the virtual public sphere in Algeria" found that: How does the discourse on blogs and Facebook pages during the Algerian presidential elections (January 1, 2014 - May 30, 2014) reveal the symbolism of the virtual public sphere? The study found that Algerian virtual groups employed a diverse range of expressive methods, including both images and text. The latter gave rise to various expressive forms such as tweets and articles. As for images, the groups used a variety of forms, such as photographs, caricatures, and composite images. Often, these groups, both individual and collective, would recall and recharge these images with new meanings and symbolism to suit the current situation. For instance, the image of Ali la Pointe from the film "The Battle of Algiers," and images of President Bouteflika with President François

Hollande were frequently used. These expressive forms were predominantly characterized by satirical rhetoric. (Ben Ayach, 2014)

And through a review of previous studies, it became clear to us that:

- a. All previous studies relied on understanding the impact of internet technology and social media on individuals' lives and their ability to shape new virtual public spaces.
- b. Benefiting from their efforts in the operational definitions of the study variables such as the concept of social media, virtual public spaces, political behavior, and political socialization.
- c. All previous studies assisted us in selecting the methodology, the research population (which was youth), and the appropriate data collection tool, which was an electronic questionnaire.

3- Study concepts

Defining concepts in scientific research is a crucial initial step that ensures the accuracy and clarity of results, and contributes to the construction of a solid scientific knowledge base, It also helps in adjusting research indicators and methodological orientation.

a. **Digital Spaces**: is a virtual realm interconnected by a global network. It is a computer-based world, accessed via computers. It is multi-dimensional, and in everyday usage, the term (digital space) encompasses the internet, email lists, discussion forums, chat rooms, email, and social media networks. (Nasr, 2015, p. 15)

Extending the concept and its relation to political socialization and participation, Gustafsson Nils argues with example: To take a hypothetical example: someone sends you a funny video clip of a politician making a fool of her- or himself on television (mainstream media content edited and published in a social media environment). You (favourite) it on your personal YouTube page, post it on your blog with a comment, tag it (assigns a label to it in order to find it easily later) and store it on your del.ici.ous folksonomy page, forward the blog post to your Facebook profile, pass it along to your friends etc. Your friends will in their turn assess whether they think that the clip is worthy of passing on, forwarding it or not. Someone might edit the original footage, adding music, snippets of other clips, texts, thereby creating a "mash up", a new piece of media, which in its turn might be passed around. Different tools allow the interactive audience to discuss and see how other people have interpreted and rated the media content. There are special services available that collect the forms of media content that are most circulated at the time. In the end, the sharing of the media content might in itself be a story worthy of mentioning in mainstream media, thereby creating a feedback loop between the different forms of media (Gustafsson, 2009, p. 11)

- b. **Political socialization**: Political scientists have concluded that political beliefs and behavior are not genetically inherited. Instead, individuals decide throughout their lifetimes where and how they fit into the political values and processes of their country through the process of political socialization. It is through this learning process that the standards and behaviors that contribute to a smoothly and peacefully functioning political system are passed between generations. Perhaps most visibly, political socialization is how people determine their political orientation, conservative or liberal, for example. (Longley, 2024)
- c. **Countrepublic Sphere**: In the concept of the counter-public sphere, or what is known as the proletarian public sphere, as highlighted by the German philosopher Oskar Negt, his critique of Habermas's theory of the bourgeois public sphere is explored.

This critique is rooted in the argument that the bourgeoisie was not the sole or primary contributor to the emergence of the public sphere, particularly in 18th and 19th century Europe. Instead, Negt argues that there was another social class that played a significant role.

Through this critique, Negt sought to draw Habermas's attention to a series of social and political mechanisms that have a direct impact on the concept of the public sphere. Therefore, we find him emphasizing the need for a broad discussion of the crises faced by capitalist countries, as the public sphere is a physical or symbolic arena for dialogue and exchange, a place for legitimate political influence and power, based on respecting the participants in public discourse and their opinions. The goal is to reach a consensus on a single opinion regarding the public interest. On the other hand, in the counter-public sphere, political opinions and positions are formed against the dominant or hegemonic power, Negt's political and union experience, coupled with his close ties to the working class, enabled him to highlight the importance of experience and practice in shaping the public sphere as a counter-public sphere. (Al-Alaoui, 2012)

To illustrate the concept of the counterpublic sphere in online spaces, Rheingold provides an example:" We are witnessing a fundamental change in how individuals can interact with their democracy and experience their role as citizens. Ideal citizens need not be seen purely as trying to inform themselves about what others have found, so that they can vote intelligently. They need not be limited to reading the opinions of opinion makers and judging them in private conversations. They are no longer constrained to occupy the role of mere readers, viewers, and listeners. They can be, instead, participants in a conversation". (Rheingold, 2008, p. 103)

4- Methodology

This research relies on the survey method, a prominent approach in internet-based research for gathering data and information pertaining to the specific phenomenon under investigation. This method involves studying a group of elements constituting a research population over a sufficient period to form a fundamental database of information within a specific field and subsequently analyzing it. (Al-Mashhadani, 2017, p. 163)

This research aims to collect data from internet users in general and social media users in particular, focusing on their motivations for seeking political information, the types of political information they seek, enability to practice of political opposition in virtual spaces, An online questionnaire was designed, comprising 3 axes and 19 questions. The link was distributed across various Algerian Facebook pages and groups dedicated to political news between April 19th and 29th, 2024. Consequently, the sample was a convenience sample, where the specific characteristics of the population within these digital spaces are unknown.

5- Research Results

After coding 23 tables in SPSS, we can present the most relevant findings in the following format:

Table 1. Table title: the distribution of the study sample by gender.

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	28	43.8%
Female	36	56.3%
Total	64	100%

Source: Using SPSS data analysis

The table results show that 56.3% of the study sample who follow political news on social media are female, while the remaining 43.8% are male. This indicates that the majority of the study sample are females. This can be explained by the fact that the social norms in our society still favor women staying at home, as they do not have many means to seek information and conduct research. Therefore, we find them more inclined to use social media platforms. Moreover, using social media increases their awareness of public issues, especially political ones. Social media networks are no longer considered a masculine technology but have become more suitable for the feminine sphere.

Table 2. Table title the distribution of the study sample by age

Age	Frequency	Percentage
18-27 years	44	68.8%
28-37 years	18	28.1%
47 years and above	2	3.1%
Total	64	100.0%

According to Table 2, 68.8% of the participants were aged between 18 and 27, followed by 28.1% aged between 28 and 37. Only 3.1% were over 47 years old. These findings highlight the predominance of the youth demographic (18-27) in the sample, reflecting the overall sociological structure of Algerian society, characterized by a significant youth population. Moreover, young people are generally more inclined to use new communication technologies, including social media. This life stage is marked by a heightened sense of engagement and interest in political issues. Consequently, young people were at the forefront of recent social movements, advocating for change, particularly within university settings. Their strong sense of patriotism and their inherent desire for change have driven their engagement with political matters and their keen following of current events through various media channels.

Table 3. Table title the distribution of the study sample by age

Educational Level	Frequency	Percentage
Secondary	16	25.0%
University	48	75.0%
Total	64	100.0%

The table results show that 75% of the study sample has a university degree, while 25% have a secondary education. This indicates that the virtual public sphere, which focuses on national, social, and political issues related to employment and rights, is dominated by individuals with a university education. Consequently, Algerian virtual public spaces are predominantly shaped by the intellectual elite, explaining the diversity of cultural capital present. This diversity fosters a rich exchange of ideas and broadens the scope of political discourse in these spaces, characterized by civilized freedom of expression. The peaceful protests of 2019, aimed at demanding a change in the ruling regime, exemplify this, as the Algerian people demonstrated a high level of civility.

Table 4. Table title the most important sources for obtaining political information

Political Information Sources	Frequency	Percentage
Personal contacts and group acquaintances	18	16.4%
Daily newspapers and specialized printed publications	12	10.9%
Local and national radio	8	7.3%
Public and private Algerian television channels	24	21.8%
General Arab or news satellite channels such as Al Jazeera	4	3.6%
Social media platforms (YouTube, Facebook, X)	44	40.0%
Total	110	100.0%

The table results show that 40% of respondents obtain their information from social media platforms such as YouTube, Facebook, and others. This is followed by 21.8% who rely on public and private Algerian television channels. Personal contacts and group acquaintances constitute 16.4% of respondents' sources, while 10.9% turn to daily newspapers and specialized printed publications. Local and national radio account for 7.3%, and general Arab and news satellite channels, such as Al Jazeera, represent 3.6%. These findings indicate that social media has become the primary source of information, eclipsing traditional media. Social media platforms are bolder in their coverage of current events and public affairs, suggesting that the virtual world has played a pivotal role in mobilizing the massive protests that erupted on February 22nd against the existing political regime.

Table 6. Table title the types of political information and local issues

Type of Political Information	Percentage	Frequency
Daily news and events of popular movement	35.4%	46
Social events caused by political situations such as protests and		
strikes	13.8%	18
Political news related to the Algerian government and its		
institutions	20.0%	26
Political speeches and statements of political elites	6.2%	8
News about elections and party nominations	6.2%	8
Economic crises with political consequences such as the		
deterioration of the national currency	18.5%	24
Total	100.0%	130

According to the table results, 35.4% of the study sample emphasized that the most important political issues for them are the events and daily activities of the popular movement. This is followed by 20.0% who are interested in political news related to the Algerian government and its institutions. Issues related to economic crises and their political consequences, such as the deterioration of the national currency, accounted for 18.5%. Social incidents caused by political situations, such as protests and strikes, followed

at 13.8%. Finally, 6.2% were interested in political speeches and statements of the political elite. This can be explained by the fact that the topic of the consequences of regime change after the popular movement, external challenges, and external changes that have internal impacts, such as the Middle East war, instability in oil prices, and border crises, have a significant impact on the population.

Table 7. Table title the types of political information and local issues

Motivations for Seeking Political Information	Percentage Frequency	
Pure interest and acquiring political culture	38.9%	42
Learning about political and economic events	37.0%	40
Accidental exposure to information in the media	7.4%	8
Practicing political opposition	5.6%	6
Mobilizing public opinion towards important or personal		
issues	9.3%	10
Practicing electoral political behavior such as candidacy		
and voting	1.9%	2
Total	100.0%	108

The table results show that 38.9% of respondents are motivated by pure interest and acquiring political culture. This is followed by 37.0% who seek to learn about political and economic events. Meanwhile, 9.3% aim to mobilize public opinion towards important issues, while 7.4% are exposed to political information accidentally through the media. A smaller percentage, 5.6%, is driven by political opposition, and 1.9% engage in electoral political behavior such as candidacy and voting. This suggests that the primary motivation for the public to seek political information is to satisfy their curiosity and acquire political knowledge. They primarily want to enrich their knowledge base in the political field, enabling them to understand current political events, engage with them confidently, and express their opinions.

Table 8. Table title Motivations for Using Social Media to Obtain Political Information and News

Motivations for Using Social Media to Obtain Political Information and News	Percentage	Frequency
The immediacy of news dissemination and frequent updates	38.2%	42
The opportunity to comment and express opinions, as it provides an open space for readers and users	36.4%	40
Because it provides abundant information about an issue, news, or any topic	10.9%	12
More convincing than traditional media because it provides videos and images from the scene, which may be taken by event		
actors	5.5%	6
The ease of access to the news editor or source	7.3%	8
Grants the right to publish and raise public issues without		
resorting to official media	1.8%	2
Total	100.0%	110

The table results indicate that the sample population primarily uses social media to obtain political news and information due to the immediacy of news dissemination and frequent updates (38.2%). This is followed by the opportunity to comment and express opinions, as these platforms provide an open space for readers and users (36.4%). Additionally, 10.9% use social media because of the abundance of information available on various issues, news, and topics. Ease of access to news editors or sources is another motivating factor for 7.3% of respondents. Furthermore, 5.5% find social media more convincing than traditional media due to the availability of videos and images from the scene, often captured by eyewitnesses. Finally, 1.8% use social media to publish and raise public issues without relying on official media.

This suggests that the key characteristic of social media that attracts users is the speed and immediacy with which news and information are disseminated. This explains why both official and licensed news outlets, as well as individuals, rely on social media platforms. Moreover, the sample population's reliance on social media for news can be attributed to the prevalence of citizen journalism, which ensures that news is presented as it is captured by ordinary citizens' cameras, without any alterations or censorship.

Table 8. Table title the interaction with political news

Type of Interaction	Frequency	Percentage
Rarely	14	22.6%
Sometimes	34	54.8%
Always	14	22.6%
Total	64	100.0%

According to the table, the majority of respondents (54.8%) indicated that they sometimes express opinions on political issues on social media. This is followed by 22.6% who always do so and 22.6% who rarely do. This suggests that a sense of social responsibility often drives individuals to share their views on political matters, although not all individuals feel the same level of responsibility towards their community.

Table 9. Table title Greater political understanding of the issue by the participants

Political culture	Freque	ncy Percentage
Rarely	18	28.12%
Sometimes	26	40.62%
Always	18	28.12%
Total	64	100.0%

Based on the table results, we observe that 40.62% of the sample stated that they sometimes sought to increase their political knowledge about the issue, while 28.12% always did so, and another 28.12% rarely did. This can be attributed to the desire of some individuals to

enhance their political capital, allowing them to discuss all political issues comfortably. Or it could be due to their varying interests in different issues. Sometimes, technical factors also play a role, such as the availability and reliability of the network, which can affect the interaction with publications for users with intermittent access to social media. (Rasool, 2013, p. 117)

<u>Table 11.</u> Table title Demonstrates the potential for respondents to either oppose or support a political issue

Type of Interaction	Frequency	Percentage
Rarely	21	32.81%
Sometimes	33	51.56%
Always	10	15.62%
Total	64	100.0%

According to the table results, 51.56% of respondents answered 'sometimes,' followed by 32.81% who answered 'rarely,' while 15.62% said 'always.' This can be attributed to the fact that some individuals are afraid to express their opinions openly due to pressures exerted on them, self-censorship, or the 'spiral of silence' theory proposed by Noelle Neumann, which suggests that individuals, even in virtual communities, tend to conform to group norms due to fear of isolation. Therefore, we sometimes find them opposing or supporting an issue, And the results of this study could be consistent with the findings of Geromidos's study "New Media, New Citizens The Terms And Conditions Of Online Youth Civic Engagement" (Geromidos, 2010, pp. 110-115)

Table 12. Table title the practice of political engagement as perceived by the respondents

Response	Percentage	Frequency
No	84.37%	54
	4 =	
Yes	15.62%	10
Total	100.0%	64
Total	100.0%	04

According to the table's findings, the majority of the study sample, amounting to 374.8%, did not engage in political activities. Conversely, only 15.62% reported participating in politics. This can be attributed to their desire to distance themselves from the political climate due to its perceived difficulty and numerous challenges, the results in the table above seem to contradict the findings of 's study

Furthermore, Howard Rheingold's research supports the idea that, the eager adoption of Web publishing, digital video production and online video distribution, social networking services, instant messaging, multiplayer role-playing games, online communities, virtual worlds, and other Internet-based media by millions of young people around the world demonstrates the strength of their desire—unprompted by adults—to learn digital production and communication skills. According to a 2005 survey by the Pew Internet and American Life Project, "The number of teenagers using the internet has grown 24% in the past four years and 87% of those between the ages of 12 and 17 are online."2

This interest by American (and Brazilian, British, Chinese, Indian, Japanese, Persian, etc.) youth in media production practices might well be a function of adolescents' needs to explore their identities and experiment with social interaction—and can be seen as a healthy active response to the hypermediated environment they've grown up in. (Rheingold, 2008, p. 97)

Table 13. Table title forms of political practice

Political Practice	Frequenc	y Percentage
Belonging to a specific political party	5	18.51%
Actively participating in an election campaign for a specific		
party	6	22.22%
Participating through voting and electing representatives for a		
specific party	10	37.03%
Running for local, legislative, or presidential elections	3	11.11%
Joining a specific group or association	2	7.40%
Total	27	100%

According to the table results, 37.03% of the sample participated by voting and electing representatives for a specific party. This was followed by 22.22% who actively participated in an election campaign for a specific party. Furthermore, 18.51% belonged to a specific political party, followed by 11.11% who ran for local, legislative, or presidential elections. Finally, 7.40% joined a specific group or association.

The results from the table above lead us to the phenomenon of digital political mobilization and the ability of some users to shape public opinion or at least change or modify a group's orientation toward a particular candidate or party, as concluded by Gustafsson's study, there are certain types of individuals and ordinary users who play the role of a filter or gatekeeper, especially those who own YouTube channels or are skilled in editing and re-cutting speeches of political figures or transforming them into comedic clips. (Gustafsson, 2009, p. 12)

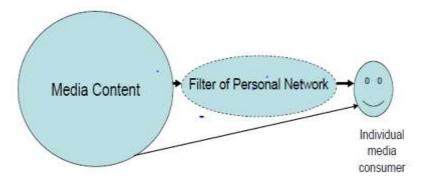


Figure 1: The network as media filter

Toward this end, McAdam (1996) provides a comparative analysis of different theoretical approaches to using the structure of mobilisation processes as an analytic tool. This literature suggests the utility of distinguishing between the structure for action, and the action itself, and draws attention to the characteristics of the "micromobilisation contexts, free spacesand other associational forms that facilitate political action (Schneider & Kirsten, 2002, p. 05)

6. Conclusion

By analyzing the previous data, we can conclude that the key points are: The most significant source for obtaining political information is social media networks, particularly Facebook, and the types of political information and domestic issues that users seek are primarily national issues and daily events.

The primary motivation for seeking political information is interest, followed by a lesser degree of interest in acquiring political knowledge. The most compelling reason for using social media platforms, specifically, is the immediacy of news updates, as indicated by 38.2% of respondents.

A significant majority of 84% of the respondents had not engaged in political activism. For those who had, a small percentage had participated in election campaigns for a particular political party. According to the sample, 74.2% agreed that internet media has contributed to the emergence of new politically active figures.

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