

Aspects Of Security Culture In The Thought Of King Abdullah II Bin Al-Hussein (1999-2020): Speeches From The Throne As A Source

Shatha sakher

Faculty of medicine, Al-Balqa Applied University, Shatha.sakher@bau.edu.jo

Abstract

This study addresses the aspects of security culture in the thought of King Abdullah II bin Al-Hussein, relying on the speeches from the Supreme Throne (1999–2020), which totalled 19 speeches and served as the primary source for this study. These speeches are particularly significant in several ways. They provide a forward-looking vision for the contours of future action at various levels, both internally and externally, and they track the state of Jordanian society and the Arab and Muslim nations by concentrating on fundamental issues that are essential to the stability of the region. This study used the exploratory approach, through the application of the content analysis method, and the deduction method to break down general thoughts into detailed ones. These thoughts were also re-examined in line with the study's objective. The study concluded a set of findings, the most important of which are the fields of security culture contained in the speeches from the Supreme Throne (1999-2020), which are: (the fields of individual humanitarian, development, the economy, law and judicial field, public services, environmental, media, reform, community participation, combating poverty and unemployment, military, the intellectual field, the regional field).

Keywords: King Abdullah II Bin Al-Hussein, Speeches from the supreme throne, Security culture.

Introduction

Security is one of the most complex subjects covered by social, educational, and psychological approaches. It also tops the specialities of military and political science and information technology. Numerous events have contributed to cultural changes that have impacted human behaviours. These serious events include the rapid advancement of science and technology, the accelerated growth of societies, the Arab Spring, the emergence of terrorist groups that pose a threat to all nations, and the changes in the COVID-19 pandemic's economic, political, communication, and media landscape. However, one of the most prominent cultural transformations in the security field is the emergence of a new intellectual model called the security culture. It attempts to find a comprehensive approach that considers all intellectual, knowledge, scientific and cultural

approaches in the security field. The effectiveness of the security culture comes from the efficient participation in its management and production, as a culture will neither produce nor be a source of security unless community participation is the basis for its production. Indeed, security culture is a social responsibility shared by all parties and segments since society is an integrated unit (Al-Badinah and Al-Zoubi, 2019).

The citizen has no longer been restricted by a particular social setting, such as the family or the school. Instead, he lives in a world experiencing an accelerating flow of intellectual, social, political, and economic currents that comes from diverse sources, and have different goals, and tendencies. Its cultural and news output is transmitted through several different centres in the country. These centres focus on discourses as a means to communicate

their goals to the community. This emphasizes the significance of discourse as a fundamental tool for influencing public opinion. Many studies related to the fields of literature and analysis, linguistics, philosophy of language and literary criticism, and archaeology have addressed this issue (Abdellatif, 2015). As for the cognitive structure of sociology of education, it takes into consideration the political, social, economic, and cultural context from which these discourses are based, without dealing with them as purely linguistic texts. Rather it goes beyond attempts to explain them in terms of their external interactions and instead considers the context in which they take place, which influences their courses (Momani, 2011).

Political discourse rank among the most significant talks that have an impact on society. These discourses are delivered by people who hold crucial positions within the government. At some point, the evolution of society and its cultural components is connected to the production of political speech. It plays a crucial and important part in the rearing process and attaining public acceptance in society, which are both essential to the political process inside the state and their major function in legitimizing political authority and activity in general (Btayeb, 2017). Those who follow the Jordanian political and social situation find that among the most significant political discourse are those of the High Throne, which are known as the official discourse that HM the King is authorized by the Constitution to deliver at the opening of the regular sessions of the National Assembly. It reviews national policies, the pillars of critical issues in the region, development plans and local policies, and calls for cooperation among all government agencies and authorities to achieve the desired national goals. From the time HM King Abdullah II received his constitutional powers in 1999 until 2020, a total of 19 speeches from the Supreme Throne have been delivered. During this period, numerous security incidents have emerged that have affected various aspects of life at the

individual, national and regional levels, including but not limited to the September 11, 2001, incident, the 2003 invasion of Iraq by US forces, and the global financial crisis (2009). In addition to the effects of the refugee influx on Jordanian society, the emergence of terrorist organizations in the region, the Arab Spring revolutions, the demands of the National Movement to promote democratic life, the Century deal and the accompanying restrictions on Jordan, the undermining of Jordanian principles towards the Palestinian cause, the events of Al Salt, the bombings of Amman hotels, and the Coronavirus pandemic.

Problem Statement

Along with new kinds of invisible and hazy security dangers including pandemics, environmental pollution, asylum issues, and energy issues, nations around the world have had to deal with many conventional security risks and challenges. Due to the interdependence of the comprehensive security system and various areas of life, it was necessary to tackle these threats and mitigate their consequences in a proactive and corrective manner. This included raising awareness and offering security education about these security concerns. Therefore, the major and essential role of political discourse in influencing the security culture of the public in society at all levels, categories and components has emerged. As it is a social necessity imposed by circumstances and reflects the society in general.

Foucault pointed out that one of the conditions for the use of discourse and the imposition of rules on individuals is called social appropriations of discourse, considering that political discourse is one of the most prominent influences in society because it has the power and the ability to reach through various means of print, audiovisual and print media (Abu Daf, 2001). It is the responsibility of rulers and political decision-makers to address these crises and to provide the necessary security education to ensure they do not recur and try to contain

them and get out with the least losses and damages, turning them into opportunities to boost the development processes.

Since the Eastern Jordan Emirate was established in 1921 and up to the present, as Jordan approaches its second centennial, political discourse has been a reflection of the whole societal situation in all spheres, particularly the security issue. These include Speeches of the High Throne, one of the most important political speeches in Jordan (Al-Owaimer and Al-Musaeedin, 2017).

His Majesty King Abdullah II in his Throne Speech in 2005 states “We reaffirm here that security and stability are the first among our national priorities, and that they are a basic prerequisite for development. For, development cannot proceed, and our goals cannot be realised unless and until security, stability and the rule of law are ensured. When the hand of traitors targeted Jordan's security and terrorised its innocent citizens and guests, the country passed, with great success, a critical test of its security and stability. Their treachery was overcome by the brave men and women of the armed forces, public security, general intelligence and civil defence, and by Jordanians who united with gallantry, pride, steadfastness and belonging. We do realise that Jordan's location, message and positions are the reasons that it was targeted and that these attacks impose upon it the largest security challenge to ever confront it. Thus, a security strategy capable of dealing with these changed circumstances and containing these challenges is in order. This requires the drafting of legislation that serves this strategy to ensure that Jordan will remain as it always has been an oasis of security and stability and a haven for freedom where human rights are respected.”

Based on the foregoing, this study comes to answer the main question: What areas of security culture are addressed in the thought of King Abdullah II in the speeches from the Throne (1999-2020)?

Study Goals and Importance

Through analysis of the Throne Speeches, this study seeks to pinpoint the aspects of security culture perceived in King Abdullah's II thought (1999-2020). The significance of the current study lies in the subject it deals with which is the security culture that is a conglomeration of the political, legal, security, social, and military areas. The study also examines how security culture has impacted Jordanian society and attempts to establish a historical context for security culture by examining it through a significant historical period in the development of the state. This paper may help illustrate the continuing importance of the role of the state and the system in promoting and disseminating a security culture that reflects the identification of related concepts such as national identity and effective citizenship education.

The importance of the study stems from the importance of its topic since research on the security culture promotes the development and strengthening of the security culture in society which reflects positively on the national security of the State. The importance of the study also stems from the importance of building a theoretical framework that links political discourse, security culture, and High Throne rhetoric. Moreover, addressing this type of speech means revealing its social function, especially its impact on the security culture. This study comes in line with a recent trend in security studies, known as the "humanization" of security issues. In addition, it coincides with a new trend of merging several specialities among them (sociology, education, history, and politics).

Study Approach:

The study is based on a qualitative, exploratory, multidisciplinary approach (sociology, education, history and politics). This approach is based on a deliberate choice to include relevant literature (Suri & Clarke, 2009) to build a well-understood structure linked to the conception of security-culture domains in the

speeches from the Throne of King Abdullah II. The study depends on the method of deduction and induction to develop a comprehensive understanding of the subject of the study so that the general thoughts are divided into detailed ones, and then these ideas are extrapolated again in line with the goal of the study (Hammersley, 2001), through the analysis of the content of the intended discourses in the study. Where content analysis refers to the process used to explain the relationship between the utterance of the speech and its implied meaning within the specific context (Khalid, 2014).

Study Terminology:

The study adopts the following terms:

Security culture:

Onisa (2017) defines security culture as “a social rules of old, common customs, trends and behaviours with social consensus, which controls social behaviour patterns and is an influential force in controlling individuals and enhances their compliance with society’s norms and laws and resisting those who deviate from social consensus, to achieve security balance in society .”

Operationally, it is a set of knowledge, ideas and information contained in the speeches from the Throne delivered by King Abdullah II during the period (1999-2020) on the various risks facing Jordanian society in several fields.

Speeches from the Throne

It is defined as constitutionally mandated formal addresses by the King at the opening of Ordinary Sessions of the Parliament, in which the Monarch lays out national policies and focuses on vital issues in the region. The speeches also address development plans and domestic policies, calling for cooperation among all branches of government in achieving certain national objectives, including, for example, expanded political participation(<https://kingabdullah.jo/ar/speech>

[es-throne](#)). This is what this study adopts as an operational definition.

Literature framework

Security Culture

The Concept of Security Culture

Perceptions of security culture vary depending on the subject matter and field of research. Some consider security culture a necessity for everyone in society, based on the principle that security is everyone's responsibility. Al-Zoubi (2019) noted that security culture is "a collection of science, knowledge, educational, training and technical skills that an individual possesses and use in confronting threats and challenges that put his life in risk." According to Salman and Asaliya (2016) “it is the behaviour to be followed in various security situations, raising awareness of the risk of falling victim to certain crimes or incidents, and also publicizing the efforts of the security services and their role in serving society and stressing the importance of cooperation between citizens and security services.”

Eid (2015) sees it as “the ability to sense security threats and predict them before they occur. Which can be avoided or confronted following their real events, and it can be achieved through the development of intellectual abilities and the interest in general and specialized knowledge, experience, and training.” Al-Zahrani (2006) considered it as “an internal feeling, which is perceived by the known senses before it occurs, and this feeling is given to one person and often does not have a known source.”

According to Al-Sabeila (2015), there are many reasons to promote a security culture in society, including rising crime rates, shifts in cultural and societal norms like the shift from the clan to the family, changes in the neighbourhood, neighbours and family, and the fortification of civil society organizations. In addition, informal mechanisms of social control including traditions and customs have become

less prevalent, the escalation of terrorism, extremism, and radicalism as well as the growth of terrorist networks. Among these factors include the rise in drug usage, the information and communication revolution, demographic shifts like migrations, and an increase in migrant workers. Additionally, there is also a need to develop a positive intellectual image of the security services in the community.

Security Culture Characteristic

Onisa (2017) pointed to several features of the security culture, including the followings :

- Humanitarian: They are man-made, interpersonal in society in various forms, and incorporate the knowledge, skills, values and security ideas that individuals develop by interacting with each other and interacting with the environment.
- Acquired: Security culture is something that people learn from their surroundings rather than having as a natural inclination. Each society has its own distinct culture, which has both a spatial and a temporal component. Security culture is acquired through purposeful or inadvertent learning, experience and knowledge, as well as through people's social networks and interactions with others. This culture is created and fostered in society through a variety of measures by security and civil society organizations.
- Consistent: The security culture is characterized by a process of consistency, and its consistency aids in meeting people's security needs. As satisfaction supports the continuation of knowledge, skills, values, ideas, principles and behavioural patterns related to security in society.
- Accumulated: its components increase with the addition of characteristics and elements added by later generations, and the ways of interaction between these elements and characteristics over long periods, resulting in additional and new cultural and security elements.
- Selectivity: The process of accumulating human experiences increases cultural security features, as well as an increase in the interaction and intertwining of its components in multiple and different forms, which makes it difficult for human generations to preserve culture in its entirety. This forces successive generations to perform only some of these cultural security operations to satisfy their needs and fit them into the surrounding social and natural environment, depending on the security circumstances and events that are prevalent in the various areas as well as the nature and extent of the dangers that surround them.
- Deployable: Cultural security elements consciously move within the culture itself from one part to another, from one community culture to another. Such diffusion occurs through the interaction of individuals with one another and the interaction of communities with one another and is effective when cultural elements benefit society.
- Changing: One of the most important characteristics of security culture is change, acquisition, addition and removal, and thus development, as a result of changing times and generations, and due to the convergence of diverse cultures with each other, where new elements enter into them, and several old elements are lost.
- Integrated system: Since the cultural elements tend to form a balanced system among themselves, this helps to

achieve adapting to changes in society. The security culture is constantly working to find harmony and compatibility between its various and disparate elements. Any change in one area of life will have an impact on the rest of the components of the security cultural pattern.

Levels of Security Culture

There are many levels of security, namely: Individual security culture, which refers to safeguarding the individual from threats, violence in all of its manifestations, and anything else that can jeopardize his freedom and rights in society. National security culture is concerned with safeguarding the state and society from threats coming from both inside and outside of it, protecting its interests, and establishing economic and social conditions to fulfil societally desired goals.

Regional security culture is concerned with the safety of a group of interlinked nations that cannot be kept apart from one another. The level of interactions that all parties in the regional system have with one another in a balanced manner, without isolation from powerful external factors, is what determines the effectiveness and stability of the regional security system. Thus, it is not based solely on the desires of a few parties, but rather on the self-goals of each nation and the shared interests of the group of nations that make up the system.

International Security Culture is the broadest and largest unit of analysis in security studies. It is linked to the security of each member state in the international system, which is a set of modules that are typically interconnected through a process of interaction between them. The system is characterized by interdependence between its units. The interaction is characterized by modularity in a way that can be observed, explained and predicted. This is what international organizations specialize in,

such as the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council (Al-Zoubi, 2018).

Dimensions of Security Culture

The security culture's dimensions were split into two categories: The local dimension entails all preventative and security measures put in place to deal with the numerous hazards and threats that exist inside the state's borders. Where the external dimension refers to the policies that states perform to combat conventional and unconventional dangers and hazards within the context of the domestic and global environments constitute (Eid, 2015).

Political Discourse

The Concept of Political Discourse

The political process both domestically and internationally places a high value on political discourse. It is crucial to the processes that grant legitimacy to political authority in general and the political activity of state actors in particular. It plays a part in the political and social formation processes since it is based on persuasion, influence, and gaining public acceptance of state-related issues (Btayeb, 2017). According to Al-Khalidi (2012), political discourse is a type of communication that aims to accomplish a specified goal. As its verbal element is diminished and the semantic meaning of the words broadens, it concentrates on the concepts and contents. The sender emphasizes that the idea is the foundation and the source by putting more emphasis on the idea than the words.

Momani (2011) believes that political discourse is the speech used by the government, political parties, and movements. This discourse carries a political agenda that the sender aims to consolidate, employing symbols and connotations to affect the public's emotions, and it is addressed to accomplish a political goal to influence and persuade the recipient.

Al-Zoubi (2018) defines it as a system of ideas, formed through the accumulation of knowledge of the individual, stems from the extrapolation

of his reality with all its social, cultural and psychological components, and is centred through ideological patterns, derived from political perceptions resulting from modernity and heritage, which differ in their systems and mechanisms according to the level of maturity Intellectual and consciousness of the individual.

Political discourse Functions

Political discourse serves a variety of functions, including special generalization, as many governments place their interests above those of the populace. For instance, in the past, colonial nations saw the spread of human civilization through their colonization of other nations as a significant accomplishment rather than a means of obtaining wealth and access to markets. Justification: It attempts to adjust reality and fulfil people's acceptance of it, regardless of reality. It is also applied to processes for identifying needs, determining priorities as well as distribution and execution strategies. The political discourse also helps in the ability to contain the hostile discourse, especially in developing countries, by mobilizing in light of (media dumping) to push the public to take positions in support of the decisions issued by the authority. It also has an expressive and influential role in achieving the goals of the state in protecting its national interests. However, the absence of this leads to a political and economic imbalance in the state, as the political discourse is determined according to the vision of the ruling regime, especially at the international level (Al-Badayna and Al-Zoubi, 2019).

The Speeches from The Throne

The Throne's speeches reaffirm the nation's core values, the ideals that served as the Great Arab Revolt's guiding principles, and the Hashemite-Jordanian commitment to the issues facing the Arab nation, the Islamic nation, and the international community. His Majesty the King dons a distinctive outfit for his throne sermon that is simple and elegant, exuding

grandeur and prestige. The wording of the first article of the constitution states that "The system of government is parliamentary with a hereditary monarchy," which is consistent with the constitutional entitlements that define the state's institutionalization and methodology in governance based on the constitution. In Jordan, the speeches from the Supreme Throne began in 1929, the Throne speech was delivered by His Majesty the late King Abdullah I at the opening of the first regular session of the first Legislative Council, and until the year 2020 reached (82) Speeches (National Assembly website, <http://parliament.jo/node/6>).

Theoretical framework

The Origin and Development of The Cultivation theory

George Gerbner's Cultivation theory first emerged in the middle of the 1970s. It uses a sociological and communications framework to examine how media, particularly television, has an everlasting effect. The cultivation process is a unique step in the larger socializing process. George Gerbner stressed that television has grown to be a major hub for mass culture, a primary source for forming people's conceptions of social reality, and an influential force on members of society. The relationship between viewing television and acquiring ideas demonstrates the degree to which television's significance and role are emphasized in the values and perceptions of social reality, due to the repetitious and stereotypical forms of conduct and social roles it portrays (Al-Mashaqbeh, 2011).

Cultivation theory draws attention to three aspects: institutional process analysis, message system (content) analysis, and cultivation analysis. Institutional process analysis analyses the communication policies, and their relationship to the content, selection, and distribution of media messages. message system (content) analysis analyses the prevailing patterns of mental images, and the most frequent behaviours that are reflected in

the media message, such as refugee and minority issues, and scenes of violence. While cultivation analysis analyses the relationships between exposure to television messages, and individuals' awareness of their social reality (Hijab, 2011). Later, with the development of different media, this theory was used to include various media through electronic virtual reality and tangible reality (Al-Zoubi, 2018).

Theory Models

The "Hawkins & Pingree" model for the processes of learning and construction is one of many models that describe the cases of cultivation and how it occurs. After conducting a thorough analysis of numerous studies on how television constructs reality, Hawkins and Pingree conclude that there is only sporadic evidence for the predicted connection between television and the creation of social reality. Additionally, it was discovered that viewing and social reality are mutually inclusive and that television can impart knowledge of reality.

Hawkins and Pingree see that the two basic elements in the cultivation process are: (learning and construction), where learning includes capacity, focusing, strategies, attention and involvement. Construction includes inference, skills, social structures and experiences. Potter model for sub-processes of cultivation. Potter explains that there are four main processes, namely: (learning, construction, generalizing and cultivating): where generalization means the relationship between first-level estimates and second-level beliefs of the same subject, through the same world, and implantation means The relationship between TV viewing and real-world measurements, whether first-level estimates or second-level beliefs (Al- Mashaqbeh, 2011).

The two models' descriptions make it evident that they complete each other. While Potter's model included the generalization process and detailed how it completed the cultivation process to achieve the final form, the first model stood out for its explanation and

clarification of the components of the learning and construction processes.

The Relationship of Cultural Cultivation Theory to Security Culture:

According to Al-Zoubi (2019), the theory of cultural cultivation is connected to how society constructs security. because it promotes societal stability, protects people from a variety of security risks, and gives people a sense of security. This is due to the fact that they support security accomplishments made in society through participation and accumulation of different types of social systems, such as the political, social, and religious systems, and the need to preserve these accomplishments to ensure the availability of peace and security in society and its sustainability. And that when a crisis or security threat arises, members of society turn to the media to rely on them to know the specifics of the security situation, its latest developments, and how it was controlled. They then adapt to what is known after the security event, by talking about how to control and deal with it and the reasons for the success of control or failure, as well as how to prevent it to ensure that it does not recur.

Previous Studies

Although there is a theoretical reference to the independent variables in this study, through extensive research in libraries and websites, the researcher was not able to find direct studies that dealt with the relationship between the variables of the current study, which enhances the originality and novelty of the study. Based on what was found in the studies that are partially related to this study, they were classified according to their chronological order from the oldest to the most recent, and presented as follows:

Studies on Security culture:

Al-Zoubi's (2019) study aimed to identify the role of religious discourse in developing the security culture of university youth in Jordan by relying on the descriptive analytical method,

and by using the questionnaire as a study tool. Where the study population included: the University of Jordan, Yarmouk University, and Mutah University, to represent all regions of the Kingdom (central, north, and south). And then the sample was chosen by simple random sampling method from the study population, where the study sample amounted to (630) male and female students. The study concluded that the role of religious discourse in developing the security culture of university youth in Jordan came to a moderate degree, and in light of the results, the study recommended some recommendations.

Al-Badayna and Al-Zoubi (2019) aimed to identify the impact of political discourse on the security culture of university youth in Jordan. The study used the descriptive analytical method, and a questionnaire was prepared as a tool for collecting information. The University of Jordan, Yarmouk University, and Mutah University were chosen to represent all regions of the Kingdom (central, north, and south), and then a random sample of students from these universities was selected (n=630) male and female students. The study reached some results, most notably: The effect of political discourse on the security culture of university youth in Jordan came to a medium degree. The study exhibited that there were statistically significant differences in the impact of political discourse on security culture according to the gender variable and in favour of males at the individual, national and regional security levels, and there were no differences due to the gender variable at the global level, and also showed that there were no statistically significant differences for the impact of political discourse on security culture depending on for the variable of the academic stage. Statistically significant differences in the impact of political discourse on security culture due to the university variable and in favour of the University of Jordan (which represents the middle region) were evident. The study made some recommendations.

Al-Zoubi (2018) also conducted a study aimed to identify the role of religious discourse in shaping the security culture from the clerics' viewpoint. The study relied on the exploratory approach, by conducting some interviews with some Christian and Islamic clerics in Jordan to answer the study question (What is the role of religious discourse in shaping the security culture in Jordanian society?). The interviews included the following topics: the content of the speeches, the speech tools, and the reaction and response from the audience. The study's most notable findings included the prominence of religious discourses' discussions of local problems and their causes, particularly societal violence and the effects of drugs on young people.

Salman and Asaliya (2016) conducted a study aimed at identifying the role of Palestinian universities in the Gaza governorates in developing students' awareness of security culture to face security risks. To achieve the objectives, the study was conducted on a sample of (600) male and female students from universities in the Gaza Strip. A questionnaire consisting of (48) items distributed over four areas was applied to it. The questionnaire was built through a list of security risks that was prepared to achieve the objectives of the study. The results of the study indicated that Palestinian universities can develop students' awareness of security culture to face security risks by more than (50%) and that there are no statistically significant differences in students' awareness of security culture due to the specialization variable. There are statistically significant differences in the students' awareness of the security culture due to the variable of the academic level (first and fourth) in favour of the first level. Also, there are statistically significant differences in the students' awareness of the security culture due to the gender variable in favour of males.

Al-Sabeila (2015) used a descriptive approach and a questionnaire to carry out a study to develop a strategic vision for promoting a

security culture in Saudi society. All members of the military, civil service, and staff members of the Northern Border Police Directorate made up the study population. 300 people made up the study sample, which was selected using a random sample method. The study's finding of a strategic vision for fostering a security culture in Saudi society is one of its most significant findings.

Eid's (2015) study dealt with the challenges and developments witnessed by the Gulf region. The most prominent findings of the study are that the issues of defence, security and terrorism have dominated the content of official and popular political discourse. To address the security challenges, the Gulf states have adopted some policies to combat terrorism, including the formation of military alliances to confront terrorism (the Islamic Military Alliance).

Studies addressed the thought of King Abdullah II

Al-Owaimer and Al-Musaeedin (2017) used the throne speeches as their primary source in their study, which sought to identify the political reform in the thoughts of King Abdullah II between 1999 and 2014. This is due to the speeches' significance in some areas, the two most crucial of which are detecting the state of the nation and defining the parameters of future work. The study came to various conclusions, the most significant of which are: The legislation that has been enacted statistically and qualitatively shows that the King's thoughts and directions through the lofty utterances of the throne have a clear impact on the reality of political transformation in Jordan.

Al-Khalidi's (2012) study aimed to analyze the speeches of King Abdullah II in the English language by analyzing 18 speeches using content analysis. The results showed that the king used the general more than the specific and that the king defended many issues, the most important of which is the Palestinian cause, Jerusalem and Islamic holy sites and his

defence permanently of Islam. Al-Momani (2011) aimed to identify the impact of the political speeches of King Abdullah II on social exclusion from 1999-2008 through content analysis of the books of the High Commissions of the successive governments and the speeches of the throne using the method of quantitative (vocabulary) and qualitative (objective analysis). The political speeches of King Abdullah II have a positive impact on indicators of social exclusion to achieve assimilation and inclusion through royal directives, generosity, and initiatives.

Basbous' (2010) study aimed at demonstrating the consistency of the thought of King Abdullah II on peace and development by analyzing a number of the king's international speeches using the text-reading and analysis method, both in terms of quantity and content. The study concluded that there is great consistency in the thinking of King Abdullah II about his vision of achieving peace and development and the importance of the Palestinian cause in the King's thought as a pivotal issue for peace. The process of analyzing and categorizing previous studies showed that this study is one of the few studies according to the researcher's knowledge that dealt with identifying the areas of security culture in the thought of King Abdullah II through studying the speeches from the Supreme Throne as a source. This study differed from previous studies that focused on one variable. This study made use of previous studies in collecting as much information as possible and making use of the contents to find a linking process between the parts of the subject, which gives the current study a new feature.

Analysis of the speeches from the Throne according to the areas of security culture

After reviewing the conceptual framework of this study and presenting previous studies, a content analysis was conducted by focusing on the key terms within the context and indicative of the concept of security culture, and what

could be characterized by a security character and an interrelationship with the security system as a whole. Then those terms were searched within the texts of the discourses and presented within specific fields so that each term indicates its true meaning. The content analysis depends on the keywords within the context in the text of the discourse, in addition to identifying the significance of the word within the context. Where the fields came as follows: (the individual humanitarian field, the development field, the economic field, the legal and judicial field, the public services field, the environmental field, the media field, the reform field, the field of community participation, the fight against poverty and unemployment, the military field, the intellectual field, the regional field), and the following is a presentation of the general context of each field:

I. The security culture of the individual humanitarian field

All of the throne speeches reaffirmed that the Jordanian person is the true wealth, the foundation, and the aim of development. As such, the state must ensure the realization of justice and equality in both its economic and social aspects, as well as its commitment to achieving equal opportunities and social solidarity. All policies, projects, and plans are also directed at the Jordanian person to protect him and enable him to continue his role in establishing and maintaining the country (Speeches from the throne, 2010, 2018). It also emphasized the significance of the role of youth and the need to develop a clear strategy for the sector's advancement based on science and education, which strengthens their sense of belonging and helps them internalize the concepts of professional, creative, and volunteer work, given that they make up the bulk of society, which compels governments to activate their role in public service. Working to broaden the spheres of participation and assisting in the creation of plans and programs, developing free youth activities, and enticing them to participate in political work by

supporting youth organizations with political, economic, and social programs (Speeches from the throne, 2000, 2007, 2010, 2011).

The throne speeches also highlighted the importance of supporting youth organizations, expanding participation opportunities, helping to create plans and programs, creating free youth activities, and encouraging young people to get involved in politics by joining parties that have political, economic, and social agendas (Speeches from the throne, 2000, 2007, 2010, 2011). In addition to taking the required actions to adequately protect their rights, the remarks enhanced the role of women in the construction process. Implementing the child and woman protection project, creating family planning programs, and providing children with health and social care would help them grow up in a social setting that will allow them to integrate into their society and prepare them for the future (Speeches from the throne, 2000, 2003, 2010).

On the individual psychological level, it is noted that more than one paragraph has focused on the importance of spreading hope, ambition, perseverance and achievement, combating pessimism and melancholy, and stimulating the spirit of excellence, sincerity in work and mastery. Introducing the spirit of initiative and openness, taking and applying creative ideas, calling for a positive spirit and constructive cooperation, and the need to transform dissatisfaction with difficulties into energy that pushes the citizen forward for his psychological need and the nation's need for energy (Speeches from the throne, 2019, 2018).

In terms of human rights, the throne speeches emphasized the need to protect, preserve, and respect human rights and freedoms, preserve their dignity, provide security, and ensure stability, as part of an integrated system, to build a strong Jordan by ensuring a secure and suitable environment for democratic interaction, ensuring freedom of responsible expression of opinion, and stressing the importance of exercising public freedoms in

word and deed, following their sense (Speeches from the throne, 2000, 2006, 2011, 2013, 2015).

The throne speeches also emphasized the importance of providing a decent life for the citizen, by improving the standard of living of the citizen as an approach to governance and administration, strengthening consumer protection efforts, encouraging competition and preventing monopoly, in addition to directing support to those who deserve it and supporting productive and pioneering projects and small and medium enterprises (Speeches from the throne, 2007, 2013).

2. Security culture for the development field

The throne speeches indicated that the ultimate goal is comprehensive development as a necessary basis for prosperity, which can be achieved through integration and coherence in all fields. It also focused on the importance of modernization and initiative for state institutions and agencies, intensifying efforts and accelerating the implementation of programs and projects that improve the standard of living for all citizens in all governorates. The speeches called for work to establish economic development zones in a number of them, and to provide the necessary support to municipalities to enable them to carry out their responsibilities efficiently and work on developing performance and preserving Jordan as a model in achievement and giving (Speeches from the throne, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2013, 2019).

His Majesty's vision, which was cited in (Speeches from the throne, 2006, 2008), is based on promoting economic and social development to expand the base of participation in the decision-making process and its implementation and promote the principles of equal opportunities, participation and accountability. It also concentrated on the value of political development that is achieved through interaction with civil society institutions and national parties, which adopt

work programs and build credibility and popular presence. The government was requested to encourage national party action that is committed to the laws and the constitution and to remove all obstacles to the development of the role of parties (Speech from the throne, 2010)

.Regarding the distribution of development gains, the throne speeches showed the importance of enshrining justice in distributing the governorates' share of development, projects and programs, through which the citizen perceives the positive effects on the quality of his life (Speech from the throne, 2011).

3. Security culture in the economic field

The throne speeches highlighted the most significant national priorities and objectives, including developing a robust national economy, fostering a favourable investment climate, addressing the issue of debt, and increasing production in a variety of sectors, particularly in light of the significant difficulties the Jordanian economy faced as a result of the global financial crisis. This called for the implementation of major crucial projects like renewable and alternative energy projects, the new Queen Alia Airport, and the port of Aqaba for economic policies to be reflected in the standard of living of Jordanian citizens and to create a future vision for a robust national economy (Speeches from the throne, 1999, 2000, 2008, 2010, 2013, 2014).

4. Security culture in the legal and judicial field

The throne speeches included a vision and an approach based on a central and chief axis of establishing a firm and just state of the law by supporting the independence of the judiciary, putting in place legislation that enhances and preserves its independence, and providing incentives that help the judiciary perform its venerable mission, achieve justice among people, and the rule of law. Ensuring that the

law is for everyone, Jordanians are equal before the law, and justice is the basis of governance. As it is the guarantee for preserving the values of tolerance, interdependence, integration, and national unity.

The speeches also reaffirmed the Constitutional Court's and the Independent Election Commission's support for finishing the development of these institutions' capacity in line with global best practices so that they can become regional centres of excellence. As a result, some constitutional and supervisory institutions that strengthen our democracy have been established, most notably the Constitutional Court and the Independent Election Commission, which act as independent bodies to ensure the fairness and openness of elections. It has overseen the most recent parliamentary elections with unparalleled success. To ensure that the law affected by the constitutional amendments is compatible with the constitution, the required amendments must be made (Speeches from the throne, 1999, 2000, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2018).

5. Security culture in public services

The security culture in the field of public services was cited in more than one speech, highlighting the significance of expanding infrastructure services and ensuring justice in distribution with attention to remote and fewer disadvantaged areas. It also focused on completing the restructuring of public sector institutions and the network of e-government services and improving the quality of basic public services. Among the most important of these services are:

- A. Education: It focused on the necessity of continuous work on developing the educational process, providing it with competencies, and improving the quality of education and the level of graduates. In addition to rehabilitating teachers, improving their standard of living and maintaining their social status. It also emphasized the development of curricula, the upgrading of scientific research and university education, and the balance between the outputs of academic and vocational education and the requirements of production and the national economy (Speeches from the throne, 2000, 2004, 2006, 2010, 2014, 2015).
- B. Health: Every citizen has a right to quality health care, which is necessary to raise living standards. The only person who can work and productively be a healthy person who is confident in his or her health as well as the health of his or her children and family. As a result, efforts have been made to extend the coverage of comprehensive health insurance to all citizens, give special consideration to motherhood and childhood programs, establish numerous sizable health facilities in the governorates in collaboration with the private sector, and create a map of the Kingdom's health services as a resource for researching, determining priorities, and forecasting future health needs (Speeches from the throne, 2004; 2006; 2008). The throne speech in 2020 focused on the priority of dealing with the Corona pandemic and preserving the health of the citizen while continuing to protect the national economy. This calls for the development of plans, work programs, studied and applicable decisions, and an effective partnership with the private sector.
- C. The tourism sector, cultural movement and transportation: increasing investments in the tourism industry (Speeches from the throne, 2006, 2010). In addition to paying more attention to the cultural movement in Jordan, supporting intellectuals and

writers, valuing creativity and creators, developing numerous institutions that advance the cultural movement, and placing a special emphasis on the development and success of the transport and railways sector (Speeches from the throne, 2000, 2014).

- D. The communications and information technology sector: improving the performance of various state institutions, so that Jordan remains a regional leader in this field, with the need to continue building and keep pace with the latest global developments, to maintain the competitiveness of this sector in employing young talents (Speeches from the throne, 2010, 2015).

6. Security culture in the media and press

In his insightful thoughts, which were alluded to in the speeches from the Throne, His Majesty acknowledged that the press and the media shape how the country is perceived by its people and by the rest of the world. And that the development of this significant industry occurs in an environment that values freedom, respect for other opinions, and intellectual pluralism, as well as awareness of and adherence to the overriding national interest. Stressing the importance of upholding press freedom and the media's role as a monitor, exposing the truth on a professional and impartial basis and in the spirit of responsible freedom, as well as Jordanians' ties to the country's mission and aims. To maintain the required balance between press freedoms and individual rights, the national media, with its institutions and personnel, must make a fundamental and effective contribution to upholding the standards of professionalism and objectivity. An improvement in the tools for study and analysis should correspond to the increase in the level of criticism, courage, proposition, and remark. The purpose of journalism, a lofty profession, is to protect the public interest, the

well-being of society, and the formation of public opinion, away from misinformation, and to transform personal opinion into a public reality (Speeches from the throne, 2000, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2011).

7. Security culture in the environmental field

The throne speeches focused on the need to protect the environment in all its elements, the most important of which is the preservation of food security: Supporting the agricultural sector by various means, to strengthen the citizen's belonging and connection to the land, which he redeems with his blood and sweat. And the advancement of the agricultural sector, which provides job opportunities for many families and individuals. Emphasizing the interest in the agricultural sector and whoever works in this sector (Speeches from the throne, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2010).

Water security: The issue of water is one of the top national priorities, and many measures have been taken to exploit water resources practically and economically and to provide new water resources, in all governorates. This is done by accelerating the implementation of a strategy aimed at providing a fair water share for the citizen, increasing storage capacities, developing existing water resources, building more dams, water harvesting projects, continuing programs to transfer water from the Disi basin, and using energy to desalinate sea water (Speeches from the throne, 2000, 2008).

Providing new resources of energy in Jordan in light of the ongoing increases and fluctuations in the price of oil. This will be accomplished by moving quickly enough to look into renewable and alternative sources, such as oil shale and wind, and by accelerating the implementation of the nuclear energy program for peaceful purposes. It is one of the strategic possibilities since the nation and its citizens will no longer be exploited by the oil markets and the volatility of prices with the diversification of energy sources and rationalization of usage.

The government needs to accelerate the diversification of energy sources, reliance on alternative and renewable energy sources, and ongoing development and investment in this crucial industry (Speeches from the throne, 2000, 2007, 2008, 2013, 2015).

8. Security culture in the field of reform

Political reform in the throne speeches was repeated in more than one speech to emphasize the importance of working to consolidate awareness of democratic culture, and developing partisan life, to enable the Jordanian citizen to participate in real decision-making. As the intentions should be loyal to the homeland and the defence of national ideals, and not be a tool for foreign agendas. And that is accomplished through consolidating the principles of justice, equality, and equal opportunities, based on efficiency and achievement, deepening these principles and concepts in our national culture, and moving them from the framework of sayings and slogans to the reality of work away from scepticism. The ultimate goal of the political reform process is to reach representative governments.

For the parties' structure to mature and have an effective political weight within parliament, the principle of consultation in forming governments must be established, so that citizens can be certain that they participate through parliament in forming, monitoring, and holding governments accountable. In the field of political reform, the government began to develop a detailed and gradual vision to activate the role of the Ministry of Defense to advance the political, economic, social and logistical tasks of national defence, and this includes activating the role of the National Center for Security and Crisis Management. The path of political reform also requires the consolidation of the local governance approach through the implementation of municipal law and decentralization first. And then the transition to the election law, in addition to continuing to develop the mechanisms of work of the House

of Representatives, including the internal system, the adoption of the code of conduct, and the consolidation of the work of the parliamentary blocs on a programmatic and partisan basis, all in parallel with the implementation of the outcomes of the national human rights plan. There is no reform without respect for Rights and the Preservation of Freedoms (Speech from the throne, 2007, 2011, 2014).

The throne speeches also emphasized that political reform correlates with economic reform, as they are the mainstays of democracy and prosperity. The speeches emphasized making economic reform efforts that require full cooperation between the government and parliament and rising to the level of responsibility, especially in light of the global and regional economic crises that affect our economic conditions. To be able to overcome the financial challenges we face (Speech from the throne, 2013).

As for the administrative reform, the throne speeches shed light on the importance of developing a career planning method in public sector institutions based on the principles of merit in promotion, the appointment of competencies and talents, evaluation and continuous training. By establishing applicable mechanisms. This requires the obligation of all state institutions to promote a culture of excellence, transparency and accountability, apply the National Integrity Charter, and establish institutional regulation to enhance the integrity system (Speeches from the throne, 2008, 2014). The commitment to thorough reform in conformity with national interests was reaffirmed in the speeches from the Throne. Additionally, to create a successful future for the citizens of this nation, modernization and development are required, along with a quick response to changes and advancements (Speeches from the throne, 2015, 2016).

9. Security culture in the field of community participation

The throne speeches strengthened the feeling of Jordanians that they are one family whose members are equal in rights and duties, regardless of their origin or birthplace. His Majesty stressed that the true sense of belonging to Jordan and demonstrating this through work and carrying out duties is the measure of good citizenship. And that all Jordanians are partners in shouldering responsibility (Speech from the throne, 1999). The throne speech of 2000 highlighted that the national unity will remain a source of pride for all Jordanians, who will bravely protect it and preserve it.

Throne speeches encouraged the private sector and community institutions to provide more initiative and boldness to lead sustainable economic and social development. It indicated that the diversity of roots and heritage enriches the Jordanian national identity, which respects the rights of the citizen, and opens the doors of diversity for him within a single national spirit that promotes tolerance and moderation. Jordan has always been a model of coexistence, compassion and solidarity among all its sons and daughters, Muslims and Christians, and a haven for those who seek help from our brothers. The source of Jordan's resilience is its strong internal front, active citizenship practices, and confidence in the awareness of Jordanians and their active role in fighting corruption and confronting the spread of rumours and accusations that are not based on facts to tarnish a reputation, undermine and deny achievements (Speeches from the throne, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2018).

10. Security culture in the fight against poverty and unemployment

The throne speeches emphasize the importance of providing work opportunities for youth and alleviating the problems of poverty and unemployment through expedite the implementation and development of educational programs, linking the outputs of education and vocational training to the labour market, and adopting an ambitious strategy for

the development of the governorates, with the active participation of the local communities.

As for fighting poverty, the government were invited to improve the quality of life of every citizen by reallocating financial resources to target the poor directly, through the Social Solidarity Commission, to coordinate national aid efforts. And work to increase the income of the Jordanian citizen in the various segments to ensure a decent living for him and his family, and the equitable distribution of development revenues, through economic projects that consider the geographical and demographic distribution and the peculiarities of the governorates. In addition to securing every citizen a good level of life and basic services, and reducing the gap in the level of health and educational services and infrastructure between the capital, rural areas, the Badia, and the camps.

It also focused on expanding the health insurance umbrella, activating the quality control of food products, medicines and water to preserve the health and safety of citizens, and working to link the Ministry of Labour with the National Aid Fund, so that the children of beneficiary families are involved in vocational training programs that qualify them to enter the labour market.

Moreover, a decent housing initiative for decent living was launched. And the establishment of the National Employment Company, which will protect thousands of Jordanians from unemployment, by training and employing them, in various technical professions, with the continuation of the implementation of the National Employment Strategy and National Employment Strategy to provide job opportunities for young people, and the provincial development fund was established, which needs to increase allocations To expand its business in supporting small and medium enterprises and productive enterprises. The social safety net that protects the low-income category has also been strengthened by directing support to its beneficiaries (Speeches

from the throne, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2013, 2014).

11. Security culture in the military field

The speeches confirmed that the Jordanian armed forces and security institutions are the homeland's shield and the alert eye that safeguards its security and stability. They are a symbol of strength, a subject of confidence, pride, security and stability for the homeland, protecting its progress and achievements, and a partner in construction and development operations.

His Majesty stressed that his interest and care for them shall continue to be top national priorities. They will continue to merit His Majesty's follow-up and supervision of the modernization of their capabilities. His Majesty shows his interest in raising the level of their performance and improving the living conditions of their staff and families, so that they may rise to their momentous national and human responsibilities with utmost efficiency, excellence and capability (Speeches from the throne, 2000, 2003, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2011, 2013, 2014).

12. Security culture in the intellectual field

The throne speeches were fundamentally concerned with defending Islam, presenting it in its true, bright image to the world, the religion of moderation and tolerance, and rejecting all accusations and smear campaigns against it by extremists from some Muslims and non-Muslims, so the Amman Message was launched in this direction. It also focused on rejecting all forms of extremism, violence and takfiri ideology, by reviving the role of historical religious institutions and enabling trustworthy scholars to play their role in activating the principle of *ijtihad* and fatwas, to accommodate social, political, intellectual and scientific developments in this era and to shape the nation's conscience and its human culture, with preserving the essence of the creed and its great message. It also stressed the need to

confront firmly and forcefully anyone who tries to ignite sectarian wars, the need to combat extremism and terrorism, and confront organizations that adopt takfiri ideology and extremism, as well as the need for the international community to confront extremism in other sects and religions (Speeches from the throne, 2006, 2007, 2014, 2015).

13. Security culture in the regional field

The throne speeches emphasized in their entirety that Jordan's security is part and parcel of the security of brethren Arab countries and that the Arab realm is Jordan; first vital sphere. Therefore, Jordan will continue to work to unify the nation's efforts and positions, towards its fateful issues, and will be keen on reaching out to and coordinating with our Arab brethren and on deepening relations with them based on affection and respect, trust and cooperation, and non-interference in the affairs of others, Jordan will remain, as it has always been, committed to its historical positions and its mission towards the issues of its Arab and Islamic nation, and towards peace and security in various parts of the world (Speeches from the throne, 2000, 2005, 2008, 2014, 2015). Also, the throne speeches paid special attention to the Arab crisis, including the Palestinian cause, the Syrian crisis and the Iraqi crisis, as follows:

The Palestinian cause: The Palestinian cause is at the fore in the priorities of Jordanian foreign policy, and the first issue on the Jordanian diplomatic agenda, by continuing to support the Palestinian, so that they can restore their rights and establish their independent state on Palestinian land from the June 4 lines, on their national soil. Its capital is East Jerusalem, and confronting any Israeli attempts to change the identity of Jerusalem, not accepting any prejudice to its historical and legal status, especially in the Hashemite care of the Islamic and Christian holy sites in Al-Quds Al-Sharif, and working to continue mobilizing international efforts to reconstruct Gaza after the brutal aggression that claimed the lives of thousands of our Palestinian brothers and

destroy their property. For such aggression not to be repeated, it is necessary to return to launching final-status negotiations and to reach permanent peace based on the two-state solution (Speeches from the throne, 2000, 2003, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020).

The Syrian Crisis: The throne speeches affirm that the only solution to the Syrian crisis is a comprehensive political solution, with the participation of all components of the Syrian people, which guarantees the unity and stability of Syria. In the absence of such a solution, the sectarian conflict will become entrenched at the level of the region, and Jordan has received our brethren Syrian refugees out of humanitarian and national duties. Jordan has also provided all possible assistance, medical aid and shelter to ease their suffering (Speeches from the Throne, 2013, 2014, 2015).

The Iraqi crisis: The throne speeches emphasize Jordan's continued support for Iraq, with an emphasis on Iraq's unity, territorial integrity, sovereignty, security and stability, justice in it, and its people enjoying security and stability, progress and prosperity (Speeches from the throne, 2000, 2003, 2006, 2008).

Findings and Discussion

The study was able to answer its main question: What areas of security culture are addressed in the thought of King Abdullah II in the speeches from the Throne (1999-2020)?

The study concluded the areas of security culture in the thought of King Abdullah II through the speeches from the Supreme Throne (1999-2020). These fields included some branches, which are listed as follows:

The individual humanitarian field: By ensuring that the Jordanian citizen is real wealth and ensuring the significance of youth and women in the development process, and their crucial role in society while upholding and respecting human rights and offering a decent standard of living for the populace.

The development field: It is built upon several development domains, including: (comprehensive development, balanced economic and social development, political development, and distribution of development gains).

The economic sector: By strengthening the national economy, reducing the budget deficit, fostering a favourable business climate, boosting competitiveness, and expanding production across a range of industries.

Public services sector: The security culture in this field is based on the need to expand basic infrastructure, ensure justice in the distribution of services, complete the e-government services network, and focus on the sectors of education, health, tourism, cultural movement, transportation, and the communications and information technology sectors.

The environmental sector: the necessity of spreading the security culture in the field of food security, water security and energy saving.

The media sector: Spreading the security culture through freedom of the media, respect for opinions, intellectual pluralism, Jordanian affiliation to journalistic and media work, the patriotism of goals and mission, and adherence to the principles of professionalism and objectivity.

Reform: the significance of a security culture for citizens will be achieved by learning about national reform initiatives in various fields, namely: (comprehensive reform, political reform, economic reform, and administrative reform).

The field of community participation: It is achieved by deepening the knowledge of the importance of equality of rights and duties of all individuals regardless of origin and birthplace, that all citizens are partners in bearing responsibility, and that national unity is a source of pride. The private sector and civil society institutions are development partners, and the diversity of roots and heritage in Jordan

enriches the national identity. Certainly, Jordan is a model of coexistence, compassion and solidarity, and the source of Jordan's strength is the people, the practices of active citizenship, and the awareness of the citizen and their role in fighting corruption and confronting the spread of rumours.

Fighting poverty and unemployment: the importance of informing young people and the impoverished category about programs and initiatives that aim to provide social safety nets in all areas of health, education, and services, connect educational outcomes to the labour market, offer the necessary training, and distribute development gains fairly.

Military field: Pride in the armed forces and security agencies, providing all forms of support to cadres and continuous modernization of this system with the weapons, training and qualification it needs.

The intellectual field: defending Islam and spreading its correct image, combating extremist ideology, terrorism and terrorist organizations, and fighting attempts to ignite sectarian wars.

The regional field: adherence to national constants by defending Arab issues, the most important of which is the Palestinian cause, and protecting Islamic and Christian holy sites in it.

Conclusion

His Majesty King Abdullah II reinforced the security culture in several areas through the speeches from the throne. As this was a societal line of defence to face any dangers according to multiple paths politically, economically and socially. The main guarantee for the sustainability and continuity of the development process in Jordan is maintaining security and stability through the dissemination of security culture. This can be done by defining the parameters of the relationship between the individual and the state and building a system of equal rights and duties

among members of society regardless of their origins and birthplace.

Moreover, it can be achieved when citizens fulfil their duties towards their homeland by respecting the rule of law, having integrity and fighting corruption, establishing political participation on the principle of political pluralism, and continuing the development approach based on community participation and developing services in the Kingdom. This will further deepen good and effective citizenship.

Jordan faces security challenges, but under the guidance of His Majesty King Abdullah II Ibn Al Hussein, the country has been able to turn these challenges into opportunities through development processes, comprehensive reform, and the development of public services, positioning Jordan regionally and internationally as a civilized model based on freedom of thought. Tolerance, harmony, adherence to national principles, and support for Arab causes. At the local and international levels, all of this helped to develop a complete system of security, safety, and security culture.

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