

The Economic and Political Impact of Financing on the Electoral Process in Jordan

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Abstract

This study aimed to shed light on one of the issues that Jordanian public concern about, because of their impact on transparency and fairness of the electoral process in Jordan in a way that is reflected negatively on the supervisory and Legislative role of Jordanian Parliament Council. The study concluded many results including; the great impact of political money on democratic life, especially on electoral process through the withdrawal of public confidence in parliament and its role in the political process and the negative impact on the voters' interests. The control process of political money use is considered as the task of initial wisdom, but it has been characterized by weakness and lack of seriousness in punishing the committers of political money crimes. Accordingly, the study recommended to the need to activate the application of legal procedures firmly, to follow-up vote-buying brokers and monitor their activities, to educate voters about their rights and the negative impact of political money use in parliamentary life and its huge negative effects on the overall political process.

Introduction

Political money issue is one of the topics that have the attention researchers and scholars because of its impact on the democratic and non-democratic political systems. James Pollack (1926) confirms in his study that "the relationship between money and politics remains one of the biggest problems for democratic governments" ⁽¹⁾. Historically, the Greeks philosophers and wise men separated money from power in order to avoid corruption ⁽²⁾. During French Revolution, the nobility class refused to share power with the emerging bourgeoisie of money owners who used people to launch the revolution on the existing rule while the British nobility avoided the same fate because they have given up part of their power in favor of the English bourgeoisie ⁽³⁾. Democracy that comes as a result of the use of political money will produce a political system that does not represent the people although it is chosen through the ballot box ⁽⁴⁾. In any way, we can't find a space for the separation between money and politics in which all international, regional and local issues are affected by wealth owners because of its large and clear role in changing of the political game. ⁽⁵⁾.

Therefore, this study has been conducted to shed light on the question of political money role in the electoral process through different political and legal pillars since the political money is one of the most prominent manifestations of corruption and forgery and it leads to a lack of integrity, transparency and a negative impact on the entire political system both in terms of its legitimacy, its stability and its ability to respect the fundamental rights of citizens in Jordan.

Study Importance: This study is gaining its importance by political role of the legislative authority (parliament) in Jordan and the legislative and supervisory role which contributes to decline its value for the Jordanian citizen and creates mistrust in parliamentary councils. Political money plays a key role to increase this problem by its impact on the electoral process which has become lately a political phenomenon.

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⁽¹⁾James Kerr pollok ,Moneg and politics Abroad, University of Michigan , 1926.p63.

⁽²⁾ Abbas, Abboud Salem, "political money", civilized dialogue, 12/10/2010.

⁽³⁾NajibAekrak, "Tunisia revolution and the defeat of political money" newspaper Arab teaching 12/16/2012

⁽⁴⁾James Kerr pollok ,Moneg and politics Abroad, University of Michigan , 1926.p63.

⁽⁵⁾Amer, Adel, bribery of electoral is a crime has not been applied, 15/12/2011, quoting from [http:// al wakei.com.news](http://alwakei.com.news)

(Starting from this point) the importance to study and analysis the impact of political money in elections is emphasized so the state should fight this phenomenon in order to avoid the threat of the progress of electoral process and its transparency in order not to have people with no capacity and ability to be sorted through illegal and unethical access to the parliament.

Study Problem: This study tries to shed light on the reality and the use of political money on political life and democratic process in Jordan leading to the spread of political corruption, bribery and narrow personal interests which weaken the societal and political fabric of the country. The political money become as big pressure on the will of the voters to support a candidate, list or party in a way that voters remain pay loyalty to whom pay more and thus provide the opportunity to the control of people or forces that have the political money to exercise considerable influence over the course of the electoral process which is reflected on the role of the Parliament Council either in control or legislation also it is reflected on the credibility of parliamentary work in general. Accordingly, that decreases the opportunities of people with principles, values and ideologies experiences in front of money power of and its influence on the members' seats in parliament. Therefore, this study has been conducted to highlight the problem of political money and its role in the electoral process by answering the following questions:

1. Does the political money threaten the democracy life and its transparency in the electoral process in Jordan?
2. Do the government measures contribute to the treatment of political money in Jordan?

Research Objectives: This research seeks to achieve the following objectives:

1. Identify of political money as one of the modern concepts and recognize the form of political money deals.
2. Clarify of the attitude of Jordanian law from dealing in political money.
3. Clarify of dimensions and influence of political money in the electoral process in Jordan.
4. Show the consequences of political money deals in the electoral process.

Research Methodology: the researcher used the analytical descriptive approach in this research, because it is suitable to the nature of research problem and to answer research questions and topic.

Study Hypotheses: This study starts from the following hypotheses: the economic and political conditions contributed in increasing the influence of political money on the electoral process in Jordan.

Previous studies: the most important studies related to the subject of this study are:

- (Albadeel centre seminar 2006) study entitled "**political money - between the legal and forbidden**" This study has indicated to the common role of political money in various countries of the world and not limited to the Arab countries, but there are advanced countries, the political money plays a key role in most of electoral campaigns and the relationship between money and politics are one of the most important problems facing the various governments.

- (Younis Baraa 2007) Study entitled "**foundations of governance and the interactions of electoral process dilemma in Morocco, a survey study**" "this study seeks to illustrate the electoral process in Morocco starting from the elements of political action and the foundations of governance in its electoral practice relations. The correlation between the two tracks is debatable and helps to discover what was is in the political Morocco since first election experiences in 1960 as a "structural crisis" related to the core of political power. The survey results showed that there is a high percentage of qualified people to participate in the elections (66.4%) believes that political money has huge influence on the voters' decisions. (21.4%) believes that this influence is little.

- (Muhammad Ali Omari, 2012) Study entitled "**political money: doctrinal comparative study of Jordanian law,**" This study aimed to clarify the concept of political money, words related to it, its forms and legitimacy. The researcher explained that political money includes several means such as bribery, harm wealth and hypocrisy and others. This study demonstrated the discussion money political deals as well as the opinion of law about its different results. The researcher used descriptive analytical approached and deductive approach. The study concluded that the dealing **in political money has negative moral, economic and political effects... etc.**

- (Ph.D. Hamdi Abdel Azim 2013), Study entitled "**Money and Politics; external funding to transitional interactions within the Arab countries,**" the study touched on the issue of political funding in light of the revolutions. The study concluded to the multiplicity of political funding forms between what is legitimate and what is a suspicion.

The study also found funding parties and their purposes of funding in addition to the vision of countries of what is at the core of its sovereignty, what is interference in its internal affairs and the ability of these countries to cope with penetration and the imposition of strict control over this money.

- (PhD. Talal Hamed 2014) Study entitled "impacts of political money on democracy and its tracks in the Arab countries with movements" This study dealt with the effects of political money on democracy and the transparency of life elections. The study adopted the descriptive analytical approach to cover the study points and explain the details of impact of money on politics and the democratic process. This study concluded that the relationship between money and politics is a disease relationship like cancer that spreads in the communities which is one of the facts that can be ignored ⁽¹⁾.

What distinguishes this study from previous studies is: This study is different from previous studies because it is one studies that have raised the subject of political money and its impact on the electoral process in Jordan where there is lack of studies and researches about this subject and we found only a small number of research and articles published via the Internet which do not cover this topic in detail in which it lacks for methodology leading researcher to choose this study hoping to reach to conclusions and recommendations to meet the goals of the study.

Topic 1: Definition of political money and its role in the electoral process

Money has great importance and much love in our life and this has been confirmed by ALLAH Almighty in many verses in His Holy Quran where ALLAH Almighty mention money before sons in the AL Cave in verse (Money and sons are the life happiness (*)) and good works have better reward from ALLAH and the better hope (46)

This research is specialized in some form of money which is called the political money; what are the implications of this concept as a compound concept. The first requirement: the concept of political money

At the beginning, we should define the concept of money to create a thorough knowledge of what political money means. Money has many definitions including of what mentioned in Arabs' tongue dictionary (Ibn Mandhour) as money is "what you own from all things" ⁽²⁾; and "name for what is created for the benefit of our interests rather than us" ⁽³⁾; also is mentioned in language of scholars in dictionary as "the name of all that is owned by the human and can be saved like cash or alternatives" ⁽⁴⁾.

In order to link money term with politics, the policy term must be defined, it means to give the authority to somebody to manage your interests to fix it in inside and outside ⁽⁵⁾.

Money -as one of production elements- is divided into fixed capital and variable capital. Economists sees that this distinguish comes within the range of production elements that vary in type and shape. It is used in the economic productive cycle to produce new goods and material. The capital enters as key variable in the production cycle. In contrast, money in politics is not directly known because it is newly recognized. If it is used as political benefit for payer, it would be known as employing money to enable the person or party to occupy his place in the political process which means to use money for political purposes. When a political money term is released without restriction, it touches on all kinds of money. Much or little many is political money because the money regardless of its amount or type, it will affect the result of domestic and foreign policy and undermines democracy ⁽⁶⁾.

(1) Khalil, TalalHamed, the effects of political money on democracy and its tracks in Arab countries movement, political issues magazine 0.2014, the University of Mesopotamia Iraq.

(2) IbinMandhour, Mohammed BinMakram, Arabs tongue, i 1.1956, SaderHouse 11/635, Beirut.

(3) .alfayoumi, Ahmed bin Mohammed, the ALmusbapAlmumayaz for big Explanation 1985, the Scientific Library, Cairo, p. 329.

(4) Qal'aji, Mohammed Rawabi, the dictionary of scholars'language, 2006, the House of ALnafa'es, Amman, p. 103.

(5) AL Derini, Fathi, Islamic legislation in politics and government 1434 AH (2013 AD), i 2, the ALresalah Foundation, Beirut, p. 418.

(6)Shari Bryan Denise Baer, Money in Politics : A study of party Financing Practices in 22 countries, national Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington , DC,2007,p3 .

Therefore, we can say that political money is all movable or immovable money which can be used by an individual, party or state to affect a particular political situation for the benefit of the donor party whether at the domestic level according to the electoral process or at the external level to have political pressure on countries, groups or parties... etc. So, we can identify political money as a compound concept as "the use of money whether cash or materials to achieve political purposes and objectives relating to the authority and the government to reach a political positions or to exercise of power for benefits of political money owners. Political money remains floating in the Arab Parliaments including Jordan leading to have regional, partisan and tribal alliances in order to support certain agenda or narrow interests linked to internal or external parties to influence on political life, particularly the electoral process and parliamentary. Thus, political money with all its concepts is necessary motivation to establish alliances and political coalitions with agenda and programs determined by the owners of these funds.

When political money term is launched without restrictions, that means all kinds of money whether it is much or little money is political money because money regardless of its amount and type, it affects in terms of result in domestic politics and undermines democracy ⁽¹⁾.

Ph.D Nedham Borkam defined the political money as the use of money, whether in cash or in kind to achieve the purposes and objectives of the policy relating to the authority and the government in order to reach political positions or the exercise of power for benefits to the political money owners ⁽²⁾. Kevin Zamora defined the political money as all aspects of financing political parties and their candidates and spending resources in the context of election campaigns times other times ⁽³⁾.

Political money remains floating within Arab parliaments, including Jordan lead to have regional, partisan and tribal alliances in order to support the certain agenda or narrow interests linked to internal or external parties to influence on political life, particularly parliamentary elections. Therefore, political money with all its concepts is necessary motivation to establish a coalition and political alliances with agenda and programs determined by the owners of the money.

The second requirement: the limits of political money dealing:

After the meanings of money and political money been clarified, the forms political money deals are as follows:

First, the employment of money by the authority to purchase loyalty through harnessing all platforms and media to promote their propaganda campaign.

Second, what authority affords including money, gifts or privileges to Parliament members or some of them in order to legislate or amend a law that already known not to be approved by all members of the Legislative Council?

Third: the employment of money by authority side to lobby a particular member or party to support policies which serve political positions only and do not accrue the benefit of people interest.

Fourth: The executive authority provides money and privileges to judges in order to win their support and loyalty and not to object irregularities in the election process as they are independent judiciary.

Fifth: pay the money by candidate for a certain political position because that contributes to the achievement of special political interest through being elected to be a member in the parliament or to get a ministerial post or anything like that.

Sixth: money and benefits that a country present to other country in order to support its internal or foreign policy where the other country will not do without the money benefited from first country.

Seventh: The loans provided by a State or international bodies to another State is considered as political money forms. The aim of these loans is to get political subordination of the creditor state.

(1)Shari Bryan Denise Baer, Money in Politics: A study of party Financing Practices in 22 countries, national Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington , DC,2007,p3 .

(2) Barakat, Nidam, political money, is the vote stolen from beneficiaries, the magazine of free platform of nation 0.2007, ALra'i press, Amman, Jordan, p. 28.

(3) Kevin Casas Zamora, political funding and state funding systems, the Brookings Institution, the University of Costa Rica, May 2011, p. 3.

This is what rich countries do with poor countries and what the International Monetary Fund which is controlled by the great powers does with countries in need.

Eighth: one of political money forms is what a country pays for other country's representative in the negotiations to subvert his will in order to take his acceptance for treaty's provisions. Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (1969) has provided the in the article (50) about the subject of spoiling the representative of the State: If state consent for a treaty has been reached by spoiling its representative directly or indirectly by other negotiating state, this state can invoke to discard its consent to be bound by the treaty. ⁽¹⁾

Third requirement: sharia attitude of political money deals:

It is known that the provision of political money is only for special political interest for the one who pays the money and that's done unobtrusively to avoid legal, moral, social condemns. Therefore, it can be said that it is forbidden act. This money is not a gift because the gift is to give something without taking anything. So, it is well known that political money is different to this sense. It means to pay money for a valuable consideration that payer needs from payee which is not relevant to gifts.

The money payer pays forbidden money and payee takes forbidden money and we find that the paid money is similar to bribery which is what the ruling person or others present in order to win the judgment or to get what he wants which is similar to what is known as hypocrisy which is: "to do something to others in order to get something and this can be applied to political money" ⁽²⁾. It should be noted that the reward given by voters on the issue of taking the candidate money vote for him can be either approval or swear. If we say it is approval of the voters for the benefit to the candidate, this approval would be sinful because the meaning of approval is: What is testified or its sense is to say something real about people and the voter who does that is sinner for two reasons: First one: because it is built on bribery so the candidate does not vote for the real reasons that candidate obtains.

Second one: Because when voter gives the approval for that candidate, he denies what he can do which is opposite to the reality. The voter testifies to for the benefit of unreliable people and the ALLAH Almighty says: "present the testimony for ALLAH" (AL-TALAQ: 2). ALLAH says "And keep up prayer" (Al-Baqarah: 43). The reason for testimony is for ALLAH Has he ordered to pray for ALLAH. Testimony should be un-fake and telling the truth of what is seen or heard without increase or decrease. ⁽³⁾

The political money deals according to the rule of Sharia including its associated bribery and hypocrisy is a form of forbidden money. Therefore, the political money payer pays forbidden money and the payee takes forbidden money and that's what Almighty ALLAH says: "do not take money unjustly among yourselves" (Al-Baqarah: 43) ALLAH prohibits taking any money unlawfully.

Based on abovementioned, the political money paid by the ruler or the government for special personal political interest-which does not accrue to the benefit of the nation-is considered as betrayal. The punishment of political money deals is similar to the punishment of briber and bribed.

So, it is a crime which has no clear text punishment. Therefore, the punishment is sentenced according to the situation need as a deterrent and commensurate with the purposes of the legislation and to the benefit of society and the state. ⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾Omari, Ahmed Ali, 2012, above mentioned reference, p. 101.

One of political money forms practiced by some of the candidates for membership in parliament is to pay sums of money to those who vote for them and openly at the election at the ballot box, and some of them provides food, sweets or some of them offers scholarships for voters son in universities, and pay of tuition fees, and the candidates give up his candidacy for the benefit of another candidate in exchange for money, what has been said are most prominent formst.

⁽²⁾Omari, Mohammed Ali, the above mentioned reference, P. 102.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Manaawi, Mohammed bin Abdul-Rauf, conciliation on definitionsmissions, Mohammed Al Daya, i 1.1420 e, Dar Al-Fikr, Beirut, p. 139.

⁽³⁾ Islamic Fiqh Academy magazine (2/764), No. 2, Vol. 13, Organization of the Islamic Conference.

⁽²⁰⁾ Omari, Mohammed Ali, the above mentioned reference, P. 108.

⁽⁴⁾ Electoral Knowledge network . public funding of political parties, at : <http://aceproject.org/ace-en/foctcs/care/crb/cras?set language=en>.

Fourth requirement: the legal attitude of political money crime

To deal with political money is one of controversial issues where the laws and legislation in many countries consider it as vital and important issue. It has been included in the legislation and penalty because of its consequences which distort the image of democracy and the electoral process which in turn affects its integrity because of the practices of the supervisory authorities and many powers affecting the electoral administration ⁽¹⁾. For this issue, the following legislations have been highlighted in Jordan's elections law and Penal Code:

- Temporary Election law of 2010 stipulates that any form of dealing in political money is banned, whether in cash or in kind a / benefit for anyone, from anyone whether it is directly or indirectly. Article (20) in paragraph (a) stipulates the following:

- It is banned for any candidate to present gifts, donations, assistance in cash or in kind, other benefits or promises through his electoral promotion,
- Paragraph (b) of the same article stipulates that it is banned for any voter to request donations or gifts from any candidate in the electoral promotion.

Some texts contained in the election Law of House of Representatives no (25/2012):

- Article 62: states that anyone who committed the following acts shall be sentenced by imprisonment for not less than six months and not exceeding two years or a fine of five hundred dinars and not more than a thousand dinars or both penalties :
 - Enter the polling station and counting for the purpose of vote-buying, make influence on the electoral process or delay it and for the purpose of affecting on its officials procedures.
- Article 64: states that anyone who committed the following acts shall be punished by hard work in prison for not less than three years and not more than seven years:
 - a) To give money for voters directly or indirectly, to offer money or to promise to give money or benefit in order to enforce the voter to vote for particular candidate or to be abstained from voting.
 - b) Accepts money directly or indirectly or requests a sum of money, loan or benefit to affect the other to vote or refrain from voting.
- Article (65): states that any violation of the provisions of this law which is not provided by a special penalty shall be punished by imprisonment and a fine as stated in the text of the article (61).

In addition to the criminal penalty, the use of political money shall be followed by cancelling the nomination of winning candidate who his knowledge of criminal acts is proved if he has not benefited directly and he does not report it either he get benefit or no longer be. But if he gets benefit directly or indirectly, he is not necessary that he knows about that.⁽²⁾

Based on above mentioned, these punishments are applied on the committer whether foreign or national because the penal laws apply on personal or regional basis as long as the crime occurs in the Jordan region. The conclusion, the crime of political money is a bribe. The legal attitude of this issue is to consider it as crimes that are mismatched with the honor, ethics and honesty and put the committers under penalty of law and lack of access to non-conviction certificate.

The second requirement: the reality of political money phenomenon in Jordan

First: political money and elections in Jordan

The political moneys a pressure mean used by candidates for the purpose to impose themselves in the political scene with programs of their own and opinion. Vital area in the political field remains in addition to the influence on the institutions, media and civil society organizations and institutions as well as to the influence on public opinion and the convictions of the voter.

The political money becomes the most prominent factors influencing directly the electoral process and controls its results. Major institutions and the owners of money and business are the main financing side of the forces and some political parties and personalities that determine the candidates and intervene in the results of the elections particularly since the electoral process needs to be large sums of money. ⁽³⁾.

(1) Jordanian Constitution, Jordanian election law for the year 2010.2012.

(2) Afifi, AfifiKamel, parliamentary elections and its constitutional and legal guarantees, Comparative Study 2002, the house university for printing , Cairo, p. 489.

The role of lobbyists and clans is as influential powers in the electoral system who exert pressure directly through official senior staff and former MPs Parliament or indirectly by hiring media and guiding public opinion to influence it in order to exert pressure on the power (the government) to make influence on it to initiate specific decisions or to cancel the some decisions⁽¹⁾. At the elections integrity level in Jordan, the annual report of the Integrity International Organization in 2011 show that Jordan occupied the rank 67% in terms of legislation for political money with weak average and with 46% degree for the effectiveness of legislation and legal procedure with very weak average. The total degree is 57% for legal framework to fight corruption with weak average. With regard to the quantitative report which has adapted 325 of legal indications about the legislation and procedures relating to good governance and anti-corruption, Jordan has got a degree of 13% in the field of political funding legislation as well as obtained a degree of 17% in the field of Integrity election, 29% in the protection of corruption witnesses and 34% in the field of laws and procedures to prevent conflicts of interest in cases ⁽²⁾. It is well known that the measure of integrity is not what the election supervising body does when presenting candidates to the prosecutor, but it is linked to the size of government interference in the electoral process.

Second, political money aspects that used in Jordan

Usually, there are competitors to reach the Parliament. Some of them have an experience in political, party or union work or have a tribal support. These competitors are divided into two main sections:

First one: former representatives; they participated several times in previous councils and they have not made any influence which enable them to access the game of political parliament. The process has become more easily through the exchange of interests with previous governments to grant confidence for them. Second one, the business class for in their desire to have political power, to protect their wealth and they do not have capability of political action with slogans written by others. They only increase their wealth and preserve their interests. There are many examples of political money aspects practiced by some businessmen in the electoral process in Jordan including:

- company managers enforce his employees to register to get voting card of full circle to their families and relatives, staff, administrators and others. They are threatening by dismissal or financial discount, so as to ensure their voices to them just because these employees are just in their companies.
- business managers promise their employees to increase their salaries in case of winning after they confirmed their registration status and access to ballots and promises to vote for them.
- some business managers prepare a lists for employees by giving them advanced numbers in each list in order to ensure their loyalty even after their success and access to the dome of parliament, and for their conviction that they are their employees even they becomes MPs ⁽³⁾.
- The money amount paid by some businessmen to his target audience in order to be able to recruit supporters, and spend excessive money on ads and slogans, and imposes his name on the map of electoral battle, in addition to set up election tent in which his supporters meet to drink coffee and eat sweets and listen to slogans and speeches.
- we find that the electoral campaign costs not less than ten thousand dinars as a minimum and costs more than a quarter million dinars for the rich candidate. A poor candidate has no place, and the poor class are only voters. Their votes are bought directly or indirectly.

Third one: directing of political money in Jordan

Political money is directed to a number of sources including:

1. First Source: The voters who are represented in two types:

- Individuals engaged in the preparation of electoral lists. This type needs money from certain party's especially ruling ones and candidates with the financial clout to pay them money.

(3)Ghwell, Saleh Suleiman, the referendum and the crisis of democracy (legal and political study) 2003, Dar Younes publications, Benghazi, p. 217.

(1) International Integrity: political money increases corruption rates in Jordan, 03.30.2012, from <http://www.ejjbed.com>, p. 1.

(2) Talab, Rajaa' various forms of political money, 01.03.2013, citing from <http://samaa/jordan.net>, pp. 1-2.

- Directing money to the nominated party. It supports individuals, organizations and parties to Parliament, which can express the beliefs and to provide support and spending on electoral propaganda to ensure that some candidates win parliament membership. This type of support is legal because it does not direct people even if it is associated with the support of the party or group.

2. The second source: means directing money to voter as a sort of bribe to buy his voice. That is done by exploiting the economic difficult living conditions, and characterized by opportunism which is the most common type among candidates and voters in front of polling stations after casting sound directly.

3. The third source: means directing money to candidates. This type is characterized by the support of political power to party in order to help them in the electoral process and the electoral propaganda in order to ensure their membership in Parliament or at least to limit their opponents' opportunities to win. Sometimes, it takes another form when a candidate abdicates in favour of a loyal candidate to the financing party in exchange for the money⁽¹⁾.

Fourth: the form of political money provided in the elections

The political money provided in the elections in Jordan has many forms including:

1. Cash money which is presented through:

- a) Money providential person who supports the nomination of someone on the list of political forces or presented to the candidates to quit his nomination or presented to the voters in cash payment. They usually avoid payment by check in order not to be discovered by candidate, voter or who pays the money.
- b) Money which is presented in checks to support a specific candidate or party in the electoral battle at one of the circles which the payer for money wants.

2. Services which are divided into:

- a) Personal services provided by the candidate to voters, especially who is characterized by the ability to lead a group of voters.
- b) General services in which money is offered in the form of service to the people of the candidate's constituency such as building a school, hospital, houses of worship or houses of funerals. This form is characterized by publicity which means that it is an act that the majority of the voters of constituents get benefits from. The mount of direct political money varies between urban, rural and desert areas. Within cities, we find that the degree to have money increases especially between candidate and voter because of the lack of prior knowledge between the candidate and the voters and in order to win more votes in the front of huge number of opponents inside one constituency

Within rural and desert areas, the relationship between candidate and voter is governed by partisanship and clan so it takes indirect way through supporting a particular candidate by agreement among number of families or clans in the constituency on condition that another candidate from other family or clan to be nominated for the next election cycle. That's happens to promote social and tribal existence in the membership of Parliament to preserve the interests and social balances. Of course, political money has many forms in the parliamentary elections. When moneys intensively depended on in the election, the electoral process will be biased in favor of the forces that have the financial influence who have not the legal right to accesses to the parliament ⁽²⁾ . It is enough to say that who pay political money are seeking for positions and interests ant don't practice politics in its true.

Fifth: the role of media in the detecting political money in Jordan:

Media focuses on the electoral money, which is spent illegally to buy-off voters and influence the attitudes elections.

The role of the media and the press in Jordan do not exceed the supervisory role which played by the local and international supervising bodies. Accordingly, it is committed to circulate abuses and mistakes that occur in the electoral process and highlight them according to the terms of neutrality and objectivity. Media and the press succeeded to some extent to be engaged in the process of detection of electoral money aspects ⁽³⁾:

(1)Adel, Marzouk, political money is political Business2006, quoting from: <http://www.adelmarzooq.blog.com/1120902.p.1>.

(2) International Studies Center, Political Science, 2013, University of Jordan, Amman, pp. 1-2.

(3) Future Foundation & ALbadeelCenter for Studies and Research, previous reference., 2012, pp. 85-86.

- The issue of buying -off voters in the fourteenth Council in 17/6/2003 has been emerged clearly but that did not pose enough phenomenon to attract attention.
- media has recorded a significant coverage in focusing on election monitoring and buying- off voters in front of the ballot boxes in the fifteenth Council elections on 02/11/2007.
- the role of media and the press has been shown in the Council 16th council elections on 09.11.2010 which was represented in publishing an approximate figures for the cost of the election campaign and monitoring the amount of money in the same election cycle but that can't be considered as adequate monitoring, but it was a positive experience.

It is sure that the media and press in Jordan have not totally succeeded in the detection of the electoral money operations. It is difficult to prove the intervention of money in paying-off votes and that's remained as blurry. Media and the press based on means to detect the use of political money such as:

1. Voters confessions that they sell their votes or receive aids and future promises. This kind of information sources have not been revealed clearly for the fear to be legally condemned
2. Reliable recordings and images. They are limited and delivered to media by unknown sources through tracking of purchases, sells or donations operations from candidates to voters.
3. Journalists witness especially those that have occurred in the Fifteenth elections council in the year 2007 where the official news agency (Petra) published during polling day about buying and selling operations of votes occurred in publically-Arab Al-Yawm published a report supported by pictures of buying and selling votes operations in the same election cycle. This is also what happened with Al Arab Al Yawm newspaper when it published-on its front page, dated 11/14/2007 nine days before the date of polling day of fifteenth Council election -a photographed report based on video sound and image showed a lady swear on the Quran to elect one of the candidates in exchange for a sum of money and link a number of workers and employees in the candidate's campaign whom his identity has been clearly defined. No investigation was conducted for these incidents in spite of all evidences were provided to the prosecutor ⁽¹⁾.

Sixth: the contribution of government's procedures to overcome political money in Jordan:

The availability of the political will of the State to enforce the law and implementation of penalties against all those who use the political and electoral money in non-legitimate and legal aspects. The government must ensure access to database; to make sure that each party and institution which receives funds from the state budget are subjected to provisions of the law, to force it to publish its annual budget in newspapers and media, to find out how political money is spent and to adopt transparent accounting means. Based on aforementioned, we find that the process of detecting political money in elections and punishing corrupted and illegal uses are one of the government tasks to pursue and prosecute the violators. But, what are government procedures to follow-up of these abuses which one of the crimes that affect the electoral process and democratic structure? This is reflected in the following:

First: the disadvantages of legal legislator is that election crimes including the crime of political money are dismissed after six months the election results; the Article 49 of the electoral law : (statute of limitations for all election crimes stipulated in this law after six months from the date of announcement of the election results). The logic says that a crime punishment reaches up to hard work imprisonment for seven years shall not statute of limitations after half a year, but it is better to be subjected to the provisions of the statute of limitations felonies, so money political dealers stay in fear of being under penalty of law⁽²⁾. Second, in spite of the clarity of the text of Article 25 of the electoral law which stipulates that: "

It is prohibited for any candidate to present during his electoral propaganda gifts, donations or aid in cash or in kind, directly or indirectly, we find that the Jordanian election applicable law has not specified a mechanism related to spend money on propaganda campaign, and this remaining gap can be encountered through the issuance of executive instructions to establish " political money control body " by the Independent Commission for Elections related to spend money on electoral campaigns. These instructions shall enforce the candidates to show their budgets before the start of the campaign in order to decrease the phenomenon of political money in elections.

(1)AlbadeelCenter for Studies and Research, previous reference., 2012, pp. 85-86

(2) Omari, Mohammed Ali, previous reference. P. 113

Third, although the role of media and press by using various means already mentioned in the detection of several cases of political money in the previous sessions of the parliamentary elections in Jordan which in turn sparked the interest of civil society and others, no governmental procedures has been take against those who committed that which are represented in:

1. No case has been recorder against political money dealers in spite of the availability of the evidence.
2. no legal government procedures have been taken to deprive one of the perpetrators of political money and prevent him from running for next election cycle.
3. no actions have been taken against the perpetrators of political money crime by depriving him to obtain a certificate of no criminal record as mentioned in Jordanian Penal Code Text of Article (170) thereof, which includes the bribery.

Third requirement: Consequences of dealing in political money in Jordan

It is known after the fact that earlier political money experiments which remained stuck in the Jordanian voter's memory where the use of political money spread and took the will of the citizens, the issue of achieving fairness in election process is considered as necessity for all political people, party and union powers in order to avoid the risk of multiple negative effects which are:

1. Religious (spiritual) consequences are:
 - A. taking illegal money: means political money payers pay bribe and this is contrary to the Islam rules.
 - (B) Who pays the political money and who takes it; but sells his religion for his life, this is like who sells his religion for little reward.
 - C- Dealing with political money encourages the spread of corruption and spoilers, and this is contrary to the purposes Sharia.
2. Moral consequences:
 - A. breach of trust in the nomination election; process of paying money to get to an important post is nothing but a betrayal and a waste of the trust to give a position to unqualified people. In addition, it is a betrayal from the voters' side because the vote itself is endorsement and rectification.
 - (B) An example of lying and deception in the community; because it contributes to the support any person to get political office by money, it is fraud and lying to the people because the destination to achieve narrow personal goals.
 - C-it encourages to sell consciences because that facilitates the give up the rights of his country and his community⁽¹⁾.
3. **Political consequences:** The use of political money in the electoral process spoils democracy and results in serious political diseases afflicting the political and parliamentary life which are:
 - (A) the creation of a non-political category; all what is founded on corruption will result in corrupt policies that reflect trends and the wishes of the people who need political office not to work in political activity to serve the homeland and the citizen.
 - (B) People who are not qualified reach to power by using political money in which they will not be able to bear any responsibility. This is a sign of weakness.
 - C- Political money dealings lead to have a corrupt political system based on personal bribery and interests which cannot meet the domestic and emerging challenges.
 - D- Indifference to the interests of the voters: Because the candidate who gets the position thinks that voters has already taken right sand this is reflected at the national and political fabric of society.
4. Economic effects: it is sure that there is a close relationship between money (economy) and politics which appears in many democratic countries which the influence of political money enters in the polling and political life funds. Democracy with a money basis will produce political system does not represent the national economy of the people. That is reflected in the ways the following:
 - A. Thomas Ferguson 1995 ⁽²⁾ said that companies supporting one of the candidates and bodies consider election process as kind of investment seeks to get benefit in case of winning. The beneficiaries are wealthy elites and businessmen not voters which lead to the lack in economy and the decisions to maintain their interests.

(1) Omari, Mohammed Ali, previous reference. P. 114.

(2)Thomas Fergus, previous reference P. 42.

- (B) The use of political money and to waste it in electoral propaganda is an important factor preventing the financing of productive sectors and projects which contribute to the growth of national economy.
- C the use of political money allows people to reach the positions they are not qualified for which lead to the weakness of legislative oversight in the parliaments which is for fiscal and monetary in the state.
- D. people (candidates) who occupied positions using political money are unable to adapt economic policies and implement programs and projects of interest to the productivity of the nation and citizens.
- (C) The political money payer tries to recover his money and increase it.

Conclusions

Researcher reached several conclusions can be identified as follows:

1. There are several political money forms by using it to buy loyalty, or pay money by the candidate to someone in order to reach a certain position, or pay loans and grants to the State from another State or third parties.
2. the legal attitude considers of political money as crime that are incompatible with the honor and morality which put its perpetrators under penalty of laws stated in the election of House of Representatives Law No. (25/2012).
3. Political money affects democracy and parliamentary life in terms of the type of public confidence in parliament and a negative impact on the interests of the voters.
4. Political money becomes as dangerous phenomenon in Jordanian society and related to the electoral process which affected the voters' decisions and their ability to choose one of the qualified candidates to play an active role in Parliament and represent as what happened in two sessions of the House of Representatives 16th and 17th.
5. There are several aspects of political money in Jordan including competitors of the former representatives who had no positive impact for the benefit of the homeland and the citizen, and businessmen class who seek to have political force for their wealth and preserve their interests without political vision.
6. there are many different form of political money provided in the parliamentary elections in Jordan, paid by candidate in the form of cash, or by reducing tuition fees for the sons of the voters, Umrah, and parcels welfare, etc., or it can be as public services, facilitating building houses of worship or school or health, clinic for the people of his constituency.
7. Media and Jordanian press has succeeded to some extent in the detection of the electoral money through: Confessions of voters who sell their votes, and get images and recordings documented for buying and selling votes and views the media especially in the fifteenth parliament elections in 2007.
8. To control political money process is the government tasks but its procedures are characterized by weak oversight, and lack of seriousness in violation of the perpetrators of political money crimes whether to bring them to the Prosecutor General or to deprive the candidate for nomination for the parliamentary elections, or prevent them to take non-conviction certificate.
9. Political money deals have negative consequences at the level of spiritual, religious, moral, political and economic aspects, all of which are necessary to prevent political money in the electoral process.

Recommendations:

Based on the above findings, we can provide a set of recommendations and proposals that may contribute to limit the use of political money including:

1. The necessity to activate and apply legal procedures firmly and immediately manner according to the text of Article (63) of the Electoral Act.
2. Develop frameworks with specific rules regarding the use of political money and spending mechanism by creating private bank account for campaign each candidate accompanied by accounting oversight audited accounts and sources of income and withdrawals and bank deposit so publicly, to provide financial database.
3. The control body shall follow-up the vote brokerage and monitoring their activities and to report any suspicious activity.
4. The provision of political will for the government and the state to implement the provisions of law and penalty procedures against who uses money to buy and sell votes to influence the orientations of the voter.
5. The need to establish the principle of partnership among government, civil society organizations and media institutions to monitor the current political money and expenditures in election campaigns.

6. To follow the principles of transparency, impartiality and integrity among all the candidates regarding the use of state media in the case of granting candidates headphones to broadcast election propaganda.
7. Establish a code for political money control as if it is proved that one of the candidates violates the legal rules, they are eliminated.
8. Educate voters about their rights as citizens and the negative effects behind to obey the wishes of the political money / and the extent of its effects on the interests of the voters in the parliament.

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