

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN
BONGO AND BOLGATANGA CONSTITUENCIES, 2000-2008**

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Marvin Bang-Gesina Ayoo, do hereby declare that apart from documentary and other sources cited and acknowledged in this study, I am duly and solely responsible for the authorship of this study carried out under the guidance and supervision of Professor A. Essuman-Johnson and Dr. Emmanuel Debrah.

I further declare that, this work has not been submitted in part or whole for the award of another degree elsewhere.

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ABSTRACT

Elections in Ghana have produced many interesting outcomes. The need for either a change or continuity in the administration of a country or a constituency depends on the voters' choice in an election. An understanding of what informs the voter's choice in an election and how the voter exercises this franchise constitute the benchmark of this study.

Voters in Bolgatanga and Bongo constituencies have voted for the NDC in the six presidential elections since 1992 and their choice have been influenced by the growing number of developmental projects initiated and executed by the NDC such schools, rural electrification, roads, construction of market centres and other health facilities provided by the NDC administration. These developmental projects constitute the rationale for their voting choice in the presidential elections.

However, in terms of the parliamentary elections, the consistency of voters for the NDC candidates in Bongo constituency is largely shaped by the personal qualities of the candidates, their participation and contributions to communal developmental projects, festivals and funerals in the constituency. On the other hand, the choice of the PNC candidate over the NDC candidate in the 2000 and 2004 parliamentary elections in Bolgatanga constituency was largely due to intra-party factionalism within the NDC after its parliamentary primaries which served to the advantage of the PNC candidate.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents, Mr. Matthew Ayinne Ayoo and Mrs. Leticia Asaaba Atiah for their love and inspiration in my life.



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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

ADB	-Agricultural Development Bank
ADF	-Alliance for Democratic Forces
CDD	- Centre for Democratic Development
CPP	-Convention People's Party
CVC	-Citizens Vetting Committee
CWSA	-Community Water and Sanitation Agency
DA	-District Assembly
DACF	- District Assemblies Common Fund
DAEA	-Department for Agricultural Economics and Agro-business
DCD	-District Co-ordinating Director
DCE	-District Chief Executives
DFP	-Democratic Freedom Party
DPP	-Democratic People's Party
DWM	- December Women's Movement
EC	-Electoral Commission
EGLE	-Every Ghanaian Living Everywhere
FNB	-First National Bank
GCB	-Ghana Commercial Bank

GES	-Ghana Education Service
GNPC	-Ghana National Petroleum Co-operation
GT	-Ghana Telecom
GPRTU	-Ghana Private Road Transport Union
HIPC	-Highly Indebted Poor Country
IPAC	-Inter-Party Advisory Committee
ISD	-Information Service Department
LEAP	-Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty
L.I	-Legislative Instrument.
MA	-Municipal Assembly
MCD	-Municipal Co-coordinating Director
MCE	-Municipal Chief Executive
NCCE	-National Commission for Civic Education
NCP	-National Convention Party
NDC	-National Democratic Congress
NIP	-National Independence Party
NPP	- New Patriotic Party
NRP	- National Reform Party
NYEP	-National Youth Employment Programme

PHC	-Population and Housing Census
PHP	- People's Heritage Party
PNC	-People's National Convention
PNDC	-Provisional National Defence Council
PNP	-People's National Party
PP	-Progress Party
SFP	-School Feeding Program
SPSS	-Statistical Package for Social Sciences
SSB	-Social Security Bank
SSNIT	-Social Security and National Insurance Trust
STC	-State Transport Company
UGM	-United Ghana Movement
UT	-Unique Trust

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1 INTRODUCTION

According to Hayward (1985) elections have been a conspicuous element in Africa's political history since colonial rule. Scholarly works on elections in Africa immediately after independent were concentrated on party mobilization and the role of opposition party in their effort to win power. However, in the 1970s, many African countries begun experiencing dictatorial rule and hence elections at this time did not reflect democratic principles.

According to Ayee (1997), elections are central to democracies because they provide opportunity for citizens to endorse or reject the performance of an incumbent. The quest for political power for either a change or continuity in government depends on the voter's choice and the outcome of an election. The indices as to whether 'change' or 'continuity' is desirable is better expressed in elections through voting in which the electorate is an integral player.

In many developing countries, elections have been a major measure in the democratic governance credentials of emerging democratic states. Elections play a pivotal role in democratic processes because they allow the electorate to assess the performance of the government they elected in the previous elections as indicated by Essuman-Johnson (2006). Elections also provide an opportunity for political parties to offer alternative choices to the electorate with their own agenda and action when given the opportunity to govern.

To Keulder (1998), elections are the cornerstone of democracy in many countries across the world. If democracy is broadly defined as the act of '*responsive government or rule*', then elections are one of the tools that ensure responsive government and to this extend, the electorate is key to this process. In a similar vein, Ball (1981) contends that, it is through

elections that citizens appoint their representatives and hold them accountable in the course of governance in a country and hence the role of elections cannot be over emphasized. Many African countries, following the “third wave of democratization” Huntington (1991) have come to the realization and appreciation of the democratic processes and the need to organize periodic elections.

In Ghana, the long journey to democratic development and consolidation through the conduct of elections under the fourth Republic is traceable to the humble beginnings of the 1992 general elections. However, it is important to note that, the leading opposition party, the New Patriotic Party boycotted the parliamentary election on the grounds of a stolen verdict in the presidential election. This continued through to the 1996 general election where we had both the presidential and parliamentary elections held on the same day. The 1996 general elections were followed subsequently by the 2000 general election held on 7th December, 2000, then to 2004 general elections also held on 7th December, 2004. Following from the 2004 general election was the 2008 general elections and the most recent one, the 2012 general election. It is however important to note that, before the fourth Republic in 1993, Ghana had series of elections prior to the attainment of independence in 1957 and also the post independent era up to the beginning of the fourth Republic.

In many of these elections under the fourth Republic, the awakening and participation of the electorate in the electioneering processes and their general acceptability of the use of the ballot box as one of the credible means of expressing their democratic right to vote or elect their representatives in both local and national elections calls for further understanding in explaining the behaviour of voters in elections in Ghana and what informs their voting decisions during elections with reference to Bongo and Bolgatanga constituencies.

Also, the involvement of political parties, civil society, state institutions and other non-governmental organizations as key stakeholders in matters relating to elections and electoral outcomes has enabled the process of democratic transitions through the conduct of elections in Ghana very smooth in every electoral season despite some challenges.

Under the fourth Republic, the voter has always been a key actor and a participant in elections and the electoral processes as a whole. His or her decisions to vote for either a change or continuity are informed by several prevailing factors and the rationales for his or her choice(s) are critical to explaining voter behaviour in a particular constituency and for that matter Bolgatanga and Bongo constituencies.

It is against this background that, the researcher seeks to explain what informs the behaviour of voters in an election the under the fourth Republic using Bongo and Bolgatanga Constituencies as the case study of this research.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Election provides an opportunity for citizens to choose their representatives. An understanding of what informs the voter's choice in an election and how the voter exercises this franchise constitute the benchmark of this study.

Bolgatanga and Bongo constituencies have been the favourites of the NDC in terms of the presidential elections since the inception of multi-party democracy in Ghana under the fourth republic. In fact, the NDC has won all the six presidential elections under the fourth republic in these constituencies which confirms the party's popularity in the constituencies. However, what is intriguing is that, in terms of the parliamentary elections, the people of Bolgatanga constituency exhibit a voter behaviour that is not consistent compared to the people of Bongo under the fourth republic.

In 1992, the NDC won the presidential election in Bolgatanga constituency and subsequently the NDC parliamentary candidate Mr. Patrick Akake also won the parliamentary seat in the 1992 elections. In a similar manner, in Bongo Constituency, the NDC won the presidential election in the constituency and its parliamentary candidate, Mr. Azitariga Gaaga also won the constituency seat as its first Member of Parliament of the constituency under the fourth republic. It is however important to note that, the leading opposition party, the NPP boycotted the parliamentary elections in 1992 and hence no parliamentary candidate stood on the ticket of the NPP.

In the 1996 general elections, Mr. Simon Abenya won the parliamentary seat on the ticket of the NDC in Bolgatanga constituency while Mr. Simon Alangde also won the Bongo parliamentary seat on the ticket of the NDC. However, the pattern of voting changed in the 2000 general elections in the case of Bolgatanga constituency with respect to the parliamentary elections. The PNC parliamentary candidate, Mr. David Apasera won the parliamentary seat as against the two leading political parties NDC and NPP in Bolgatanga constituency while in the case of Bongo constituency, the pattern remained the same with the NDC presidential candidate winning the presidential slot and Mr. Albert Abongo winning the parliamentary seat.

In the 2004 elections, the PNC parliamentary candidate, Hon. David Apasera retained the Bolgatanga parliamentary seat while Bongo constituency remained the same with the NDC winning both the presidential and parliamentary slots.

The 2008 general elections however produced different results in the case of the parliamentary elections in Bolgatanga constituency. At this time, the NDC parliamentary candidate Mr. Opam-Brown Akolbire won the parliamentary seat from the PNC Member of

Parliament, Mr. David Apasera. However, in the case of Bongo constituency, it was still loyal to the NDC in both the presidential and parliamentary elections in the 2008 general elections.

In all these elections, the pattern of voting in Bongo constituency has always been very consistent to the NDC in both presidential and parliamentary elections while on the other hand, the voting behaviour of voters in Bolgatanga constituency seems to be somewhat different and inconsistent compared to Bongo constituency with respect to parliamentary elections under the fourth republic.

This study therefore seeks to explain what constitute the determinants of voter choice in the two constituencies with regards parliamentary elections.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research is premised on the following questions:

1. What are the determinants of voter choice in Bongo and Bolgatanga constituencies with regards to parliamentary elections under the fourth republic?
2. What accounts for the consistency in voting behaviour of the people of Bongo constituency towards the NDC under the fourth republic?
3. What factors caused the defeat of the NDC and PNC parliamentary candidates in the 2000 and 2008 parliamentary elections in Bolgatanga constituency respectively?

1.4 HYPOTHESIS

The people of Bongo and Bolgatanga constituencies are more likely to vote for a particular party based upon its track record of development projects initiated or executed by the party.

1.5 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The study seeks to:

1. Identify the specific determinants of voter choice in Bongo and Bolgatanga constituencies under the fourth republic.
2. Explain the reasons that accounts for the consistency in the voting pattern of electorate established in Bongo constituency under the fourth Republic.
3. Explore possible factors that accounted for the defeat of the NDC and PNC parliamentary candidates in the 2000 and 2008 parliamentary elections in Bolgatanga constituency.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The significance of this study is as follows:

1. It contributes to the existing literature on determinants of voter choice in parliamentary elections under the fourth republic with specific reference to Bongo and Bolgatanga constituencies.
2. By finding out what accounts for the consistency in voter behaviour of the people of Bongo, the study gives an insight into the role of “local issues” and how they influence voter perceptions in an election.
3. The study also explains the impact of intra-party conflicts and its effects in an election.

1.7 THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

The essence of a theoretical framework is to help the researcher explain the phenomenon in a philosophical context that brings out the underpinning variables surrounding the research problem in a proper perspective. There are several theories explaining the choice of voters in

an election and how these theories are applicable in determining voter choice in an election. Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet (1994) identified a scientific study of voter behaviour in elections into three main research models, the Sociological model, the Psycho-social model and the Rational choice theory.

For the purpose of this study, the theoretical framework adopted are the *Behaviour theory of elections* proposed by Sheth Jagdish (1975) and the Rational choice theory by Downs (1957) in identifying the indicators of voter choice in an election.

Sheth Jagdish (1975) behaviour theory of elections is based on a general explanation of individual choice behaviour in an election. The theory outlines seven fundamental components and cognitive factors that drive voters' behaviour in elections. These seven components are;

- First, issues about the economic policy of the government, the country's foreign policy direction and agenda, social policies and leadership characteristics of the candidates in an election. These indicators mentioned above have a defining influence in a voters' choice in an election. In this instance, Sheth Jagdish argues that, there is the tendency for voters to be persuaded by the economic policies being introduced into the system, are these policies liberal economic policies or not and their expected benefits to the economy. Similarly, governments' relation with other external actors in the pursuit of a country's foreign policy also has some significant influence in the choices of voters in an election.

The actions and inactions of government in relation to a foreign policy issue triggers different interpretations from voters and this has the propensity to determine a voters' choice in an election. Again, one can not underestimate the importance that voters

attach to the quality of candidates with reference to their leadership abilities and capacity to deliver on their promises to the electorate.

When voters are convinced with the leadership qualities of a particular candidate, they are more likely to vote for such a candidate and trust that he or she will deliver to their expectations. This is what Anebo (2006) describes as issue salient voting in elections where the voters are persuaded by issues and not sympathy or emotions. In the case of Bolgatanga and Bongo constituencies, one of the indicators that voters look out for in parliamentary candidates is their capacity to lead the people and to project the image of their constituency in their development agenda. For instance, in assessing the leadership qualities of parliamentary candidates in Bongo, the NDC has always presented a candidate that is known to the people and the people can also testify to some of the leadership qualities such candidates have exhibited over the years in Bongo constituency compared to the other political parties and their candidates. This explains why for the past twenty years they have always voted for the NDC parliamentary candidates because they exhibit better leadership qualities known to the people than the other candidates.

- Secondly, social imagery factors also counts a lot in determining a voters' persuasion in an election. The Behaviour theory of elections refers to these factors as primary and secondary groups that are supportive of a particular candidate in an election. To this extend, the Candidate(s) in question acquire certain positive and negative stereotype based on their association or groups with varied demographic characteristics such as sex, age, religion, region, culture, ethnic lineage, occupation, lifestyle and ideology and these factors have the propensity to influencing voter behaviour in an election.

It is possible for a voter to base his voting decision on religion, culture or ethnic lines without recourse to pertinent issues of socio-economic importance to the people. These inherent divisions of voting behaviour have been argued by Anebo (2006) and Jagdish (1975) where they both contend that in developing countries these stereotypes play a very critical role in linking voters to parties representing each major social sector, based on divisions of ethnicity, religion, region or class.

In a similar vein, the Sociological model as advocated by Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet (1994) where they devoted much effort at determining the effects of ones social setting in an election. By social setting, it refers to whether a community is defined as rural, urban or cosmopolitan and how that has a defining influence on the voting choices of electorate. With respect to Bolgatanga (urban) and Bongo (rural) constituencies, both have different persuasions in deciding whom to vote for in an election. The Sociological model developed by the social research of Columbia University emphasizes the elements of social factors as one of the key determinants of voter choice in an election.

These social factors are not only peculiar to a particular environment but have the propensity to arise during elections and hence could influence the persuasions of voters in an election. Whiles acknowledging the cleavages that exist in group behaviour of a particular setting, Campbell et al (1954) identifies three factors that constitutes the Psychological variables relevant in determining peoples' voting choices in an election. These are, party identification, governmental policies and personal attraction to candidates.

The third component of Jagdish's (1975) theory is that of emotional feeling attached to a candidate in an election. To this extend, the voter is likely to be sympathetic to

the plight of the candidate or show some solidarity, affection or hatred to the candidate and these could eventually affect the choice of the voter in an election. This sympathy system of voting was manifested in Bolgatanga constituency where the incumbent MP, Hon David Apasera was involved in a motor accident prior to the 2004 general elections. The incumbent MP went to campaign grounds on crutches or in some cases on a wheelchair while campaigning to the people in the constituency. With this predicament, some voters were very sympathetic to the plight of the MP hence they voted for him in the parliamentary elections of 2004.

- The fourth component that has the tendency to persuade voters in an election is the image of the candidate(s). His personal traits and some key attributes such as the level of respect the candidate shows to the people, is the candidate courteous in his utterance, is the candidate approachable and show some compassion to the plight of the people he or she seeks to govern and above all, does the candidate understand the local issues within the constituency he seeks to represent. These are some of the questions considered by voters in their choice of candidates in an election. According to Lazarsfeld et al (1994), the act of voting in an election was an independent and individual decision which is mainly affected by the personality of the voter and what he or she thinks of the candidates contesting in the election.
- The fifth component identified by the behaviour model of election is current issues of national and international dimension. This refers to the set of issues and policies that develop during the course of campaigning be it in the domestic environment or the international setting that has the tendency to change a voter's original choice in an election. This could cause the voter to switch his or her vote to another candidate based on some significant changes in the domestic or external environment.

- The sixth set of reasoning from Sheth's Behaviour model is Personal events. This refers to indications in the personal life of the candidate which has the propensity of drawing voters to the candidate or sending voters away from the candidate. These personal events could be from the candidate's lineage, health condition, his religious stands, norms and traditions. The role of electoral campaigns and the influences of social groups to which the individual belongs both have some varying degree of influences in an election and the results that are produced.
- The final component of Jagdish's theory is epistemic issues. This refers to reasons that would justify the perceived satisfaction of curiosity, knowledge and newness of ideas that a particular candidate will bring to bear in a constituency and that will inform a voters' decision to vote for that candidate or not. This point explains why the voters in Bolgatanga constituency decided to vote for the PNC parliamentary candidate in the year 2000 as against the incumbent MP, Hon. Simon Abengya because they believed the PNC parliamentary candidate would bring some newness of ideas in the constituency than the incumbent MP.

1.7.1 Weaknesses of the Behaviour theory of elections

Sheth Jagdish (1975) behaviour theory of elections contains some inherent weaknesses that were identified in this study, these weaknesses are;

- To assume that voters are persuaded on the grounds of emotions and sympathies to candidates competing in an election is to belittle the intelligence and rationality of voters in an election. Hence to relegate to the background, the rationality of voters in an election will not stand the test of time. It is my contended opinion that, voters are rational human beings who are likely to act rationally based on the available options at their disposal.

- To suggest that, a voters' choice in an election is based on his environmental settings or location paints the picture as if certain locations have a constant tradition of voters and voting pattern that can not be broken. Just as time changes, voting decisions are also likely to change in particular location to challenge the status-quo established over the years.
- The theory places little emphasis on the impact of internal party politics on voters and how such intra-party issues influences voters in an election.

It is against these inherent weaknesses that, this research employs a second theory called the Rational Choice theory by Downs (1957) to cater for the fallouts in the Behaviour theory of elections established earlier by Sheth Jagdish (1975).

The Rational Choice theory is based on the assumption that, the voter has a sense of rationality in his or her behaviour and hence is most likely to vote for a particular candidate because of certain perceived benefits he or she is likely to get in voting for such a candidate. In short, the motivation behind a voters' choice is based on the benefits the voter is likely to derive either directly or indirectly as a result of his choice in an election. According to Downs' theory, rationality implies "engaging in pursuits of goals in the most reasonable way possible" that suits the individuals' preferences. Down (1957) identifies five ways that constitute his perspective of rationality in an individuals' choice. These are;

1. The ability of the individual to make an informed decision in the midst of several alternatives available for the voter to choose.
2. The ability of the individual to rank or order his preferences based on the available alternatives.
3. The rankings of the individual should be transitive.

4. The ability of the individual to choose the most preferred alternatives.
5. The ability of the individual to avoid contradictions when presented with the same alternatives to choose in an election.

The Rational Choice theory assumes that, in every decision of the voter in an election comes with an associated benefit known to the voter and the voter is then motivated to act rationally because of the benefits associated with the choice that he or she is likely to make in an election. To this extend, the electorate will vote for a particular candidate bearing in mind the benefits to be derived from such a choice in an election.

1.7.2. Justification for the use of the Behaviour and Rational Choice Theories in explaining the study.

These two theories apply extensively to the research study because they best explain why the voters in the constituencies vote in an election and what informs their voting choices over the years in an election. The following reasons justify how the Behaviour theory of elections and the Rational Choice theory explain the study;

1. From the analysis of the data obtained in chapter four of this research work, majority of voters in Bongo constituency representing 89.0% where of the opinion that, their voting decisions in the elections of 2000, 2004 and 2008 were based on party loyalty to the NDC and its candidates. This goes to buttress the arguments made by the Behaviour theory on party identification models of voting in an election where voters are persuaded by faithful loyalties to a particular party over the years. In this case, the voters of Bongo have been voting very faithfully for the NDC and its parliamentary candidates from 1992 to 2012.

2. Again, majority of voters in both constituencies were also of the opinion that, their voting decisions in elections are based on their conviction of certain development promises made to them by the candidates competing in these elections and hence they voted for candidates who offered a real opportunity of socio-economic development in the constituency. This is also in line with the arguments put forward by Downs (1957) Rational Choice theory where voters expect some benefits in return from the candidates as they cast their votes for a particular party or candidate in an election.
3. Another justification is that, some voters in Bolgatanga constituency in the 2004 parliamentary election voted for the incumbent MP, Hon. David Apasera of the PNC because they were attached by some level of sympathy for the incumbent MP because he was involved in a motor accident that got him moving to the campaign grounds sometimes on a wheelchair. Some emotional voters therefore exercised their voting right on this incidence and this worked to the advantage of the incumbent MP and led to him winning the 2004 parliamentary election in Bolgatanga constituency.
4. Many of the voters in both constituencies evaluated the personality of the candidates before making their voting decision in an election. A candidate who was inward looking and did not associate himself or herself with the people as well the customs and traditions of the people were likely not to be voted for by majority of the voters in both constituencies. This perhaps explains why in 2004, between Hon. Albert Abongo and Hon. Andrews Awuni, the voters of Bongo felt the personality of Hon. Albert Abongo was more satisfactory to them than Hon. Andrews Awuni. In a similar way, the role of the candidates' personality also showed clearly between Hon. Simon Abenya (NDC) and Mr. David Apasera (PNC) in the 2000 parliamentary elections in Bolgatanga constituency. The voters felt Mr. David Apasera was a more open and receptive personality who associated very well with the voters than Hon. Simon

Abengya who was then the deputy minister of energy and was more concentrated on government business than matters relating to his constituency.

These illustrations given above, justifies why the Behaviour theory and the Rational Choice theory are suitable for the study in understanding why voters in Bolgatanga and Bongo constituencies voted over the years and what are the determinants of their voting choices in an elections with particular reference to the parliamentary elections of 2000, 2004 and 2008.

1.8 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The following were the limitation of the research work encountered by the researcher in the entire process of the study;

1. The study was limited to only two constituencies out of 15 constituencies that constitute the Upper East region but some other constituencies' in the region exhibit similar pattern of voting behaviour in elections under the fourth republic but because of resource constraint the study was unable to cover other constituencies within the region and by extension the country.
2. The research was conducted with the limited personal savings of the researcher who at the time of this study was unemployed and hence encountered some financial challenges.
3. The difficulty in obtaining information from some public institutions such as the Electoral Commission, the District and Municipal Assemblies created some delays in the final execution of the research work.

1.9 ORGANIZATION OF STUDY

The study is organized into five chapters;

Chapter one focuses on introduction and the conceptual framework of the study. It discusses the core issues that have influenced voter's voting choices with appropriate literature on voting choices. Chapter two takes a look at the relevant literature on elections in Ghana and the issues that have dominated elections in Ghana prior to independence, independence and post independence era.

Chapter three concentrates on the methods used to gather data and explains their usefulness to the study. It also includes the profile of the two constituencies in perspective. Chapter four presents and discusses the core data collected from the field. Chapter five concludes, summarises the findings and makes recommendations for future studies.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Volumes of studies have been conducted by scholars on elections and their outcomes. Some of these studies have focused extensively on presidential elections and little attention to constituency based comparative observation of electoral outcomes. It is this gap of insufficient works in establishing a comparative basis of constituency analysis of voter's choices particularly with respect to parliamentary elections that this study seeks to underscore using the case of Bolgatanga and Bongo constituencies under the fourth republic with respect to parliamentary elections.

However, it is of interest to note that, there has been more outstanding works on elections that date back to pre-independence times and the post-independence period that cannot be overlooked. Post independence works on elections cannot be complete without mention of the likes and works of Robinson and Mackenzie (1960), T.E Smith (1960), Naomi Chazan (1983) and Hayward (1987), all attest to the fact that, there have been some studies on elections in Africa. Similarly, the works of Apter (1963), Austin (1964), Tordoff (1979), Chazan and Le vine (1979) and Jeffries (1980), are all indication of works done in relation to elections in developing countries.

In recent times, Ninsin (1993), Oquaye (1995), Nugent (1995), Badu and Larvie (1996), Gyimah-Boadi (1997) Mc Carty (1997), Ayee (1997, 2001), Agyeman-Duah (2005) and Bofo- Arthur (2006) all give credence to the works done on elections within the Ghanaian context.

The literature review will be in two phases; the first phase will cater for general studies on elections and the resultant indices that are produced across the world, the second phase will be studies on elections in Africa and its manifestations. The third phase will be studies on elections in Ghana and the politics that surrounds such elections as well as what informs the choice of voters.

2.2 GENERAL STUDIES ON ELECTIONS

Elections in many parts of the world have been fiercely contested by political parties and actors that are involved in it. The reasons behind their decisions to contest for political power are wide and varied and can be viewed from different perspective depending on where you stand. In a similar vain, the decision to vote for a particular political party or candidate in an election also posits varied answers depending upon where one stands and views issues in global, national and local politics.

The factors that influence a voter's decision in an election differ from country to country. The indices surrounding the elections, the specific issues that are channelled out for political campaigning by the various parties and their messages, resources both human and capital all have an influential role in an election.

According to Wiarda and Kline (1985), Latin American political tradition differs in many ways from the persuasion and preference of voters in the United States of America and Western Europe. To them, the distinctiveness of the political system, the actors involved and the historical trajectories of Latin America as against western Europe is reflected in the composition and interrelationships of political groups in their various societies and how effective and functional these groupings are, to influencing the preference of voters in an election. However, there is considerable disagreement as to whether Latin America has a political system composed considerably of interest groups struggle that is very active in

influencing electoral outcomes or the United States of America. Admittedly, there is more competition among various interest group actors and their role in influencing electoral outcomes in the United States than in Latin America as suggested by Anderson (1985) in assessing the impact of interest groups in elections.

This assertion by Anderson (1985) corroborates the views held by Wiarda and Kline (1985) that interest group participation in elections varies geographically and their levels of influences in electoral outcome are not also the same across board. Wiarda and Kline (1985) also assert that, in the United States, the major interest groups such as religious groups and other lobby groups are assumed to be independent from the government and seek to influence voters in elections whereas in Latin America such agencies as the church, the army, the university and trade unions are often more than mere interest groups: they are an integral part of the state system and indispensable from it. There is some degree of governmental control over these agencies and their actions and inactions are invariably directed or to some extent dictated by the ruling class or elite who seek to use them to influence their electoral advantage.

It is my considered opinion that, in electoral politics, the role of interest groups, pressure groups or civil society has a way of influencing electoral outcomes to suit one party or the other based on their interest and persuasions. However, in my areas of study, local actors and organized social groups such as Women in sheabutter production, basketry, poultry production and other smaller youth groups involved in animal husbandry were very influential during election period and candidates had to lobby support and direct their campaigns towards these interest groups in Bongo and Bolgatanga constituencies for their votes.

Anderson (1985) in contributing to the debate on the role of interest groups in elections and their variations of influences geographically suggested that, the mobilization of votes in an election is not the only legitimate way to obtain political power. To him, pressure groups do not necessarily work for political power by seeking votes, or influencing their supporters to opt for a particular political party but they stand to preserve and to protect their own interest.

Fundamentally, elections in many developed countries across the world are usually based on competing ideas by competing interest groups. These interest groups then organize and galvanize support in terms of voters and votes in an election to favour their interest or persuasions. These competing ideas could be in economic development, social protection and other mitigating policies to cushion the poor and the vulnerable in society, access to credit and other business opportunities and good governance. These among others occupy the minds of politicians and candidates competing in an election.

Electoral studies have attracted many scholars across the world to seek keen interest in elections and the politics that surrounds such elections. What goes into the voters mind before a decision is made to vote for a particular candidate or party, the personality of the candidate, the campaign messages and the political trajectory of the area all have some significant inputs in determining a voter's choice in an election.

In assessing the victories of former president Harry Truman and the re-election of former President Dwight Eisenhower in 1945 and 1956 respectively in the United States of America, Campbell et al (1964) concluded that, the rationale behind the voting behaviour exhibited in the two elections were as a result of a strong party system and affiliation of voters to either being '*Republicans*' or '*Democrats*'. This contention is clearly demonstrated by the predominance of the two party systems in America.

However, it is not only party affiliation of voters that have the propensity to influencing the choices of voters in an elections .Voters are also influence by lobby groups, interest groups and sometimes religious persuasions and personality of the candidates.

Lipset and Rokken (1967) provide a pioneering understanding of the issues in terms of their theoretical perspective and underpinning of how voters behave in an election in many parts of Europe and other established democracies across the world. They concluded that, issues such as education, health care policy, welfare schemes, socio-economic development and the provision of social amenities among others are the determining factors that influence voters in terms of their decision to vote for a particular candidate or party in an election. This is aptly described by Anebo (2006) as salient issues in voter behaviour. However, this is in sharp contrast to the earlier arguments espoused by Wiadra and Kline (1985) on the persuasions and motivation of voters in an election. The conclusions drawn by Lipset and Rokken (1967) and Wiadra and Kline (1985) are at variance and pose the question, what do voters look out for in candidates and political parties before they decide to vote?

It is against this backdrop of varied information of geographical dimension of voter persuasions and behaviour that, the research seeks to ascertain further answers to the determinants of voter choice under the fourth republic with a focus in Bolgatanga and Bongo constituencies with respect to the parliamentary elections.

In assessing the two contesting but varied arguments put forward by Lipset and Rokken (1967), Wiadra and Kline (1985) and Anebo (2006), there is no denying the fact that, in the American political system, it is dominated by two major political traditions, Republicans and Democrats whose style and ideology of governance, social policy and economic models may differ but they both have America's national interest at heart. Their politics may divide them,

the parties may divide them, their ideology may divide them but the interest of America and the citizens of America are far greater than their individual-party persuasion and interest.

Also, we cannot also relegate to the background, the factors that motivates voter to look out for options that seek to influence their personal inclination and satisfaction. Hence, voters would always look out for issues concerning education, health, and social infrastructure, management of the economy, economic development and good governance among others.

In a study to assert how people vote in a particular pattern, the Michigan study model averts our understanding to the fact that, there is always the common tendency to characterize large blocs of voting patterns in such terms as “*liberal*” or “*conservative*” and this according to the Michigan Model greatly exaggerates the actual level of consistency in patterning in voter behaviour. However, the Michigan model of voter behaviour has consistently failed to establish the direct link in terms of surveys conducted and the consistency of the role ideological thinking play in influencing electoral outcomes. This perhaps emphasizes the general deficiency in the Michigan model.

In contrast, the ‘*American voter*’ portrayed an electorate whose orientations towards politics and political ideologies were strongly influenced by partisan loyalties developed early in life in American history and has an overriding effect on short-term forces such as popularity of candidate.

2.3 STUDIES ON ELECTIONS IN AFRICA: THE ISSUES INVOLVED

Many African countries have had turbulent times in their quest to democratize through elections as the common denominator. The period before the collapse of communism was seem as Africa’s worse authoritarian regimes exerted by both civilian and military governments with little space for opposition elements to participate as argued by Villalon and

Von Doepp (2005). However, external pressures from the west and other Bretton Wood institutions intensified their quest to push for further reforms in Africa. Added to these were sharp decline in economic indicators and Africa's export commodity prices such as cocoa, coffee, timber and gold in the world market. As a result, many African Countries suffered from hunger, underdevelopment and economic stagnation. The bitterness and frustration of many African Countries were further compounded by issues relating to corruption, mismanagement and bad governance that gave room to wanton dissipation of public property into personal hands and this had a sterling effect on the economies of Africa as argued by Joseph (1999).

From the two scholar's point of view, many Africa countries prior to the introduction of multi party democracy was besieged with bad governance and mal-administration that gained momentum through military interventions or other unauthorized means than elections. In instance where elections were held, it was just a mere formality of according legitimacy to the ruling class. In the view of Saaka (1997) he describes such situations as "legitimizing the illegitimate".

Hayward (1987), in his book "*Elections in Independent Africa*" gives a perspective on elections in most African countries and comes to the conclusion that, African political elite often employ political power, the use of incumbency advantage and sometimes use force to intimidate voters and manipulate the electoral process to their advantage.

According to Wantchekon (2003), comparative political scholars have long considered electoral politics in African to be systematically and inherently clientelistic. In his view, African political elites either by self imposition or elected, they often turn to skew their political rule on the distribution of personal favours to selected members or groups that are sympathetic to the ruling class and are likely to also return favour by supporting the ruling

class through elections or other an orthodox means to guarantee more favours and supports. This observation implicitly asserts the view that, African voters invariably have a much stronger preference and allegiance for private transfers than for public goods. The arguments of Gyimah-Boadi (2007b) and Frempong (2012) further buttresses the point made by Wantchekon (2003) on the clientelistic nature of Africa election.

Gyimah-Boadi (2007) in contributing to elections in Africa indicates that, in many developing countries especially in Africa, elections and electoral campaigns are usually not based on issues relating to the economy, governance, development and security. The political party that makes significant efforts at campaigning on issues was most likely going to lose the elections. As a result, African political elites relied on ethnic bonds, personality of candidates, party symbols, party affiliations and loyalties rather than policies and visions of parties. This phenomenon is so because African elections are often characterized by direct or indirect mobilization of ethnic votes partly reflecting in their inability to articulate better policies to the electorate and thus deepens the relevance of ethnicity in African politics.

In his book on Electoral politics in Ghana's fourth Republic, Frempong (2012) asserts that, transition elections in Africa occurred in the early parts of 1990s which saw a wave of competitive multiparty elections which significantly marked the end of some authoritarian regimes to an era of transitional democratic rule through periodic election.

According to Bratton and Van de walle (1997), between 1989 and 1994, almost all the countries in sub-Saharan Africa underwent significant political reforms that resulted in the conduct of first competitive elections in their respective countries after the end of some authoritarian regimes. These elections were characterized by some intense violence and ethnic cleavages. As a result, African politicians began galvanizing support on the basis of

such ethnic identities and this phenomenon has continued to present day in many African countries.

In his view, Gyimah-Boadi (2007) is of the opinion that, elections in African were often characterized by overt and covert mobilization of ethnic votes within a particular setting to favour a particular candidate and not necessarily an election based on campaign issues or policies. He further argues that, Africa political parties and candidates as well as voters skew their decision to vote in an election on personalities, tribal allegiance and party loyalties rather than policies and issues.

2.4 STUDIES ON ELECTIONS IN GHANA

Ghana has a very enviable record when it comes to elections and indices surrounded electoral politics in the sub-region. The history behind Ghana's electoral politics and democratic consolidation is traceable to the humble and moderate beginning of the fourth republic which took-off from 1993 following the 1992 presidential and parliamentary elections which were held in November and December respectively. It is however important to note that, before the 1992 general elections, there were elections held in 1951, 1954, 1956, 1957, 1960, 1969, and 1979 that produced remarkable electoral outcomes that cannot be forgotten when discussing the political history of electoral politics in Ghana.

Before the 1992 general elections, some studies were conducted in the early parts of 1950s and 1960s by scholars such as Dennis Austin (1964) and David Apter (1963) on "politics in Ghana, 1946-1960" and "Ghana in Transition" respectively. These studies on Ghana's election according to Ayee (2001), did not encompass the entire electoral processes of campaigning, the issues of politics that made news at that time and other economic indicators but were relatively limited in scope to the analysis of the electoral results. The studies of Dennis Austin (1964) and David Apter (1963) made use of the accumulated electoral results

and data to analyze aggregate electoral changes which invariably provided little evidence on the factors influencing voter's decision making in those elections.

Another deficit to such mode of analysis is that, the reader is unable to appreciate into details the ideologies of such political parties that contested these elections, what they stood for, what they intend to pursue and how they will pursue it, there was little information in that respect. However, their works served as a basis for future reference and a benchmark for improving upon future studies of electoral politics in Ghana after the 1960s to which many contemporary scholars have cited.

2.4.1 PRE-INDEPENDENCE ELECTIONS IN GOLD COAST AND THE ISSUES

INVOLVED: 1951, 1954 AND 1956 ELECTIONS

Before I make an attempt to review literature on elections in Ghana under the forth Republic, it is important to note that, Ghana has had a long track record of organizing elections that dates back to the colonial period of Governor Guggisberg where the 'Elective Principle' was introduced for the first time in Gold Coast in 1925. This continued in 1946 under Governor Alan Burns till the 1951 elections in which the C.P.P won majority seats in the legislative Assembly and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah became the Leader of Government Business and later the Prime Minister. The 1951 elections were followed by the 1954 elections, the 1956 elections and plebiscite supervised by the U.N on whether the people of the Trans-Volta Togo land will join Gold Coast to gain independence or not. This was followed with the 1965 elections which made Ghana a 'de jure' one party state with the CPP as the only party to contest elections as indicated by Oquaye (1982).

Following the unconstitutional overthrow of the CPP government through a military coup d'état in 1966 led by the National Liberation Council (NLC) which took over the reigns of power from 1966-1969, when elections were organized in 1969 which brought the Progress

Party (PP) into power. The Progress Party's regime was also truncated mid way through its administration by a military coup d'état led by the National Redemption Council (NRC) and subsequently to the Supreme Military Council I (SMC) and Supreme Military Council II (SMC) before another military coup d'état led by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) in 1979 as indicated by Oquaye (1982).

It took Ghana another ten years before the 1979 elections which vested power in the hands of the Peoples National Party (PNP) and after twenty seven months, the PNP was also overthrown by another military regime called the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) and that was the last election held before the fourth Republic.

The five military interventions in the political history of Ghana did not give much space to the democratically elected government to rule and execute their policies to the latter and this military infractions created more dislike and mistrust in the ruling class and the society at large. Furthermore, the military interventions did not allow the Ghanaian electorate to enjoy to the fullest, their right to elect and determine who should govern them at every given time.

According to Gocking (2005), the politics surrounding the 1951 elections were quiet elusive and historic because it was the first ever elections to be held under universal adult franchise in Gold Coast. The 1951 election was an election in which the CPP had some considerable advantage in terms of its ability to mass up support and their organizational superiority over the UGCC. The CPP was also more appealing to the youth and a lot of young men and women joined the frontline of party politics under the CPP. This was evidence in a land mark case in which the CPP candidate for Cape Coast, Mr. Kwesi Plange was able to get the legislative council to agree to reducing the voting age from 25 to 21, which benefitted himself because he was under 25years at the time of his election as a CPP parliamentary candidate for cape coast.

Apparently, this decision later benefited the political fortunes of the CPP and their chances in the 1951 elections because the party was more appealing to the youth and the down trodden in society than the UGCC that was galvanized and sponsored by an elitist intelligentsia group comprising seasoned professionals and business merchants.

In reviewing these two similar position exposed by Austin (1964) and Gocking (2005), it is clear that, organizational efficiency, popular support for the CPP and the role played by local actors and associations such as farmers, fishermen and the youth were very instrumental to the success of the CPP in the 1951 elections. An attempt at underestimating these factors stated above will be mischievous if not losing site of the facts. However, to limit the victory of the CPP in the 1951 elections to efficiency in party organization and support from cooperative groups will be an understatement. In accounting for the victory of the CPP in the 1951 elections, the leadership role played by K.A Gbedemah and Krobo Edusei cannot be ignored or understated. Also the campaign messages that were channelled out, alongside the propaganda and the charisma of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah worked the magic for the CPP in the 1951 elections that led to their victory.

Following the historic 1951 election, there was another election in Gold Coast in 1954 that produced very interesting and divergent permutation in terms of the electoral outcomes and the alliances that were formed. The 1954 election was also remarkable in the sense that, it was the election that saw the formation of political parties on the basis of religion, religion, ethnicity and other forms of identities.

Buzzi (2002) also argues that, differences between ethnic groups and the antagonism that exist among them are further compounded by the nature of Africa's multi-ethnic societies and each ethnic group claiming superiority over another. This according to Buzzi (2002) is

what fuels ethnic rivalry between and among ethnic groups which are further exploited extensively by African political elites during elections to galvanize support and votes.

In reviewing contributions made by Frempong (2001), Buzzi (2002) and Gocking (2005) on the role of ethnicity, religion and region in the 1954 elections, the manifestations and resultant influence of these identity groups or political parties that were formed on the basis of identity groups did not play much to influence the chances of the CPP in the 1954 election nor did it prevent the CPP from winning the 1954 elections by 72 out of 104 constituencies as indicated by Frempong (2012).

However, it was a clear manifestation of how polarized the society was and the extent to which it could degenerate if care is not taken to prevent the deliberate exploitation of an ethnic agenda by the political class in the politics of Gold Coast. However, to underestimate the role of ethnicity, religion, regionalism and other identities in the electoral politics of Ghana will be an understatement. These have played and continuous to play key roles in influencing electoral outcomes under the fourth Republic. Following from the 1954 election came the 1956 election that also had similar manifestation like the 1954 elections with regional blocs and ethnic cleavages smearing its ugly face in the politics of the 1956 election.

Again, this clearly buttresses the point that, political victories of the 1951, 1954 and 1956 elections were not won on the basis of identities neither were they significantly induced to a large extent on the basis of regional or religious identities. However, one cannot relegate to the background the role of ethnic politics and its impact in electoral outcomes. As a result of the potential danger of such identity politics, in 1957 the Avoidance of Discrimination Act (ADA) was passed and it made illegal all political parties formed on the basis of region, religion or other ethnic identities. This provision is further stressed upon by Ghana's 1992

constitution, Article 55(4) which states “every political party shall have a national character and membership shall not be base on ethnic, religious, regional or other sectional divisions”

2.4.2 POST-INDEPENDENCE ELECTIONS IN GHANA AND THE ISSUES

INVOLVED: 1960, 1969 AND 1979 ELECTIONS

To have full control in the internal affairs of the country, Ghana gained the status of a Republic in 1960 following a plebiscite-cum-election held to determine whether Ghana would become a Republic or not and also to choose the country’s first democratically elected president under the 1960 constitution. The results of the plebiscite was a ‘YES’ votes representing 88 per cent and 12 per cent for ‘No’ votes. In the presidential race between Kwame Nkrumah of the CPP and J.B Danquah of the United Party (UP), the former won 89 per cent and was declared Ghana’s first elected president. Following from the 1960 election was a referendum held in 1964 that endorsed Ghana as a “de jure” one party state with the CPP as the only party. The results of the referendum were fascinating and interesting as argued by Boahen (1975) and Frempong (2012). Fore instance, the total ‘Yes’ votes that supported a one party state was 99.9 per cent with not a single ‘No’ vote recorded in the Asante region that was a strong hold of the opposition group. It is my contended opinion that, the referendum was manipulated significantly to favour the incumbent CPP government to entrench their political rule.

The 1969 elections were exploited by the political class using the ethnic card and identity and that worked to the advantage and victory of the Progress Party (PP) that had a larger ethnic followers based on five traditional Akan regions compared to its closet political rival, the National Alliance of Liberals (NAL) that had only the Volta region to exploit using the ethnic card as its political tool. In terms of the politics of the 1969 elections, much attention was laid on galvanizing ethnic votes and sympathies to winning the elections and little attention on

issues relating to ‘bread and butter’, the state of the economy and the level of competence and capabilities of the candidates. Critical questions such as what policy alternative were the various political parties offering? Who offered the best choice for socio-economic development and political advancement of the country? Which political party will be the best manager of the economy? All these questions received less attention and answers and all efforts were concentrated on securing votes through ethnic identity.

As argued by Twumasi (1975), all the political parties that contested the 1969 elections had nothing uniquely different in their manifestoes that could be use to distinguish one party from another, nor did any of the political parties have a substantial program outline in terms of policy direction and vision when given the political mantle to govern. All the political parties emphasized the need for a rural renaissance, encouraging and promoting Ghanaian entrepreneurs and building more schools and hospitals and other infrastructural developments. Improvements in the agricultural sector particularly major exports commodities such as cocoa and Timber, and other cereals were also outline by some of the parties. Creating an enabling environment for foreign direct investment, attracting external support and donor partners were also envisaged by the parties.

Twumasi (1975) furthers argues that, the seemingly similar nature of the policies of all the political parties could be attributed to the stance taken by the National Liberation Council (NLC) regime which pronounce a welfare regime grounded on four thematic phases of the Ghanaian economy which were; the private sector, a joint private/government sector, a government sector and the cooperative sector. This was rather in sharp contrast to the state interventionist policy adopted by the CPP government.

As Jeffries (1980) admits, free and fair elections do not often take place in the middle of revolutions but the 1979 June 4th Revolution was more of an attempt at dealing with the

excesses of impunity and moral decadence that existed in the Ghanaian society than economic structural transformation. The regime was to undertake a '*house cleaning exercise*' that would bring probity, accountability, equity and tolerance in society as cardinal moral values that should be upheld at all course.

To Frempong (2009), the 1979 elections offered better electoral lessons because it produced one of the fairest results in the country's electoral history that students of electoral history of Ghana cannot relegate to the background in assessing elections in Ghana. In all, six political parties and four independent presidential candidates contested the elections. The Peoples' National Party (PNP) led by Dr. Hillar Limann was an amalgamation of the old folks of the CPP members and its affiliates. The Popular Front Party (PFP) was led by Victor Owusu which was a replica of the Progress Party (PP) and its members that had their administration truncated in the 1972 coup d'état. As Oquaye (1980) admits, the presence of all the political parties added colour and variety to the 1979 elections and perhaps re-awaken the old rivalry between the CPP and the UP tradition in Ghanaian politics but in a different form with different political actors.

In assessing the literature provided above, the parties made strong effort to have a balance of power and this resulted in the south- north balance of power divide in the determination of presidential candidates and running mate. This was evidence when the leader of the Peoples National Party (PNP) from the upper Region chose J. W. S De Graft-Johnson from the central region as his running mate, Victor Owusu of the Popular Front Party (PFP) from Ashanti region chose Yakubu Tali from the Northern region as his running mate. William Ofori-Attah, the presidential candidate of the UNC from eastern region chose Mahama Iddrisu from the Upper Region as his running mate as indicated by Oquaye (1980).

According to Frempong (2009), the greatest lesson of the 1979 election was the level of uncertainty that surrounded the outcome of the first round of voting that did not produce any clear cut winner for the president. To him, the PFP went to the polls confident to win, because of some perceived advantage and association with the PP government and campaign on the successes of the Busia administration in terms of their ability to rebuilt the Ghanaian economy to better heights and the introduction of some austerity measures that brought back hope, resilience and confidence to the Ghanaian economy.

Jeffries (1980) and Oquaye (1980) support the views held by Frempong (2009) in terms of the style and format adopted by the United Party (UP) tradition going into the 1979 elections. Jeffries (1980) and Oquaye (1980) indicates that, the split in the Danquah- Busia front into Popular Front Party (PFP) and United National Congress (UNC) limited their chances and this further narrowed their traditional support base regions of Asante, Eastern, western, central and Brong –Ahafo regions as compared to the 1969 elections.

On the other hand, the PNP saw itself as an underdog Party that needed to rise beyond reproach and work harder and this they demonstrated by their superior organization skill and their ability to reach the down trodden in society and the far forgotten areas to seek for their political support and votes in the 1979 election.

2.4.4 ELECTIONS UNDER THE FOURTH REPUBLIC: 1992-2008

Under the fourth Republic, Ghana has witnessed six consecutive elections that have yielded progressive results to the admiration of many political watchers and the international community at large. These elections have added significantly to the enviable democratic credentials enjoyed by the country under the fourth republic. It is in this regard that, there exist some amount of literature concerning elections in Ghana under the fourth republic particularly the presidential and parliamentary elections. However, much of the works have

centred largely on party politics, institutional capacity of the electoral management team, the primary actors engaged in the entire electioneering processes, political parties and constituency surveys as conducted by the department of political science, university of Ghana in elections 2000 and 2004 on some selected constituencies on the choice of voters in such elections.

The essence of this work is to ascertain to some extent, a comparative study of a pattern of voter behaviour exhibited by two constituencies, one urban (Bolgatanga) and one rural and deprived (Bongo) under the fourth republic in terms of parliamentary elections using elections 2000, 2004 and 2008 as the benchmark. Ghana's triumphant return to representative democracy after eleven years of military rule under the Provisional National Defence Council's (PNDC) regime was precipitated by several 'push' and 'pull' factors that are worth enumerating under this review.

According to Boafo-Arthur (2007), under the PNDC regime, its latter days in office were compounded by weak economic base and other fiscal challenges that led to development partners and other donor agencies implicitly imposing economic and political conditions on the country. The PNDC administration had no option but to succumb to such demands of liberalization and democratization in order to receive favour and financial assistance from the donor partners and other Bretton Wood institutions that pushed for such reforms. The pressures that were brought to bear on the PNDC government by both external actors and internal actors necessitated the steps taken by the PNDC to implement these political and economic reforms that eventually brought the country to organize the 1992 general elections. Aside these pull and push factors enumerated above, it is also my considered opinion that, the PNDC government was losing popularity and clout after eleven years of political rule and hence they needed a different way or mode in which they could reaffirm and assert their political and constitutional legitimacy to govern. This could only be done through the

organization of elections in which they were active participants to affirm their legitimacy to rule in Ghana.

These arguments raised above, are further supported by the admission of Boafo-Arthur (2007) that, the collation of views and suggestions on the democratic path to chart by the National Commission for Democracy (NCD), the inauguration of a 260 member consultative Assembly, the setting up of an Interim Electoral Commission (INEC) and the holding of District Assembly Elections were all positive indicators geared towards charting a path of democracy through the 1992 general elections.

According to Agyeman-Duah (2008), the 1992 elections suffered from what He describes as '*transition syndrome*' in that, it witnessed some funding and founding challenges as it was the first time after eleven years that the country was organizing another elections. Furthermore, the presidential elections were held separately from the parliamentary elections with the former held on 3rd November, 1992 while the latter was held on 28th December, 1992. The politics surrounding the 1992 elections had interesting permutations and the creation of political alliances is of relevance to this study and the literature review at large. As indicated by Agyeman-Duah (2008), one interesting pairing from the 1992 elections were claims by the opposition parties over frustrations and setbacks in the legal framework that was been operational under the period over review. The oppressive, strict and cumbersome nature of the political system as alluded to by the opposition parties worked to the disadvantage of many of the smaller parties prior to the 1992 general elections because they could not meet all the necessary requirements needed to compete in the elections.

This point is further stressed by Oquaye (2004) when He argues that, the legal framework allowed a registered political party sixty days to meet the requirements needed to satisfy the Interim National Electoral Commission (INEC) of its existence in all the constituencies, show

evidence that, party officers have been duly elected, the location of party headquarter, regional and district offices and also to declare their assets, income and expenditure account and produce their audited accounts. All these cumbersome and laborious processes and procedures before the INEC could certify a party worked massively to the disadvantage of the smaller parties who could not meet such requirements.

However, to say that the incumbent party gained an advantage in terms of the requirements given by the INEC will be to belittle the point. All the parties were expected to go through a similar exercise to meet the requirements of the INEC and there could not be an undue advantage on the part of any party to short chain the system nor the process. Perhaps, one could say, being a party in government, there is the possibility of having some amount of resources for speedy mobilization of party structures to meet deadlines compared to other parties that had little or no resources at all to mobilize and also to participate in the elections.

Added to these distressing challenges that the transition elections of 1992 faced were also issues relating to an over bloated and outdated voter register as indicated by Lyons (1999:159). He argues that, a voters' register whose revision was not considered because of time constraints or financial difficulties or interplay of the two was a recipe for further mistrust of the outcome of the elections or a failure of the system itself and its actors. To buttress the point made by Lyons (1999) and Saaka (1997) where they argues that, in many African Elections, the ruling party employs deliberate policy that are meant to weaken the opposition parties either covertly or overtly so that they would have a bigger advantage. The resultant effect of such tactics is that, there is the tendency for the ruling class to exploit the politics of patronage, incumbency abuse and other brutalities against political opponents that could end up marring the beauty and the credibility of the electoral outcomes as depicted by the 1992 general elections where the opposition parties were not satisfied with the declaration of the final election results in favour of the NDC.

As Frempong (2012) puts it, learning from the bitter experience of the 1979 elections and what a divided front can do to them in their chances of electoral victory in an elections, the Danquah-Busia tradition in the 1992 elections stayed focus and united under one party called the New Patriotic Party (NPP) led by Albert Adu Boahen as its presidential candidate to contest the 1992 presidential elections.

In an attempt to analyze the 1992 elections, Kumi (1992) argues that, the four opposition presidential candidates had poor showing in the distribution of the electoral results because they were disadvantaged in terms of financial constraints, logistical constraints and the short period within which they had to organize, campaign and to be able to make an impact in the election was certainly an arduous task. Added to these were the blatant abuse of incumbency, intimidation and the brutal show of power by the security forces sympathetic to the NDC all worked to the disadvantage of the opposition parties.

While admitting that, there were excesses in terms of abuse of power and incumbency and intimidation aimed at crippling the opposition parties, these opposition parties, particularly the three 'Nkrumahist's Parties could have fared well if they were united as one party and presented a formidable presidential candidate coupled with a better organizational capacity, perhaps the results could have been different. The lack of unity among the Nkrumah's front has further led to the disintegration and fragmentation of the old folks of the CPP that has given room for the NDC and NPP to be the resultant beneficiaries. This problem still persists despite efforts aimed at bringing the entire Nkrumah's factions together.

Another interesting pattern that developed following the 1992 presidential election results was the rejuvenation of the old rivalry of Ewe-Ashanti lines and this was clearly shown by the result obtained by the two regions (Ashanti and Volta regions).

As cited by Frempong (2012:50), *“the declaration of the result triggered a spate of post election violence, the detonation of four bombs in different parts of Accra by a group called the Alliance for Democratic forces (ADF), the burning to death of the NDC western regional chairman, rioting by supporters of the main opposition NPP in many large cities including Kumasi”*

The four defeated political parties in the presidential election made fresh demand for more electoral reforms and a revision of the voter registration but the parties could not come to terms with an agreement as cited by Oquaye (2001). The opposition parties sensing fear of more embarrassing defeat as indicated by Frempong (2007 b: 136) if these electoral reforms were not looked into, boycotted the parliamentary elections of 1992 and chronicled their grievances of electoral infractions and irregularities in a book called the *“The Stolen Verdict”*. As a result of the boycott, the NDC, NCP and the EGLE party were the only parties that contested the parliamentary elections in which Frempong (2012) describes as *“family contest”*. The NDC presented 189 candidates and won 189 seats, the NCP won 8 seats EGLE had one seat and two independent candidates also won their seats.

According to Jeffries (1998) there is little dispute about the 1996 elections because they were managed and conducted fairly with some degree of efficiency and impartiality as exhibited by the electoral commission (E.C) compared to the founding 1992 elections organized by INEC. To Ayee (1998), the 1996 elections were an integral part of Ghana’s democratic development and a path at democratic consolidation in the coming years. The success of the 1996 elections was partly attributable to the consensus building mechanism and electoral reforms introduced by the E.C with the involvement of the political parties. This brought more confidence into the electoral system. As Frempong (2012) recalls, the introduction of the intra-party advisory committee (IPAC) brought practical value and dialogue among political parties on the way forward in terms of how to improve upon subsequent elections

and this has been further amplified by Ayee (1998:536) in his assessment of the important role played by major political actors to build consensus and to accept the final results.

As reminiscence of electoral politics, the Great Alliance (GA) led by the NPP and its presidential candidate J.A Kuffour coordinated their electoral campaigns on the theme “*Charge and Development*” in which they highlighted several challenges relating to governance, the state of the economy, security, conflicts, poverty and underdevelopment as a total failure of government to deal with these difficulties or the lack of capacity and political will to solve such problems. The NPP promised a robust economy that will alleviate the suffering of many Ghanaian under the NDC’s regime, bring more economic opportunities, create more jobs, equity, fairness, poverty reduction and increased accelerated growth of the economy. They also raised issues of economic mismanagement and incompetence on the part of the ruling government as part of their campaign issues.

A cursory look at the trend of the 1992 and the 1996 elections shows a similar pattern of regionalized voting behaviour. Just as in the 1992 election, the NDC won in nine regions except for the Ashanti region. In the 1996 election, the NDC again won in all nine regions except Ashanti region. The question to many political scientists would be what explains this system of voting pattern and what reasons informs such voting decisions by the voters.

The reviewed literature above on the 1996 elections points to two significant issues that are worth noting. One is that, when the system in which the political actors operate is considered by the actors as good, transparent and accountable, it does not matter the outcome of the results, they are bond to respect it because of the confidence and trust in the process and its reliability. It was therefore not surprising that, at this time the opposition parties did not hit the streets, throw bombs or question the credibility of the electoral outcome. They conceded

defeat graciously and congratulated the victor and that was remarkable. The victor (Rawling) also accepted the results, praised his fellow contestants and celebrated with magnanimity.

According to Ayee (2001) for the third time under the fourth republic, Ghanaians went to the polls to elect an executive Head of state and 200 Members of parliament on 7th December, 2000. Under this election, Ghana's democratic credentials were put to test, a test as to whether Ghana would be able to have a smooth political transition and to consolidate its democratic gains made over the years or not. It was also an election that will bring to an end, the lingering questions in the minds of many Ghanaians as to whether Rawlings will hand over power after nineteen years to a democratically elected government when his tenure expires. If yes, will it be to his political party the NDC or to an opposition party?

To many political scientists including the likes of Ayee (2000), Gyimah-Boadi (2001), Agyeman-Duah (2000), Bofo-Arthur (2004) and Oquaye (2005), the 2000 elections were very historic and remarkable and arguably the most important elections since independence in 1957. Reasons cited by Ayee (2001) were to the effect that, the elections were to mark the end of the Rawlings era and usher in a new regime after almost two decades of Rawlings' leadership. It was also to test the viability or otherwise of Ghana's 1992 constitution that had existed for nearly a decade. Much commentary from the 2000 elections reiterates the fact that the NDC was a divided house going into the election. Amidst issues of lack of internal democracy, dictatorship from the party founder (Rawlings), the disqualification of some parliamentary candidates and the general dissatisfaction of some party stalwarts were issues that could not be swept under the carpet.

As indicated by Agyeman-Duah (2000) and Ayee (2001), the dissatisfaction of the NDC party members especially the likes of Obed Asamoah, Goosie Tandoh and Iddrisu Mahama among others following the '*Swedru Declaration*' of Vice president J.E.A Mills as the next

successor to Rawlings to lead the NDC did not go down well with some NDC faithful who had been loyal to the party since the PNDC era and felt it was now time for them to succeed president Rawlings and lead the NDC. The damaging effect of such pronouncement was that, it led to the formation of the National Reform Party (NRP) led by Goosie Tandoh, a splinter group of the NDC which called for internal reforms in the party as indicated by Frempong (2008). These internal divisions within NDC were not very much helpful to their agenda of political victory in the 2000 general elections. The NDC was not the only party that had a splinter group, the United Ghana Movement (UGM) was a splinter group from the NPP led by Dr. Charles Wireko-Brobby that also contested the 2000 elections.

Studies conducted by the department of political science, university of Ghana on the 2000 elections on some selected constituencies gives varied opinion on why people voted, how they voted and what informed the voting choices of electorate in both the presidential and parliamentary elections. In explaining the choice of voters in the 2000 general elections in Ayawaso West Wuogon and Kpone Katamanso, Gyimah-Boadi (2001) explains that, the two constituencies, one predominantly an urban area occupied by high class people in society and the University of Ghana community (Ayawaso West Wuogon) and the other constituency (Kpone Katamanso) is predominantly a rural area occupied by settler farmers, petty traders and fisher folks. An assessment of the two constituencies drives the conclusion that, the NPP was growing much stronger in terms of electoral outcomes in urban constituencies as depicted by the votes obtained in Ayawaso West Wuogon and on the other hand, the NDC was more appealing to the rural constituencies and tended to be more stronger in such areas than the urban towns. This perhaps sounds a very interesting bell because this research seeks to explain comparatively over a period of time (2000-2008) what informs the voters in Bolgatanga which is an urban area and Bongo which is a rural area in their voting choices.

Frempong (2001) identifies ethnicity and regionalized loyalties as key variables of voter behaviour in the 2000 general elections even though His study was not national in nature but limited to some specific constituencies and an analysis of the electoral outcomes. For instance, the five traditional Akan regions (Ashanti, western, eastern, central and Brong-Ahafo) all rallied their support for the NPP presidential candidate J.A Kuffour to the neglect of another Akan presidential candidate from the central region representing the NDC, J.E.A Mills. This trend portrays the predominance of the NPP in the Akan regions, which when all put together have majority of the voting population than the other five non Akan regions put together.

Ahiawordor (2001) confirms this ethnic pattern of voter behaviour when explaining voter behaviour in Ho central and Ho east constituencies. He concludes that, as a result of illiteracy, some voters were unaware of the existence of other political parties' aside the NDC and this could explain the gullibility and vulnerability of such voters in terms of their voting choice which was obvious.

On his part, Essuman-Johnson (2001) contributing to Electoral politics in Komenda-Edina-Eguafo-Abirem (KEEA) and Agona west constituencies notes that, issues such as unemployment, poverty, high illiteracy rate, education and infrastructural development occupied the minds of the voters in their decision to vote for one party or the other. In effects, their choices were made based on the propensity of a political party or candidate to deliver the services of social infrastructure and economic development to the people.

The arguments of Essuman-Johnson (2001) and Anebo (2006) confirms the views of Bluwey (2001) and Boafo-Arthur (2001) in which they both admit that, voter choices in the 2000 general elections were based on rational choices of voting on issues that had significant effect on the state of the economy, cost of living, depreciation of the cedi, level of governance,

human rights and infrastructural developments as against vague party loyalty pattern of voting as exhibited by some constituencies and regions.

The writings of these political scientists on the determinants of voter choice in the 2000 general elections points to two significant indicators that cannot be ignored; *issue voting as against ethnic-regionalized voting pattern* observed in the outcome of the 2000 general elections. However, despite this wide literature on election 2000, little has been made to investigate on a comparative basis over a period of time, two constituencies that share boundaries but react differently in terms of their voter behaviour established under the fourth republic. What factors informs one constituency (Bongo) to consistently vote one sided for both presidential and parliamentary and on the other hand, another constituency (Bolgatanga) to opt for change in the parliamentary to a third force party (PNC). It is this gap of insufficient literature on a comparative basis over a period of time that, the study seeks to explain.

Following the successes chalked in the elections of 1992, 1996 and 2000, it was crystal clear that, the 2004 elections were to be a massive improvements in the previous ones that will reaffirm Ghana' democratic culture to the outside world. It was therefore no surprise that, the 2004 elections were less acrimonious and volatile compared to the previous elections as indicated by Agyeman-Duah (2005). To Boafo-Arthur (2006), the 2004 elections were critical because it was an opportunity for the electorate to pass judgment on the incumbent government (NPP) or to opt for an alternative government. It was also an election that reinstalled confidence in the Kuffour –led administration that, there was an outright win for the NPP in the first round of voting held on the 8th of December, 2004.

The politics surrounding the electioneering campaigns prior to 2004 elections cannot be ignored when reviewing literature on the 2004 elections. The 2004 elections witnessed an

increased in the number of constituencies from 200 to 230 constituencies by the Electoral Commission. This aroused spontaneous reactions from the opposition parties particularly the NDC with claims of gerrymandering to favour the NPP. The introduction of the Highly Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) initiative that brought some considerable debt relief and the National Reconciliation Commission (NRC) that was meant to hear cases of human rights abuses and atrocities of the 1970s to the fourth republic and to make recommendations towards national reconciliation were seen as positive signs of progress in the society as indicated by Dzorgbo (2006). However, the introduction of HIPC and NRC received sustained bushing from the opposition-NDC and other civil society groups and social analysts who argued that, they were retrogressive initiatives especially the NRC having the tendency of revoking past bitterness and hatred for persons who have been alleged to have caused or influenced the abuse of certain people in the past.

In an effort to establish the choice made by voters in the 2004 elections in four constituencies: Bolgatanga, Bongo, Gomoa west and KEEA, Essuman-Johnson (2006) cites factionalism and internal conflicts within parties as one of the reasons for the fall of some parliamentary candidates in the 2004 elections. For instance, in the case of Bolgatanga constituency, the division in the camp of the NPP and the NDC in the run-up to the 2004 elections caused their defeat in the parliamentary elections that could have easily gone to the NPP or the NDC had they remained united. The two NPP leading members Dr. Agambila (Deputy minister of state) and Rockson Bukari, (Bolgatanga Municipal Chief Executive) both contested Parliamentary primaries in which Rockson Bukari lost to Dr. Agambila. Their inability to remain united and forge ahead led to some supporters of Rockson Bukari opting to vote for the PNC parliamentary candidate instead of their own. A similar faith was also suffered on the part of the NDC when one of the candidates who lost in the NDC primaries contested as an independent parliamentary candidate.

For the case of Bongo, it was expected that, the inclusion of Andrews Awuni (Deputy Minister of information) would close the electoral margins significantly or even win the Bongo constituency seat for the first time. However, as Essuman-Johnson (2006) indicates, local politics played to the disadvantage of Andrews Awuni in that He was described as not been a ‘home boy’ and his failure to attend certain traditional functions and funerals among others.

The conclusions of Debrah (2006) in *Election 2004 and politics in Upper west Akim and New Juaben South* underscores the points made by Essuman-Johnson (2006) that, the influences of local politics and “*intra-party manoeuvres*” accounted for some of the electoral outcomes in some constituencies in the 2004 parliamentary elections. Herbst (2004), also points out that, the introduction of constituency debate for the parliamentary contestants brought some value and essence in the politics of the 2004 elections. Candidates had to present themselves and their vision to the electorate who could easily assess them base on what they say on such platforms.

For the fifth consecutive time, Ghana’s democratic credentials were put to test. Ghanaians went to the polls to elect an executive president and 230 parliamentarians concurrently on 7th December, 2008. There were many lingering questions in the minds of many political scientists and political watchers about the 2008 elections. As Gyimah-Boadi (2009) point out, was the 2008 election going to explode to taint the successes that Ghana has achieved in its democratic path over the years under the fourth republic? Would the NPP maintain power and become the most predominant political party in Ghana or the NDC would return after eight years in opposition? Will a third alternative party emerge as winner aside the NDC and NPP?

A review of related literature on the 2008 elections would not be complete if there is no attempt at addressing the politics of the 2008 general elections and how that played out in the electoral outcome. In the presidential election, it was obvious that, the two leading political parties, the NDC and NPP who had served for two terms each, 1993-2000 and 2001-2008 respectively were the main contenders in the elections even though there were other five political parties and one independent candidate that contested in 2008 elections.

With their campaign slogan “*we are moving forward*” the NPP cited positive records on Human Rights, the repeal of the Criminal Libel Law, most notably with regard to Civil Liberties and Media Freedom, Good Governance, strong economic growth, massive infrastructural developments, poverty reduction strategies and initiatives such as the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS), Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP), the School Feeding Program (SFP), National Youth Employment Program (NYEP) and many others as the strategic achievements of the party that warranted their stay in office as alluded to by Gyimah-Boadi (2009).

On the other, the NDC were quick to point out the excesses of the NPP’s regime to their political advantage. According to Frempong (2009), government’s inability to account comprehensively for the profligate spending on the Ghana@50 celebrations in 2007 provided an impetus for its political opponents to exploit such weaknesses extensively to expose the NPP administration and to ask for change in political power. The sale of Ghana Telecom (GT) to Vodafone, the M.V Benjamin cocaine saga in which 77 parcels suspected to be cocaine got missing at the Police Headquarters under strict security surveillance raised several questions about government commitment to fighting the drug menace.

The incarceration of the former Ghana National Petroleum Company (GNPC) boss, Mr. Tsatsu Tsikata over alleged misapplication and misappropriation of public funds and

wilfully causing financial loss to the state also attracted more public outcry from the legal fraternity, civil society and some sections of the general public. All these issues worked to the disadvantage of the NPP in the 2008 general elections. (Frempong, 2009)

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The credibility and reliability of every academic research depends of the appropriateness of the methodology adopted by the researcher in determining the variables that are key to establishing the findings and conclusions of the work. The significance of employing methodology to research is that it serves as a guide for the researcher to identify, locate and sort out the various issues that encompasses the theoretical underpinnings of the study that the researcher seeks to explain and establish. This chapter explains into details where the research was conducted, what approach was used in gathering the data, how the data was collected, when the data was collected, the reliability of the data collected and the mode of analysis employed in the study.

3.2 PROFILE OF BOLGATANGA AND BONGO CONSTITUENCIES

Bolgatanga constituency is located in Bolgatanga Municipality which also serves as the capital of the region is located geographically between longitude $0^{\circ} 33'$ and $1^{\circ} 00'$ west and latitude $10^{\circ} 30'$ east. The constituency shares boundaries with some administrative districts in the region such as Bongo district, Tongu district, Kasena Nankana district and Bawku municipal which are located to the south, north, west and east respectively.

The constituency has a total population of about 147,729 according to the 2010 population and housing census with females representing the majority in the municipality. (Population and Housing Census Report, 2012).The constituency also has a voter population of 73,299 voters according to the 2008 voter register.

Majority of the people in the constituency follow the Christian religion and this represents 49.7% with most of them being Catholics. This is followed by the African traditional religion that represents 35.0% with most of them in the rural areas within the municipality. The third is the Islamic religion followers who are predominantly within the Zongo and other settler communities within the municipality also representing 13.3%. (DAEA, Household survey, 2008)

Linguistic evidence passed on from one generation to the other tells a very interesting story about the people of Bolgatanga and their interactions with the early Europeans. When the Europeans arrived in present day Bolgatanga (sumbrungu), the people of Bolga were very receptive to them and warmly welcomed them with great joy and happiness everywhere they passed. In the local language 'Gurene', the local people greeted the Europeans with the welcoming words 'Ya-fara fara', which literally means 'you are welcome' in Gurene. As the Europeans went around the town, they were met with this greeting 'ya fara fara'. The Europeans who did not understand the local dialect but needed to maintain some sense of bond and memory with the local people decided to name the people of Bolga by the words 'frafra' people which when translated means the 'welcoming people'. This explains why the people of Bolgatanga are often called 'frafra' people and this name has lived with them till present day.

Politically, Bolgatanga municipality was created in 2004 by Legislative Instrument (LI) 1797 (2004) and is headed by the Municipal Chief Executive (MCE) who is appointed by the president with prior approval of not less than two thirds majority of the members of the Assembly as required by the provisions of article 243(1) of Ghana's 1992 constitution. To facilitate speedy work and efficiency, there is the Municipal Coordinating Director (MCD) who is the administrative head and is assisted by other heads of departments and agencies as well as committees to ensure smooth operations and executions projects within the

municipality. Bolgatanga Municipal Assembly is made up of 55 Assembly members, out of which 37 are elected and 16 are appointed by the government in consonance with the provisions in the local Government Act, Act 462 of 1993.

Bongo constituency on the other hand is located in Bongo district which is one of the poorest districts in Ghana as indicated by Essuman-Johnson (2006). An understanding of the socio-economic activities of the people, their political orientations, traditional organizations, their art, culture and festivals have a great influence on the social and political behaviour of the people and how such dynamics influence elections in the constituency. In terms of its relative location, Bongo constituency lays between longitude 0.45° west and latitude 10.50° north. It has a total land surface area of about 459.5 square kilometres.

Bongo district, in which Bongo constituency is located, was created by a Legislative Instrument 1446 (LI 1446) in 1988 with the mandate to alleviate poverty and promote economic development through human and natural resource development to the benefit of the people. Bongo District Assembly has a total membership of fifty-four (54) with seven (7) area council and fifty-one (51) unit committees. The seven (7) area councils are; Balungu, Bongo town, Bongo-soe, Beo, Valley zone, Zorko and Namoo area councils. The Assembly is headed by the District Chief Executive (DCE) who acts as the political head of the district and is appointed by the President and approved by the Assembly.

Traditionally, Bongo district revolves around the paramount chief of Bongo called the Bonaba. The paramount area has eleven (11) divisional chiefs and thirty-one (31) sub-chiefs who support the Bonaba in administering the traditional area. There are also the Tindana's (land owners) who hail from Namoo and Zorko whose responsibilities are to offer sacrifices to the gods and pray for protection for the people and the land.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

According to Bryman (2004), research strategy deals with how the researcher intends to carry out his or her research with the application of either a quantitative or qualitative or the mixed approach in the study. The application of any of the approaches requires some deep thinking depending on the nature of the research and the reliability of the approach to the outcome or findings of the study. The quantitative approach enables the researcher to test and make generalization of the existing theories used while the qualitative approach places more emphasis on analytical description and explanation.

This study employed both quantitative and qualitative research strategy in ascertaining the needed information and data for the research. The inclusion of the mixed approach (qualitative and quantitative methodology) in the study is because of the inherent inadequacies found in the two approaches and hence their inability to fully satisfy the information and data needed for the research. According to Malhotra and Birks (2007), the mixed approach gives a clear sense of guidance to the researcher in terms of the options to identify the various variables, opinions, groups and the population required for the research. The mixed approach also allowed the researcher to cover some aspects of the research that a single approach could not have afforded the researcher the opportunity and space to access the required information. In addition, the mixed approach also gave the researcher some flexibility in terms of how and where to access the needed information for the study and not restricted to one aspect.

3.4 SOURCES OF DATA COLLECTION.

The study used both primary and secondary sources of information. The primary sources included personal interviews and the administration of questionnaires in the two constituencies. Before the administration of the questionnaire, the researcher conducted face to face interviews which were unstructured with some party executives of the NPP, NDC,

PNC and some political analysts and party sympathizers in both constituencies. These interviews were necessary because these parties are the most well organized and active political parties in the two constituencies under the fourth republic and they have the active support groups and personalities who play very active roles in their respective political parties in the constituencies. Hence, soliciting information from them about what constitute politics in the constituencies and what informs the behaviour of voters in elections were critical to the objectives established for this study. The inclusion of some personalities in the interviews were purposively sampled because of the in-depth knowledge they possess having been active in the political scene since 1992 to 2008 in their respective constituencies. The purpose of these interviews as pointed out by Lofland and Lofland (1984) were basically to gather a gamut of information from the various actors in the constituencies over the years on the persuasions of voters in an election and to ascertain from them as well, what explains the consistency or inconsistency in the voting behaviour of the electorate of Bongo and Bolgatanga constituencies respectively. The interviews also facilitated the researcher to raise pertinent issues for interrogation in the research questionnaire. In all, thirteen (13) interviews were carried out successfully by the researcher in two phases. The first phase of the interviews was carried out in Bolgatanga constituency between 20th to 29th November, 2012 for ten (8) representatives. The second phase of the interviews was carried out in Bongo constituency between 17th to 22nd January, 2013 for five (5) personalities. The personalities that participated in the interviews were:

Based upon the interactions and the information obtained from these interviews, the researcher proceeded to draw the questionnaire for the research work as well as revising some of the objectives of the research study to conform to some of the issues that were raised in the interviews conducted.

A total of 250 questionnaires were administered to 250 respondents who were registered voters in the constituencies under study. The researcher made significant efforts to get as many as possible voters who had participated in the general elections of 2000, 2004 and 2008 in the constituencies so that there would be some coherence and order in the responses needed for the analysis and interpretation of the research findings. Out of the 250 respondents, 100 of them were from Bongo constituency and 150 respondents from Bolgatanga constituency. The variations in the number of respondents was because Bolgatanga constituency has a much higher voting population than Bongo constituency and hence the need to ensure some level of fairness in the distribution of respondents to the questionnaire.

In the administration of the questionnaire, the researcher took into account the number of electoral areas in both constituencies where the questionnaires were to be administered. For instance, in Bolgatanga constituency, out of a total of 28 electoral areas, 15 of them were chosen at random by three people with each selecting at random five (5) electoral areas in Bolgatanga constituency. At the end of the selection process, the following were the fifteen (15) electoral areas chosen at random:

- | | | |
|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| 1. Soe Yipala | 6. Tindomongo | 11. Sokabisi |
| 2. Kalbeo | 7. Tanzun | 12. Yikene |
| 3. Yarigabisi | 8. Sumbrugu | 13. Yorogo |
| 4. Bukere | 9. Gambibgo | 14. Aguusi |
| 5. Zaare East | 10. Soe | 15. Sherigu |

In each of these selected electoral areas, one questionnaire was administered in every household that was accessible by the researcher and it had at least a registered voter who had

participated in the general elections of 2000, 2004 and 2008. The administration of the questionnaires were done solely by the researcher except for instances where the respondent was a literate and opted to do it by himself with the guidance of the researcher. The researcher was also assisted by two of his friends who led him into electoral areas that were unknown to him in terms of their absolute location in the municipality. In all, 150 questionnaires were administered to 150 respondents in Bolgatanga constituency in-between 7th March to 10th May, 2013.

On the other hand, a similar exercise was carried out in Bongo constituency where out of 38 electoral areas, 10 of them were selected at random by two people with each selecting five (5) electoral areas at random. The ten (10) electoral areas selected were:

- | | |
|--------------|---------------|
| 1. Balungu | 6. Bongo-Town |
| 2. Bongo-soe | 7. Yilewugo |
| 3. Beo | 8. Kayogya |
| 4. Zorko | 9. Dua |
| 5. Namoo | 10. Adaboya |

In the administration of the questionnaires in Bongo constituency, the researcher employed the purposive sampling technique to include as many as possible, registered voters who voted in the elections of 2000, 2004 and 2008 in Bongo constituency. This was aimed at ascertaining the pattern of voter choice exhibited by the respondents in these elections and also to establish the consistency in the voting behaviour of the voters of Bongo constituency under the fourth republic. Just as the case of Bolgatanga constituency, the questionnaires were administered in households which were the selected electoral areas and one household was entitled to one respondent to a questionnaire. The questionnaires in Bongo constituency were administered between 20th March to 26th April, 2013 by the researcher with some help

from friends who did some interpretations in the local language when it was necessary. In all, a total of 250 questionnaires were administered to 250 respondents in Bolgatanga and Bongo constituencies with each representing 150 and 100 respondents respectively.

Secondary source of data collection was also applied in this study to facilitate the literature review and the theoretical underpinning of the study areas. Notably among such secondary sources used in the study are journals, books, articles, newspapers and other official documents from the Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDA) in Ghana. The most widely used journals in this study were “The American Voter” and the “African Journal of Political Science”. The researcher also made significant use of the Balme library in University of Ghana, the Political Science Departmental library, and the Institute of Statistical Social and Economic Research library (ISSER). The rest were the Commonwealth Hall library, Legon Hall library, School of Graduate Research Centre and the Institute of African Studies library, all located within University of Ghana. Outside the confines of University of Ghana, some other libraries were also consulted such as the Bolgatanga regional library and Centre for Democratic Development (CDD) library.

The internet was another source of information that was heavily relied upon by the researcher to access information for the study. Academic search engines/sites such as Jstor.com was consulted. The Electoral Commission’s website, bonaboto’s website and Ghanaweb.com were also relied upon in writing the literature and profile of the constituencies to tease out the relevant information needed in the research study.

3.5 DATA ANALYSIS

The research employed purely a quantitative methodology of analysis using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 16 software to analyze the primary data obtained in the field survey of the 250 questionnaires that were administered in the two constituencies.

As explained by Denzin and Lincoln (1994), quantitative methodology involves the use of primary data obtained from the field and employing a statistical tool to collate the results obtained. Entries in the questionnaires were keyed into the SPSS system and the results were produced in frequency tables and bar charts for easy analysis and discussions as shown in chapter four of this study. The frequency tables and bar charts also allowed the researcher to establish some comparison between certain variables that aided in explaining why the voters in both constituencies vote in elections and the factors that influenced their voting choices over the years and especially in the general elections of 2000, 2004 and 2008.

3.6 ETHICAL ISSUES

The researcher spent some time explaining to respondents the essence of the research and also to assure them of total confidentiality of their responses to the questions posed as required by the ethnics and standards of the academic profession. Also, no respondent was forced or coerced to answer any question or make any contribution to the research. All those who took part in answering questions did so voluntarily with good faith without any pressure or force from the researcher. Those who reluctantly refused to participate in the research exercise were never coax or persuaded to take part in the exercise by the researcher.

3.7 LIMITATIONS

In carrying out this research, the researcher encountered some challenges that hindered its smooth progress and completion. The following were challenges encountered by the researcher;

Financially, thesis grant allocated for this study was insufficient considering the fact that the researcher had to run photo copies of questionnaires (250), cost of printing and travelling to the study areas from Accra to Bolgatanga and then to Bongo and back to Accra. In the course of the research, the researcher travelled from Accra to Bolgatanga to Bongo and back four

times and that cost alone was almost the total amount given as thesis grant for this research.

As a result of this financial constraint, the researcher had to solicit support and funding from external family members, relatives and friends to enable him complete the research.

Getting access to some of the respondents and more particularly those who have participated in voting from 2000 to 2008 consistently in the constituencies was not an easy task. There were instance were the researcher could go the whole day without getting anybody to respondent to the questionnaire. Sometimes, the people were either too busy with some domestic activities or mistook the researcher for a tax collector and hence will send a small boy or girl to tell the researcher there is no body in the house. Some respondents also felt the research will have no direct benefit to them and their family and hence opted not to participate after the researcher had explained to them the purpose of the research.

Attempts to arrange a meeting with the incumbent Member of Parliament for Bongo and Bolgatanga constituencies proved futile. The researcher went to Parliament House five times all in an effort to speak to the MPs but to no avail. Also, arrangements to meet the former MP for Bolgatanga (Hon. David Apasera) and Hon. Andrews Awuni, the 2004 parliamentary candidate for Bongo constituency were also not possible due to their busy schedules. It was the opinion of the researcher that, the views of such personalities could have been useful to the research since they were key actors in the elections as parliamentary candidates.

Despite these challenges encountered by the researcher, hard work, dedication and guidance from my supervisors these challenges were surpassed. The researcher made significant use of other documentary sources, data from the 250 respondents, interviews conducted and publications to strengthen the validity and reality of the research as stressed upon by Robson (2002).

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter dealt with the essence of applying methodology to the research and how the researcher employed both the qualitative and quantitative approaches to the research. This chapter makes an analysis of the data obtained from the field in order to underscore the objective of the study which is to explain the determinants of voter choice in Bolgatanga and Bongo constituencies in the year 2000, 2004 and 2008 parliamentary elections.

Bolgatanga and Bongo Constituencies constitute the study areas of this research in the Upper East Region. A total of 250 questionnaires were administered to 250 respondents in the two Constituencies. Bolgatanga constituency which has the highest number of voter population compared to Bongo constituency had 150 questionnaires administered to 150 respondents from 15 electoral areas in the constituency. On the other hand, in the case of Bongo constituency, a total of 100 questionnaires were administered to 100 respondents who were qualified voters in the constituency. Ten (10) electoral areas were chosen in which ten questionnaires were administered in each of these electoral areas.

The research questionnaire was designed in three parts; the first part captures the biographic and demographic profile of the respondents in the two constituencies. As cited by Dzorgbo (2006), the inclusions of the demographic characteristics of respondents are important because they serve as independent variables that have some significant influence in the behaviour of voters in an election. The second part of the questionnaire deals with Elections and what specific issue(s) voters consider in their decision to vote in an election especially in the parliamentary elections of 2000, 2004 and 2008 in Bolgatanga and Bongo constituencies.

The third part deals with issues related to economic development indices and how such indicators have influenced voter's choice in an election.

4.1 DATA ANALYSIS

When respondents were asked about their gender, the following responses were captured as indicated in the next page.

Table 4.1. Gender of respondents from Bolgatanga and Bongo constituencies.

Gender		Bolga	Valid Percent	Bongo	Valid Percent
Valid	Male	120	80.0	85	85.0
	Female	30	20.0	15	15.0
Total		150	100.0	100	100.0

Source: survey data, 2013

The table above shows the gender distribution of respondents in Bolgatanga and Bongo constituencies. Out of 150 respondents that were interviewed in Bolgatanga, 120 of them, representing 80.0% were male and 30 of them, representing 20.0% were female as captured by the data above. From the table above, it can be observed that, both male and female were not fairly represented by the responses obtained in Bolgatanga and it was dominated by the male(s). One of the reasons that explain the predominance of the male gender is to the fact that they were more willing to answer questions from the questionnaire than their female counterparts who were either engaged in some business activities or household chores and for that matter had no time to answer questions from the questionnaire. As argued by Frempong (2004), many females would want to solicit some information from their husbands first and to give them permission before they could talk or interact with any stranger. Once there is no clearance from the husband(s) then the woman is not prepared to talk to any stranger. This is also one of the reasons why the female(s) had very poor representation in this field survey

even though significant effort was made by the researcher to have a lot more female respondents. The low figures of women representation in the field survey conducted by the researcher also points to some indications made by Allah-Mensah (2001) that, most women are less political conscious and psychologically less active in issues relating to politics compared to the men. In a similar vein, Bongo constituency also produced a similar pattern of responses in terms of the gender distribution of the respondents in the survey as typified by the same table above.

Out of a total of 100 respondents interviewed in Bongo constituency, female respondents were only 15% whereas the male respondents were 85%. The reason for this sharp contrast of the two respondents is traceable to a typical patrilineal northern society where authority is vetted in the male(s) who decides where and what their female counterparts should do and not do. Again, the low participation of women in the two constituencies is an indication of the general apathy and lukewarm attitude of women towards issues relating to politics and governance in the country as suggested by Debrah (2006).

Table 4.2 Age distribution of respondents from Bolgatanga and Bongo constituencies.

Age	Bolga	Valid Percent	Bongo	Valid Percent
Valid 18-28	6	4.0	4	4.0
29-39	62	41.3	29	29.0
40-50	52	34.7	40	40.0
51-60	17	11.3	15	15.0
61-70	9	6.0	9	9.0
71 and above	4	2.7	3	3.0
Total	150	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Survey data, 2013.

From the table above, many of the respondents were within the age category of 29-39 and 40-50 years representing 41.3% and 34.7% respectively in Bolgatanga constituency. This was followed by those within the age group of 51-60, 61-70, 18-28 and 71 and above representing

11.3%, 6.0%, 4.0% and 2.7% respectively. The two dominant age groups together represent 76% of the total respondents and they are the most active population when it comes to participation in elections especially the 2000, 2004 and 2008 presidential and parliamentary elections in Bolgatanga constituency.

Similarly, responses obtained in Bongo constituency in the age distribution of respondents were almost the same as responses obtained in Bolgatanga. In the case of Bongo constituency, the most dominant age groups (29-39 and 40-50) together obtained a frequency of 69 representing 69.0% of total respondents. This means that, most of the respondents were within the active population and also actively participated in the elections of 2000, 2004 and 2008 elections in Bongo constituency.

Table 4.3 Educational level of respondents in Bolgatanga and Bongo constituencies

Level	Bolga	Valid Percent	Bongo	Valid Percent
Valid Primary level	12	8.0	13	13.0
Middle school/ JSS	42	28.0	7	7.0
Secondary level	68	45.3	6	6.0
Tertiary level	22	14.7	6	6.0
No level	6	4.0	68	68.0
Total	150	100.0	100	100.0

Source: Survey data, 2013.

From the table above, majority of the respondents (96.0%) from Bolgatanga constituency have had some level of education either up to the primary, middle or junior secondary school level, secondary and tertiary levels representing 8.0%, 28.0%, 45.3% and 14.7% respectively. Only 4.0% of the respondents had no level of education at all. This will eventually have a direct bearing on the perception of voters in an election and their understanding of the political and economic issues that are outplayed during elections and how such issues influence their choice in an election.

On the other hand, the situation in Bongo constituency in terms of the educational level of the respondents is completely different compared to Bolgatanga constituency indicated earlier. Whereas in Bolgatanga constituency, majority of the respondents (96.0%) had some level of education and only 4.0 had no education that of Bongo constituency is the opposite. Out of a total of 100 respondents 68.0% had no level of education representing majority of the respondents and 20.0% had at least been to elementary school (primary or middle school) and 6% have been to the tertiary level as shown in the table above. This means that, majority of the respondents (68.0%) never had any formal education at any level and this gives indication to the high prevalence of illiteracy rate in the constituency. This situation therefore calls for further attention by the government and other non-governmental organizations to commit resources in improving educational facilities in the constituency.

When respondents were faced with the question which occupation they belong, the following responses were captured in both constituencies as indicated in the table below.

Table 4.4 Occupational distribution of respondents in Bolgatanga and Bongo constituencies

Occupation	Bolga	Valid percent	Bongo	Valid Percent
Valid Trader	18	12.0	16	16.0
Teacher	12	8.0	4	4.0
Farmer	69	46.7	51	51.0
Artisan	7	4.7	5	5.0
Public/civil servant	17	11.3	7	7.0
Student	7	4.7	4	4.0
Unemployed	20	13.3	13	13.0
Total	150	100.0	100	100.0

Source: Survey data, 2013

From the table above, majority of the respondents in both constituencies are farmers representing 46.7% and 51.0% for Bolgatanga and Bongo constituencies respectively. Majority of the people in these constituencies engage in subsistence agricultural farming of

crops and vegetables such as millet, rice, maize, guinea corn and tomatoes, pepper, carrots, onions and garden eggs for domestic and commercial purposes. Aside farming, the next economic activity that is very vibrant in the two constituencies is trading activities. Out of 150 respondents in Bolgatanga constituency, 18 of them, representing 12.0% are engaged in various trading activities to earn a living particularly the local craft industry and other small retail services. This is not surprising because Bolgatanga is the capital of the Upper East region and hence attracts a lot of business investment and other opportunities in the commerce sector and that explains why a significant proportion of the respondents indicated they were engaged in trading activities.

In a similar vein, out of 100 respondents in Bongo constituency, 16 of them, representing 16.0% indicated that, they were traders. The common economic activities that these traders are actively involved in are basically pito brewing, petty trading in tomatoes, maize, millet, rice and other agricultural products. Also, due to the close proximity of Bongo constituency to Burkina Faso, some natives of Bongo cross the border to also engage in some trading activities especially the sale in domestic animals and motorbikes. About 20% out of 150 respondents in Bolgatanga constituency gave answers to the effect that they were unemployed while 13% out of 100 respondents also responded they were unemployed. To Bluwey (1998), many rural folks will not just admit that they are unemployed due to the stigma attached to persons who are unemployed often described as lazy people and that could explain why the Bongo constituency records a very low unemployment figure of 13.0% compared to Bolgatanga that captured 20% of the respondents as unemployed. Again, there are more literates who would have attained various levels of qualifications in Bolgatanga constituency seeking for white colour jobs than they are in Bongo constituency and that also explains why the unemployment figure in Bolgatanga constituency is higher than that of Bongo constituency. Artisans, civil or public servants had the least records of respondents'

occupation in both constituencies representing 16.0% and 12.0% in Bolgatanga and Bongo constituencies respectively.

The second part of this analysis deals with election related issues and the factors that voter consider in their choice of a particular candidate or party in an election. It also draws conclusion to the central question of why the electorate of Bongo constituency have been very faithful and consistent to voting for the NDC and its parliamentary candidate under the fourth republic and on the other hand, why Bolgatanga constituency in the parliamentary election have voted for the PNC parliamentary candidate twice (2000 and 2004), unlike Bongo. Reasons for this pattern of behaviour in the parliamentary elections of 2000, 2004 and 2008 are analyzed in this part.

When respondents in the two constituencies were posed with the question whether they voted in the 2000 general elections or not, the following responses were captured as indicated in the table below.

Table 4.5. Did you vote in the 2000 general elections?

		Bolga	Valid Percent	Bongo	Valid Percent
Valid	Yes	144	95.4	92	92.0
	No	6	4.0	8	8.0
Total		150	99.3	100	100.0

Source: survey data, 2013

Significant effort was made by the researcher to get many voters who had participated in the general elections of 2000, 2004 and 2008 so as to establish a consistent pattern of voter behaviour in the elections under consideration. It is therefore not surprising that, majority of the respondents in both constituencies responded positive to the question of whether they voted in the year 2000 general elections or not. From the table above, 144 respondents representing 95.4% in Bolgatanga constituency responded 'YES' to the question did you vote

in the 2000 general election? While 6 respondents, representing 4.0% responded ‘NO’ to the question. On the other hand, when the same question was asked to the respondents in Bongo constituency, the results were almost similar to the responses of respondents in Bolgatanga constituency. Majority of the respondents representing 92.0% responded positive (Yes) to the question while 8.0% responded negative (No) to the question.

Following from the question raised in table 4.5, those who responded ‘YES’ were asked which political party they voted for in the presidential election in the year 2000 and the following responses were obtained as indicated in table 4.6 below.

Table 4.6 which political party did you vote for in the 2000 presidential elections?

Party	Bolga	Valid Percent	Bongo	Valid Percent
Valid NPP	18	12.5	17	18.5
PNC	38	26.4	9	9.8
NDC	74	51.4	63	68.5
CPP	9	6.3	3	3.3
UGM	3	2.1	0	0
NRP	2	1.4	0	0
Total	144	100.0	92	100.0
Missing system	6		8	
Total	150		100	

Source: survey data, 2013

From the table above, majority of the respondents in the two constituencies voted for the NDC presidential candidate in the person of J.E.A Mills. Out of 144 respondents to the question posed in table 4.6 above, 51.4% in Bolgatanga constituency responded they voted for the NDC party in the 2000 presidential election. Similarly, in Bongo constituency, 68.5% of the respondents indicated that, they voted for the NDC presidential candidate in the 2000 general election. The conclusion that can be drawn from this data is that, both constituencies in terms of the presidential election slot are strong holds of the NDC under the fourth republic. The data also reaffirms studies made by Essuman-Johnson (2006) in the two constituencies that, the NDC is the dominant and most influential political party in the two constituencies

and the smaller parties have little or no visibility in the two constituencies as indicated in table 4.6 above where UGM and NRP had no respondent indicating that they voted for the parties in the 2000 presidential election.

Aside the NDC, the NPP which is among the leading political parties in Ghana has made some gains in the two constituencies more particularly in Bolgatanga constituency where it is much stronger compared to Bongo constituency. This explains why the NPP obtained 12.5% of 144 respondents in Bolgatanga constituency and 18.0% of 100 respondents in Bongo constituency. The reasons for these relatively high figures obtained by the NPP presidential candidate (J.A Kuffour) in the 2000 presidential elections are attributable to the long rule of the PNDC-NDC era from 1981 to 2000 and hence the voters were fed-up with the NDC administration and the alternative formidable party capable of winning political power among the other parties was the NPP hence that explains their choice.

Again, the fact that, the most known political figure of the NDC, President J.J Rawling was no more contesting in the 2000 general election also paved way for other voters to change their mind as who to vote for in the 2000 general elections.

Finally, the clarion call for change in political power in the year 2000 also influenced greatly the respondent's choice of the NPP in the presidential elections of 2000 hence explaining the relatively high figures of votes obtained by the NPP.

Following from the NDC, the PNC recorded the second highest in terms of the total number of respondents who voted for the PNC presidential candidate, Dr. Edward Mahama. The influence of the PNC parliamentary candidate in Bolgatanga constituency had great impact in the total number of votes obtained by the PNC presidential candidate. This was because, the PNC parliamentary candidate, Mr. David Apasera was a popular candidate in Bolgatanga and associated very well with the masses that had so much confidence in him. It was therefore not

surprising that He subsequently won the Bolgatanga constituency seat and this influenced the fortunes of his presidential candidate in the 2000 elections hence accounting for the 24.6% of 144 respondents in Bolgatanga constituency. On the other hand, the PNC however fed badly in Bongo constituency, recording 9.8% of 92 respondents.

The other political parties (CPP, NRP, DPP, and UGM) recorded a combined total of 9.8% of respondents in Bolgatanga constituency and 3.3% of respondents in Bongo constituency. This again clearly demonstrates the point made by Essuman-Johnson (2006) that, the smaller parties are barely active in Bongo constituency hence leading to their abysmal performance in electoral outcomes in the constituencies.

To ascertain the factors that the voters considered before casting their vote to a particular party in the 2000 general elections, the respondents were asked the question why they voted in the year 2000. The following responses were captured and analyzed below in table 4.7.

Table 4.7 why did you vote for that party in the year 2000?

Issues	Bolga	Valid Percent	Bongo	Valid Percent
Valid They had good policies	23	16.0	22	23.9
Party is development oriented.	10	6.9	26	28.3
Just like the party	28	19.4	16	17.4
Personality of the candidate	10	6.9	21	22.8
Because I wanted change in government	73	50.7	7	7.6
Total	144	100.0	92	100.0
Missing system	6		8	
Total	150		100	

Source: Survey data, 2013

From the data above, majority of the respondents in Bolgatanga constituency voted in the year 2000 because they wanted change in government representing 50.7%. The conclusion drawn from the majority of respondents who wanted a change in government was as a result

of the long stay of the NDC government from 1992 to the year 2000 and eleven (11) years of the PNDC administration as indicated by Oquaye (2006). The voters therefore felt that, there was the need for change and this was augmented by the general clarion call for positive change. However, there were only 7.0% of respondents in Bongo constituency who felt there was the need for a change in government contrary to the voters of Bolgatanga constituency.

As many as 19.4% of respondents in Bolgatanga indicated they voted because they just liked the party whereas 17.4% was recorded as responses in Bongo constituency. This goes to validate the arguments made by Gyima-Boadi (2007) that elections in Africa are usually not based on issues relating to the economy, governance and development and that explains why 6.9% of the respondents Bolgatanga indicated that, they voted because their party of choice was development oriented. This however contradicts the 28.3% of respondents in Bongo constituency who indicated that, they voted for their party of choice because they believe it was development oriented. The conclusion that can be drawn from the 28.3% of the respondents in Bongo constituency gives an indication to the effect, a significant number of the respondent new what and why they were voting for their party of choice in the presidential elections of the year 2000.

Again Out of the 144 respondents, 16.0% indicated that, they voted for their party of choice because they had good policies and 6.9% voted because they believe the party is development oriented. In a similar vein, out of 92 respondents in Bongo constituency, 23.9% and 28.3% voted because of good policies and development oriented party. This also attest to the argument made by Anebo (2006), that issue voting constitute one of the important considerations that many voters take into account as a determinant in voter choice in an election.

When asked which parliamentary candidate they voted for in the 2000 elections, the following responses were obtained in Bolgatanga constituency as depicted in the table below.

Table 4.8 which parliamentary candidate did you vote for in the year 2000?

Party	Bolga	Valid Percent	Bongo	Valid Percent
Valid NPP	14	9.7	18	19.6
PNC	74	51.4	14	15.2
NDC	47	32.6	51	55.4
CPP	9	6.3	9	9.8
Total	144	100.0	92	100.0
Missing System	6		8	
Total	150		100	

Source: Survey data, 2013

From the table above, the PNC parliamentary candidate in Bolgatanga constituency in the person of Mr. David Apasera had 74 respondents representing 51.4% of a total 144 respondents indicating that they voted for him in the parliamentary elections in the year 2000. This whopping majority of respondents for the PNC candidate confirms the parliamentary election results of the Electoral Commission (EC) that Mr. David Apasera won the Bolgatanga parliamentary seat by 20,459 valid votes cast representing 50.9%. This figure is almost the same as the one captured by the survey data indicated above in table 4.8. His closed contender, the incumbent NDC candidate in the person of Hon. Simon Abengya had 32.6% of 144 respondents indicating that they voted for him in the 2000 parliamentary election. The figures obtained in the survey data in table 4.8 for the NDC candidate are almost the same as the EC results obtained by the candidate in which he polled 12,884 votes representing 32.0%. The NPP parliamentary candidate, Mr. Geysika Agambila had 9.7% of the respondents in Bolgatanga indicating that they voted for him in the 2000 parliamentary election. The victory of the PNC parliamentary candidate, Mr. David Apasera is attributable to his open personality and interaction with the people and the general dissatisfaction of the

performance of the incumbent MP, Hon. Simon Abenya all played to the benefit of the PNC candidate in the year 2000.

On the other hand, the voters in Bongo constituency remain faithful to their usual pattern of voting and this is reflective in the responses obtained in the survey data in table 4.8 above. Out of 92 respondents to the question, which parliamentary candidate they voted for in the 2000 parliamentary elections, 55.4% responded that, they voted for the NDC parliamentary candidate in the person of Mr. Albert Abongo. This was followed by the NPP, PNC and CPP candidates who had 19.6%, 15.2% and 9.8% of 92 respondents respectively. This result gives indications to the fact that, Bongo constituency is undoubtedly a stronghold of the NDC in both the presidential and parliamentary elections.

When respondents were asked why they voted for their parliamentary candidate of choice in the 2000 elections, the following responses were captured and analyzed in table 4.9.

Table 4.9 why did you vote for that parliamentary candidate?

Issues		Bolga	Valid Percent	Bongo	Valid Percent
Valid	He had good policies	22	15.3	22	23.9
	Because of his campaign message.	12	8.3	33	35.9
	Just like his party	12	8.3	19	20.7
	His personality	10	6.9	10	10.9
	Because I wanted a change of the MP.	88	61.1	8	8.7
	Total	144	100.0	92	100.0
Missing	System	6		8	
Total		150		100	

Source: Survey, 2013

From the table above, majority of the respondents representing 61.1% in Bolgatanga constituency indicated that, they voted because they wanted a change of their incumbent MP in the person of Hon. Simon Abengya. It was therefore not surprising that, Hon. Simon

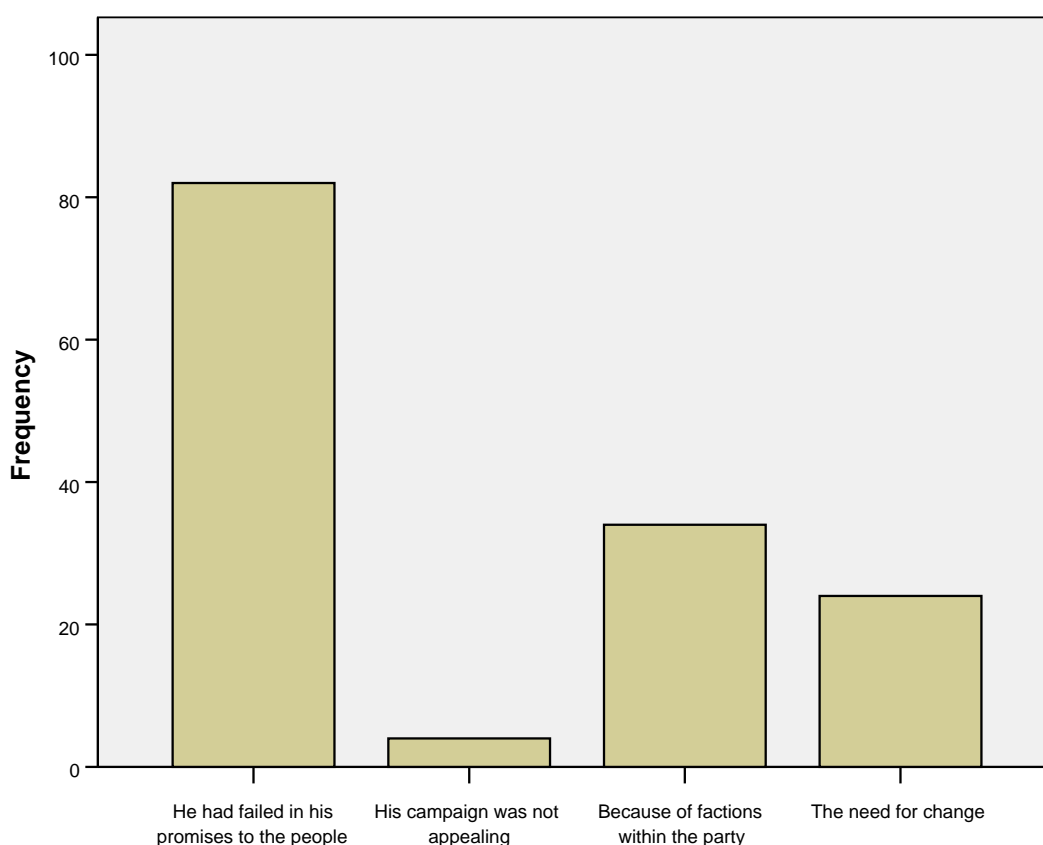
Abengya was voted out as the MP for Bolgatanga constituency in the year 2000. Among the reasons that could have accounted for his defeat were the lack of frequent visits to the constituency, as a deputy minister of state, he was more engaged in government business than constituency issues, party factionalism especially the unwillingness of the deputy Upper East regional minister, Hon. Donald Adabere to campaign for Hon. Simon Abengya and the questionable personality of Hon. Simon Abengya all played to his defeat in the parliamentary elections of 2000.

However, in the case of Bongo constituency, 35.9% of the respondents voted because of the candidate's campaign messages to the people and 8.7% voted because they wanted to change their MP. This was followed by 15.3% of respondents who indicated that, they voted because their candidate of choice had good policies to deliver to the constituency whereas in Bolgatanga constituency 23.9% voted because the candidate had good policies. Those who voted because of campaign message and like of the candidate's party both scored 8.3% respectively in the case of Bolgatanga constituency. Also, 6.9% of 144 respondents also believed that, their choice of a parliamentary candidate was based on his personality while in Bongo constituency, 10.9% voted on the basis of the candidates' personality. The conclusion that can be drawn from the data obtained in Bongo constituency attest to the fact that, the peoples' choice of a parliamentary candidate rest largely on their love for a particular party and the personality of the candidate in question. This means that, to win parliamentary elections in Bongo constituency, the voters must associate very well with your party and your personality also counts a lot in determining their voting choice. This explains why the NDC parliamentary candidate won the 2000 parliamentary elections in Bongo constituency.

To ascertain from the respondents why the NDC parliamentary candidate lost the Bolgatanga parliamentary seat in the year 2000, four issues were identified as key reasons that could have accounted for the loss, these are; failed promises of the MP, unattractive

campaign style of the MP, party factionalism within the rank and file of the NDC in the constituency and the need for change. The 144 respondents were then asked to choose which of these reasons best suit the reason why the NDC loss the Bolgatanga constituency seat to the PNC candidate. The diagram below gives a pictorial view of the responses obtained by respondents to the question.

Why did the NDC candidate loss the 2000 parliamentary elections in Bolgatanga



Why did the NDC candidate loss the 2000 parliamentary elections in Bolgatanga

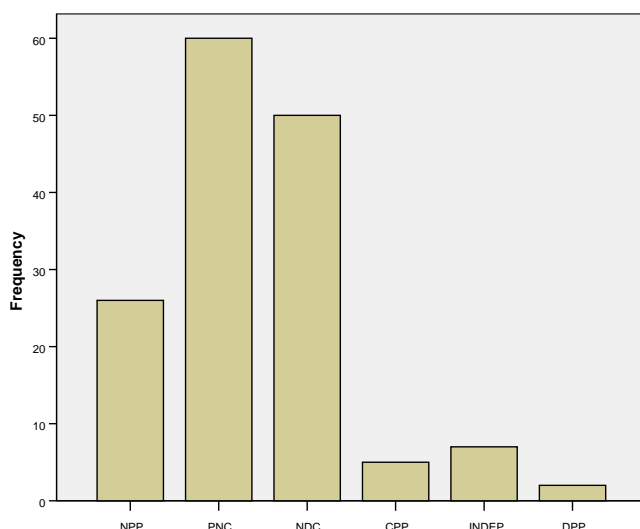
From the bar graph above, it is clear that, majority of the respondents indicated that, the NDC parliamentary candidate lost the 2000 parliamentary election because they believed the candidate failed to deliver on his promises to the people. Out of the 150 respondents, 38 indicated that, the NDC candidate lost because of perceived factions within the party as

shown in the second highest bar in the bar graph above. The need for change in the parliamentary candidate also accounted for 27 responses as shown in the third highest bar above. Conclusively, many of the respondents had a clear idea of why they voted for their candidate of choice in the 2000 elections culminating in the defeat of the incumbent MP but a many believed the incumbent MP (Simon Abengya) lost because He failed to fulfilled certain promises made to the people and some of his own party members did not campaign for him in the year 2000.

When the respondents were asked did they vote in the 2004 general election, all the 150 respondents in Bolgatanga constituency and the 100 respondents in Bongo constituency all indicated that they voted in the 2004 election.

Following from the question above, the respondents in both constituencies were asked which parliamentary candidate they voted for in the 2004 election. The following responses were captured as shown in the diagrams below.

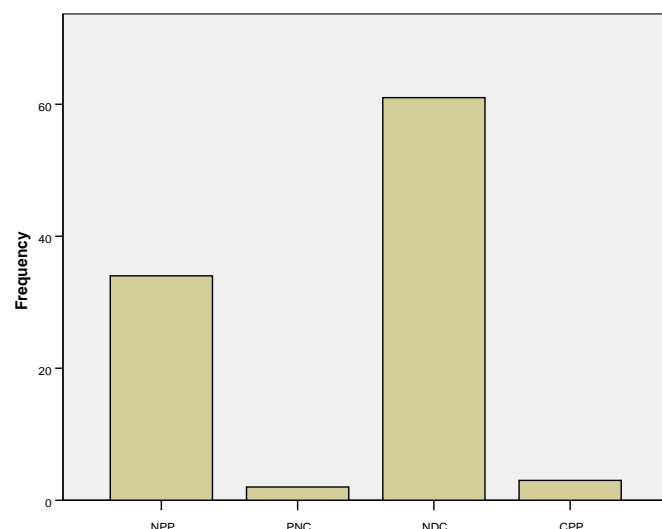
Which parliamentary candidate did you vote for in the 2004 elections ?



Which parliamentary candidate did you vote for in the 2004 elections ?

For Bolgatanga constituency

Which parliamentary candidate did you vote for in the 2004 elections ?



Which parliamentary candidate did you vote for in the 2004 elections ?

For Bongo constituency

From the bar graphs above, the one to the left represents responses from Bolgatanga constituency in the parliamentary elections in 2004 while the bar graph to the right side represents responses from Bongo constituency. Majority of the respondents' representing 39.7% from Bolgatanga constituency indicated that they voted for the PNC parliamentary candidate, Hon. David Apasera to retain the Bolgatanga constituency seat for the second consecutive time. This figure is however above the actual results from the EC in which Hon. David Apasera polled 18,948 votes, representing 37.6% to emerge victorious in the election. His electoral victory was however not achieved on a silver plate but through hard work and vigorous campaign because the incumbent MP (Hon. Apasera) was involved in a motor accident that got him hospitalised for some time and on many occasions went to the campaign grounds on either wheelchair or crutches as observed by Essuman-Johnson (2006). Amidst this challenge, the PNC candidate (Hon. Apasera) won the Bolgatanga constituency seat for the second time in succession in which some people felt he benefitted from sympathy votes (because of his motor accident). The NDC candidate, Mr. Opam-Brown Akolbire for the first time running lost to the PNC candidate. Out of the 150 respondents to the questionnaire, 33.1% indicated that, they voted for the NDC parliamentary candidate in the 2004 election just as the actual results from the EC in which Mr. Opam-Brown polled 16,743 representing 33.2% of total valid votes cast in the parliamentary elections of 2004.

Just like the NDC parliamentary candidate, Mr. Geysika Agambila stood on the ticket of the NPP for the second time but lost to the PNC candidate again. The rest of the other parties (CPP and DPP) and an independent candidate together obtained 9.2% of 150 respondents to the question which candidate they voted for in the 2004 parliamentary election.

On the other hand, the parliamentary election contest in Bongo was a two man horse race between the incumbent MP, Hon. Albert Abongo and Hon. Adrews Awuni, a deputy minister of information. For the first time under the fourth republic, the NPP were able to present a

formidable candidate to compete with the NDC in Bongo constituency but this did not change the status quo. Bongo constituency recorded a similar pattern of parliamentary election as observed in the 2000 election results. The NDC candidate, Hon. Albert Abongo registered the highest number of respondents to the question which candidate they voted for in the 2004 election.

Out of 100 respondents, 61.0% responded that, they voted for Hon. Albert Abongo while 34.0% responded that, they voted for Hon. Andrews Awuni, the NPP parliamentary candidate. This pattern of voting confirms the level of consistency in the voting behaviour of the electorate of Bongo constituency as against voters in Bolgatanga constituency.

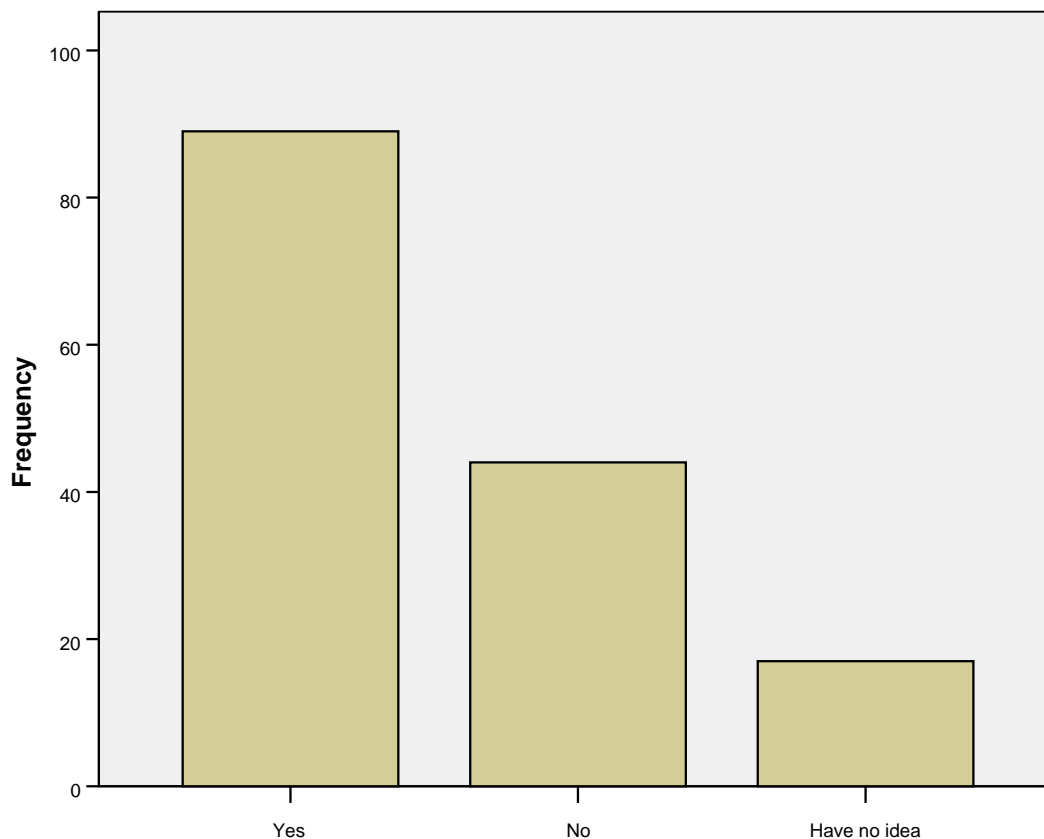
To ascertain why the NDC and NPP parliamentary candidates had a double defeat by the PNC parliamentary candidate in the 2000 and 2004 parliamentary elections, one issue that was identified was internal party factions within the two parties.

Respondents were asked whether internal party factions caused the defeat of the NDC and NPP in the 2004 parliamentary election in Bolgatanga and the following responses were captured and analyzed in the diagram below.

From the graph below, majority of the respondents in Bolgatanga constituency are of the opinion that, internal party factions worked to the disadvantage of the NDC and NPP parliamentary candidates in the 2004 election.

This is evident in the responses captured when voters were asked the question, do you think internal party factions caused the defeat of the NDC and NPP parliamentary candidates in the 2004 parliamentary election in Bolgatanga. The diagram 4.3 below shows respondent's perception of the role of intra party factions and its impact in the parliamentary elections in Bolgatanga constituency.

Do you think internal party factions caused the defeat of the NDC and NPP in the 2004 parliamentary election in Bolgatanga?



Do you think internal party factions caused the defeat of the NDC and NPP in the 2004 parliamentary election in Bolgatanga?

From the bar graph above, majority of the respondents in Bolgatanga constituency are of the opinion that, internal party factions worked to the disadvantage of the NDC and NPP. Out of 150 respondents, 59.3% indicated 'Yes' as shown in the highest bar represented above in the diagram, 29.3% responded 'No' and 11.3% responded that, they have no idea. This means that, majority of the respondents were aware of the pockets of internal party conflicts in the two parties and how such conflicts caused their political fortunes in the 2004 election.

The opinion of the majority of the respondents gives credence to Essuman-Johnson (2006) conclusion that, in the camp of the NPP in the 2004 elections, there were two factions, the Rockson Bukari faction and the Agambila faction. Hon. Rockson Bukari was the Municipal

Chief Executive for Bolgatanga who lost in the primaries of the NPP to Dr. Agambila but Hon. Bukari felt he was robbed off victory hence he and his supporters were dissatisfied and some opted to vote 'skirt and blouse' (voting for a different presidential candidate and a different parliamentary candidate) for the NPP presidential candidate and the PNC parliamentary candidate.

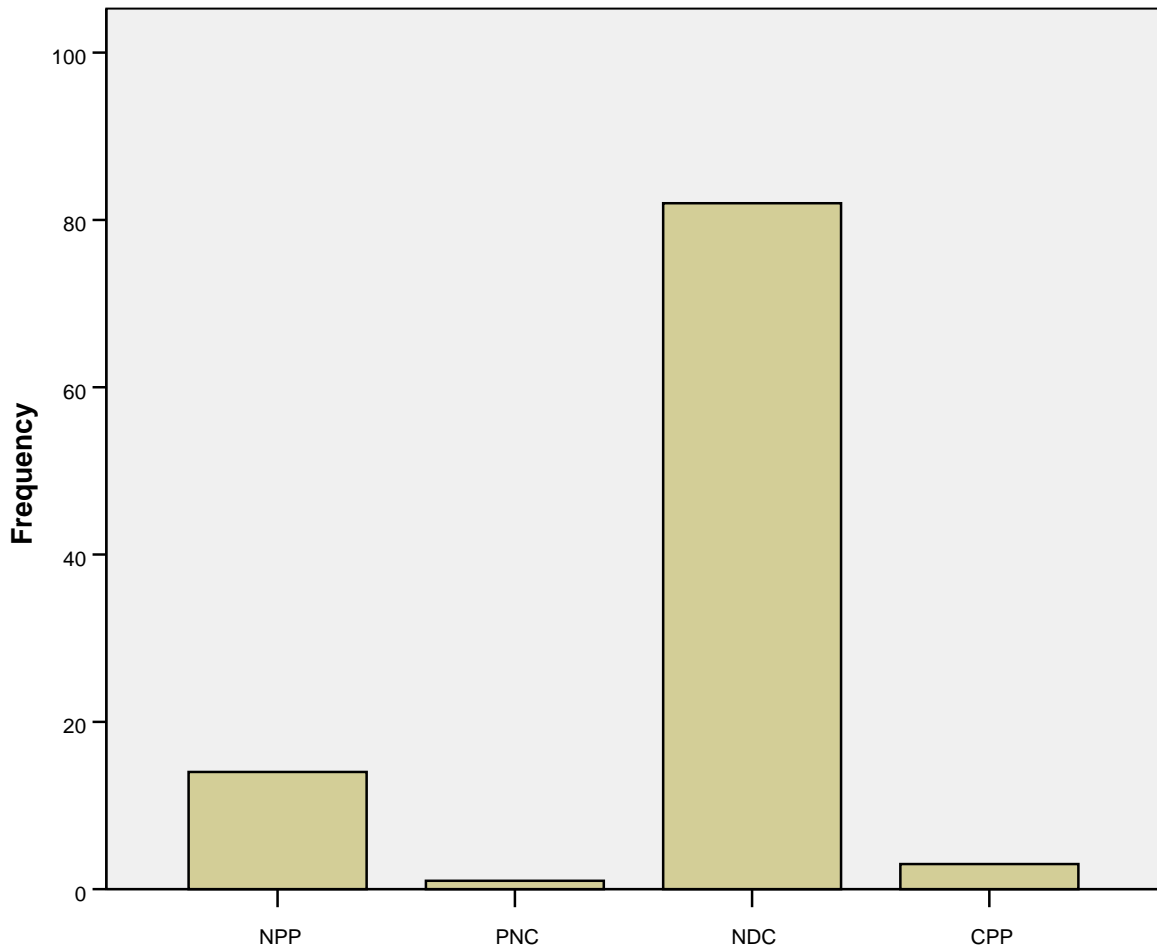
In a similar vein, the NDC also had some internal party factions that also caused them heavily in the 2004 parliamentary election. Mr. Simon Abengya was dissatisfied with the NDC parliamentary primaries that gave victory to Mr. Opam-Brown Akolbire just as in the case of the NPP.

As a result of this dissatisfaction among party members, some of his supporters also opted to vote 'skirt and blouse' for the NDC presidential candidate and either the PNC candidate or the independent candidate, Mr. Amoshie B. Julius. From the demonstrations given above, it is clear that, the PNC candidate benefitted greatly from the internal party factions of the two major parties leading to the second consecutive victory of Hon. David Apasera of the PNC.

When respondents were asked did you vote in the 2008 general elections? All the 150 respondents in Bolgatanga constituency and 100 respondents in Bongo constituency answered 'Yes', they voted in the 2008 general election.

A follow up question was then asked which political party they voted for in the 2008 presidential election. The following responses were captured and analyzed as indicated in the bar graph below. Bongo constituency remains a strong hold of the NDC under the fourth republic and hence answers to this was obvious as captured diagram 4.4 below showing the responses of voters to the question which political party they voted for in the 2008 presidential election in Bongo constituency.

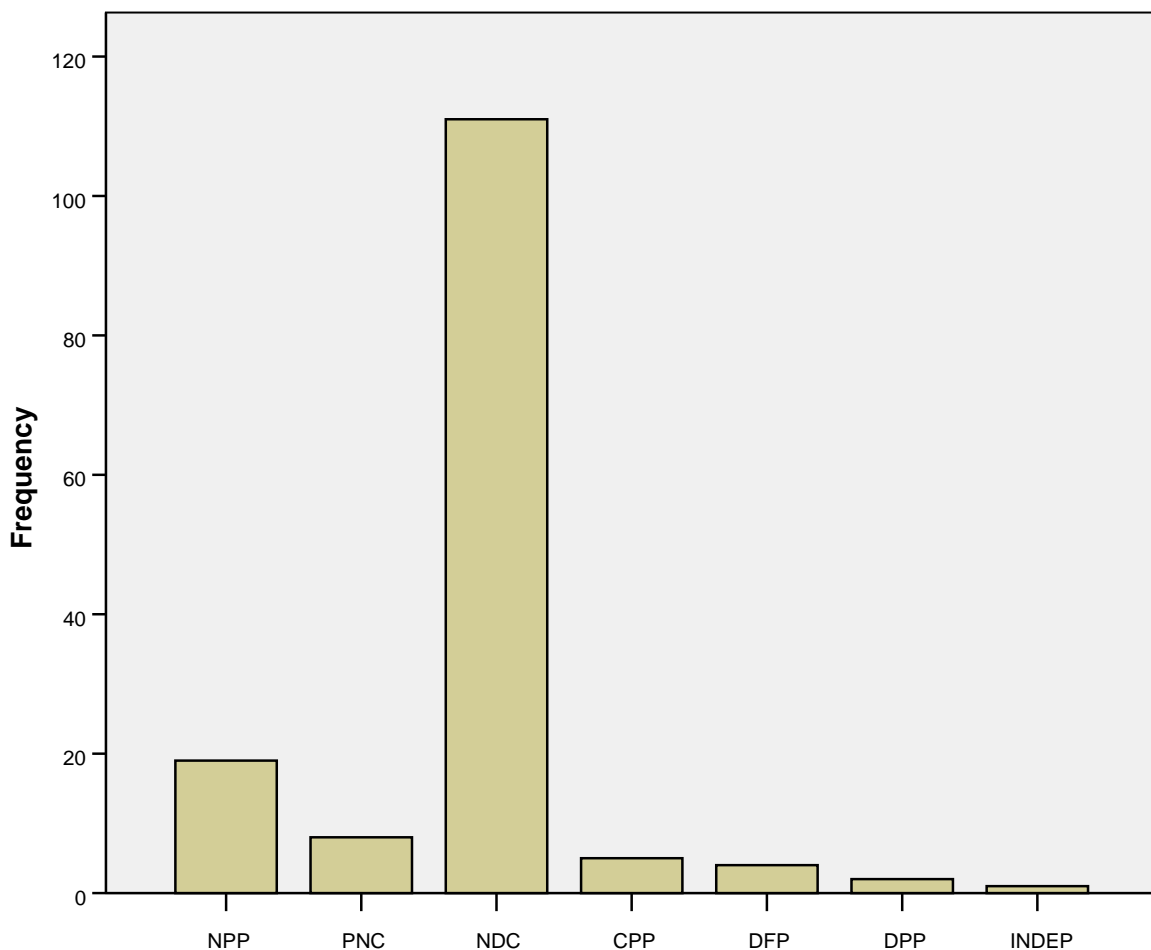
Which political party did you vote for in Bongo ?



From the bar graph above, respondents in Bongo constituency voted massively for the NDC presidential candidate Prof. John Evans Atta Mills as shown above where the NDC has the highest bar with a frequency of about 82 respondents. This shows that, Bongo constituency remains a strong hold of the NDC. The second highest bar represents the responses obtained by the NPP presidential candidate, Nana Akuffo Addo in Bongo constituency representing about 14 responses out of 100 respondents. This also gives indications to the fact that, the NPP has no much political clout in Bongo constituency compared to the NDC under the

fourth republic. The other political parties combined together obtained just 4 responses out of the 100 respondents to the question which party they voted for? This also gives indication to the small parties that they need to work harder if they want to gain some influence in Bongo constituency. When respondents in Bolgatanga constituency were asked which political party they voted for in the 2008 presidential election, the responses were almost similar to that of Bongo constituency where majority indicated they voted for the NDC presidential candidate as shown in the diagram below.

Which political party did you vote for in Bolga ?



From the bar graph above, it is clear that, respondents to the question indicated massive support for the NDC. In a similar vein, responses to the question which parliamentary candidate did you vote for captured similar responses as the question which party they voted for in the 2008 election in both constituencies as indicated in the table below.

Table 4.10 which parliamentary candidate did you vote for?

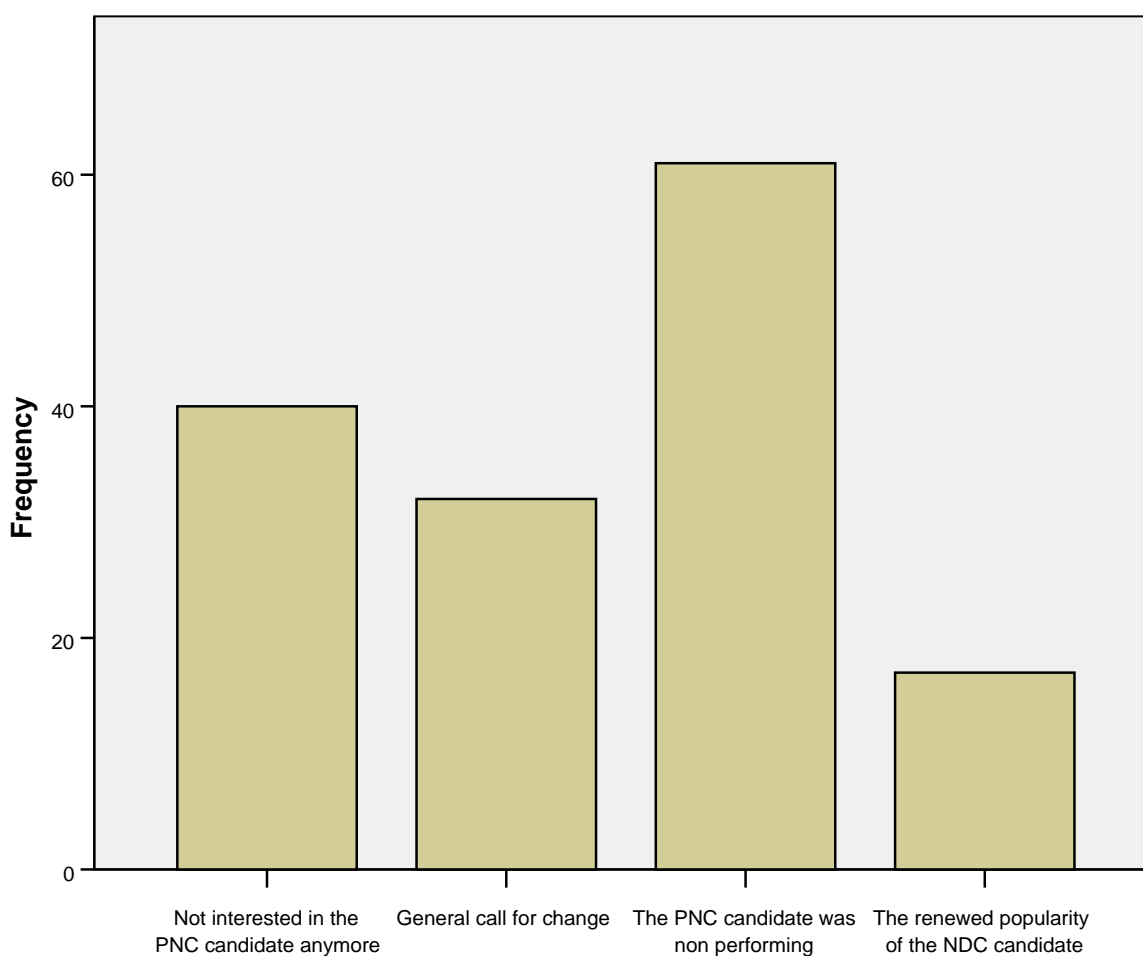
Party	Bolga	Valid Percent	Bongo	Valid Percent
Valid NPP	25	16.7	14	14.0
PNC	8	5.3	3	3.0
NDC	107	71.3	81	81.0
CPP	6	4.0	2	2.0
DFP	3	2.0	-	
DPP	1	.7	-	
Total	150	100.0	100	100.0

Source: survey data, 2013

Majority of the respondents in Bolgatanga and Bongo constituency indicated that, they voted for the NDC parliamentary candidates as indicated in the table above where 107 respondents in Bolgatanga constituency representing 71.3% indicating they voted for the NDC parliamentary candidate and that of Bongo constituency, 81 respondents indicating they voted for the NDC candidate in Bongo. For the second time running, Mr. Opam- Brown Akolbire finally won the Bolgatanga parliamentary seat from the PNC candidate in the 2008 election obtaining 28,656 votes representing 57.7%. The case of Bongo constituency however did not change, Hon. Albert Abongo retained the parliamentary seat for the third consecutive time running as MP as depicted by the number of respondents to the questionnaire. The NPP continuous to improve its fortunes in Bolgatanga constituency progressively but that of Bongo seems to be unshaken.

To determine what occasioned the change in voter behaviour from the PNC parliamentary candidate to the NDC parliamentary candidate, respondents were asked the question, what caused the change in the parliamentary elections of Bolgatanga constituency in 2008? The following responses were obtained as shown in the bar graph below.

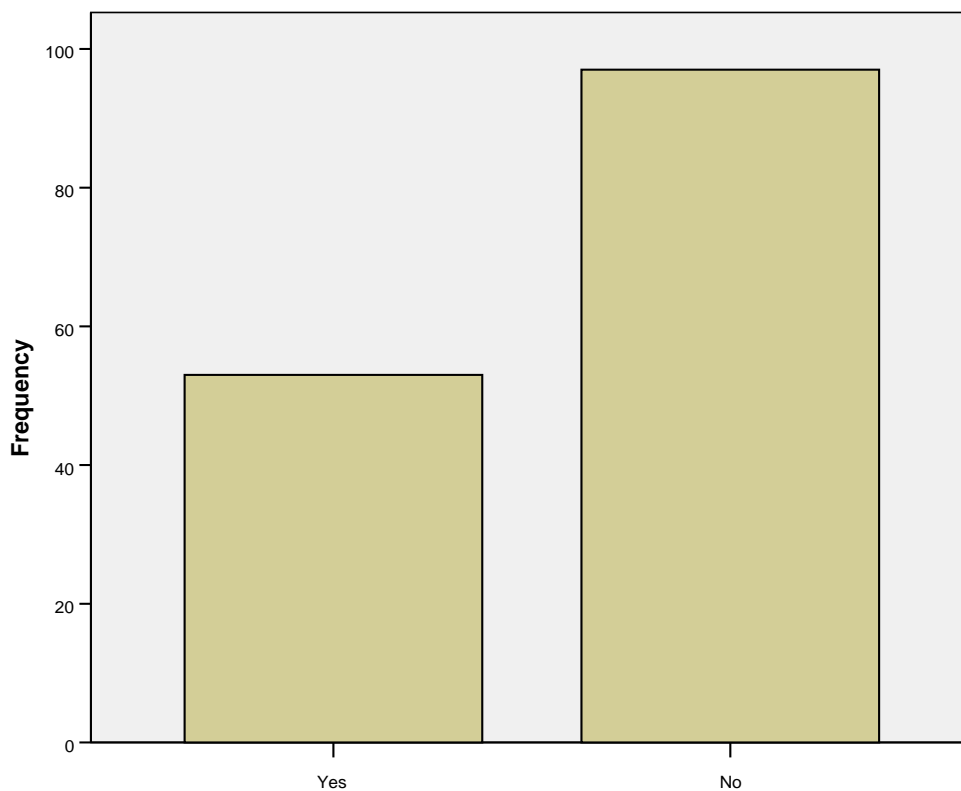
What caused the change in the parliamentary elections of Bolga constituency in 2008



From the bar graph presented above, majority of the respondents (61) indicated that, the defeat of the PNC candidate was to the fact that He was none performing for the two consecutive terms as a Member of Parliament and hence they were determined to vote him out of office. Some respondents also indicated that, they were not interested in the PNC

candidate anymore and hence they opted for a change. In 2008, there was a general call for change in government and perhaps this call for change also triggered many of the respondents as indicated in the bar corresponding to general call for change. About 17 responses believed that, the change that occurred in the parliamentary election in Bolgatanga constituency in 2008 was as a result of the renewed popularity of the third time running NDC parliamentary candidate, Mr. Opam-Brown Akolbire. The conclusion that one can draw from the responses given above comes to the fact that, the voters expect their elected representatives to perform to their expectations as indicated by Brukum (2006). Failure to do so, the electorate would vote against such candidates. Respondents were asked about their consistency in voting for one particular party over the years and the following responses were obtained.

Have you been voting consistently in the parliamentary elections since 2000 for one party in Bolga



Out of 150 respondents, 53 of them indicated that, they have been voting consistently for one party in the 2000, 2004 and 2008 parliamentary elections in Bolgatanga constituency as shown in the bar graph above while 97 respondents indicated they have not been voting consistently for one party in the over the years in parliamentary elections in Bolgatanga constituency. This means that, about 64.7% of the respondents have not been voting consistently for one particular party's candidate but have always altered their voting choices from one candidate to another. This perhaps explains why in the case of Bolgatanga, the voters opted for the NDC candidates in 1992 and 1996 and then in the year 2000 and 2004 they voted for the PNC parliamentary candidate and in 2008 and 2012, they voted for the NDC parliamentary candidate.

Following from these indications given above, the respondents were asked what reasons accounted for their voting inconsistency in the three parliamentary elections of 2000, 2004 and 2008 in Bolgatanga constituency. The following results were collated and analyzed below.

Table 4.11 which of these reasons could have accounted for your voting inconsistency in the three parliamentary elections in Bolgatanga constituency?

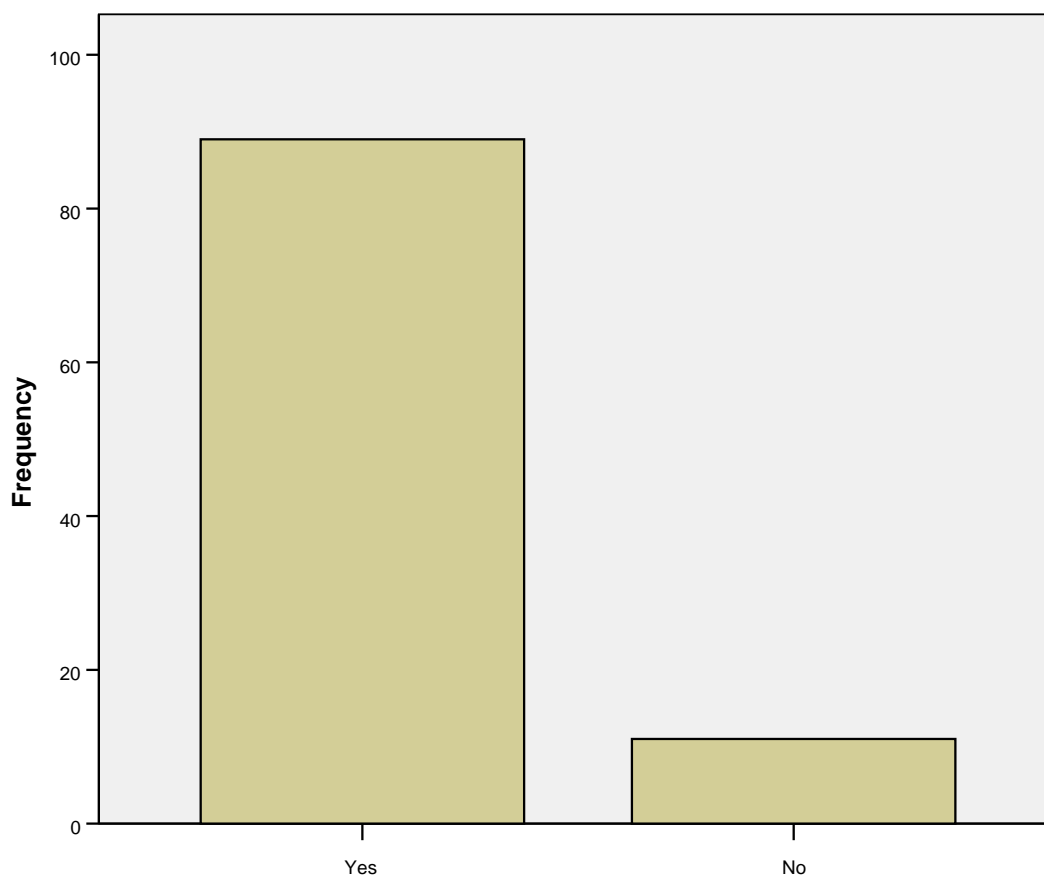
Issues	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid				
Because I vote on issues not party	47	30.7	48.5	48.5
Because of the non performance of the MP	35	22.9	36.1	84.5
Influence of money/ material items	1	.7	1.0	85.6
The need for change	14	9.2	14.4	100.0
Total	97	63.4	100.0	
Missing				
System	53	36.6		
Total	150	100.0		

Source: survey data, 2013

From the data presented above, majority of the respondents indicated that, their voting inconsistency in the three parliamentary elections was because they vote on issues not particular party candidates as captured in the frequency table 4.1.2 above where 48.5% of the

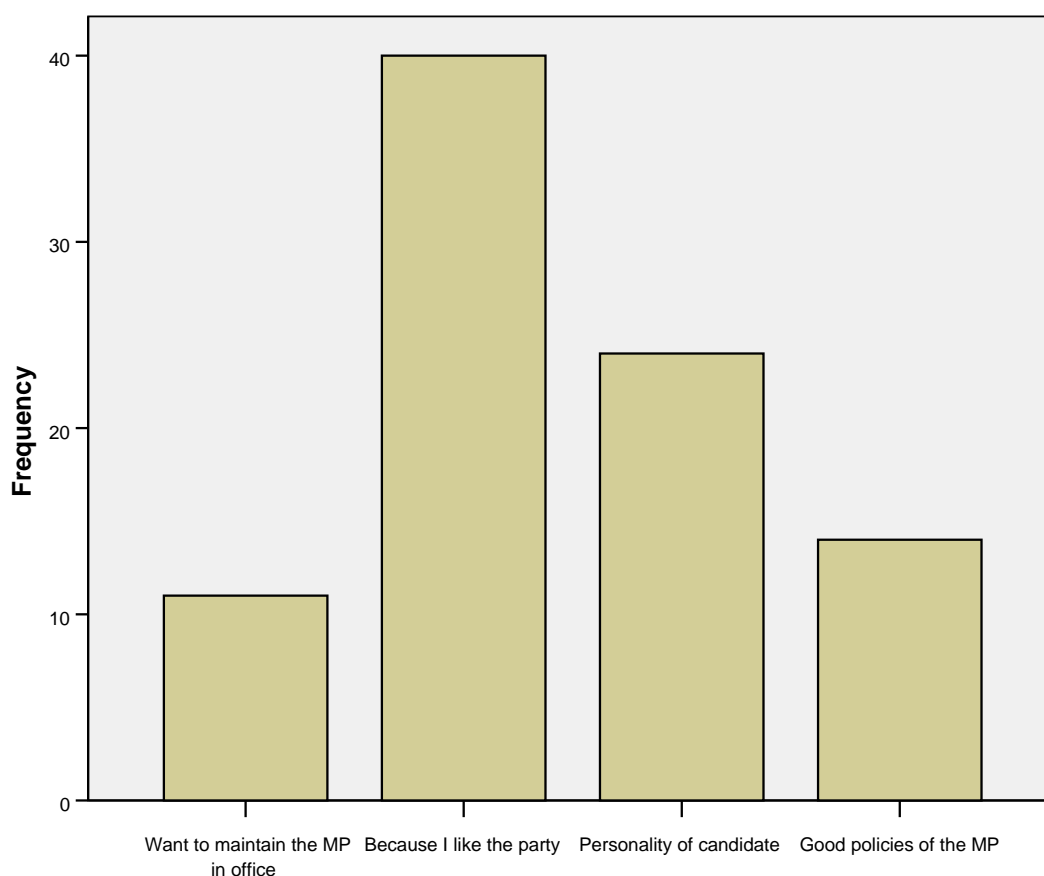
97 respondents indicated they vote on issues and not party candidates. Following from this, 35 respondents also indicated that, their voting inconsistency in Bolgatanga parliamentary election is because of the non performance of the incumbent MP. This also attest to the fact that, some voters in Bolgatanga constituency employ some sense of rationality to their voting decisions in elections as indicated by Down (1957). Only 1.0% of the respondents believe that, their voting inconsistency has been influenced by money or other material gifts presented to them during each of these elections and that informs their voting behaviour. About 14.4% indicated that, their voting inconsistency is influenced by the need for change of an incumbent MP.

Have you been voting consistently in the parliamentary elections of 2000, 2004 and 2008 for one party candidate in Bongo?



Majority of the respondents representing 89.0% responded positive to the question about their voting consistency in the three parliamentary elections in Bongo constituency. This means that, 89 of the respondents have never voted for any other party candidate or independent candidate except for their candidate of choice for the three elections under consideration. On the other hand, 11.0% indicated that, their voting pattern has not been consistent and hence they have had occasion to vote for a different party candidate in the three parliamentary elections under consideration. When respondents were asked about the reasons that inform their voting choices, the following results were obtained.

Which of these reasons could have accounted for your voting consistency in the three parliamentary elections in Bongo



Majority of the respondents in Bongo constituency in explaining why their voting behaviour has been very consistent and faithful to the NDC under the fourth republic, they answered that, it was as a result of their love for the party (NDC) that has pushed them to vote consistently to the NDC. The love of the party is traceable to the influential role of J.J Rawlings who is referred locally as the ‘white-man’ who came to stop the rampant robbery and stealing of farm animals before the coming into being of the PNDC government in 1981. A lot of people in Bongo before the coming of the PNDC government were faced with the problem of gang robbery of their domestic animals and they stood helpless when these robbers took away their farm animals at the public glare. However when the PNDC government took over the administration of the country, this robbery activity stopped due to the strict surveillance of the soldiers and the people of Bongo give credit to Rawling’s regime for stopping the robbery and hence their faithful attachment to the NDC government since the inception of multi-party democracy under the fourth republic. This explains why they have been voting very faithfully to the NDC candidates.

Other reasons cited as responsible for the consistent voting behaviour of the people of Bongo as indicated by the respondents is the personality of the candidates contesting in the elections. The people of Bongo prefer a candidate who is home grown, who visits them regularly, who attends local funerals and associate very well with the people and respect the people. This voter consideration has also been cited by Saaka (2006) in commenting on the determinants of voter choice. This attributes of respect and love they find in Hon. Albert Abongo hence the reason why they have been voting for him since the year 2002. About 15 and 11 respondents indicated that, their voting consistency has been based on the good policies of the MP and the need to maintain the MP respectively as indicated in the bar graph.

In the light of some economic challenges that the government of Ghana had to deal with between the year 2000 to 2008 especially with regards to unemployment, rising cost of living,

rising cost of fuel, high inflation and interest rates, respondents were asked whether the state of the economy had any influence on their voting choice in the three parliamentary elections under consideration. The table in the next page represents the data captured when respondents were asked the question; did your opinion about the state of the economy influence your vote in the 2000, 2004 and 2008 elections?

Table 4.12. Did your opinion about the economy influence your vote in these elections?

		Bongo	Valid Percent	Bolgatanga	Valid Percent
Valid	Yes	21	21.0	119	79.3
	No	79	79.0	31	20.7
Total		100	100.0	150	100.0

Source: Survey data, 2013

From the table above, 79.3% of respondents in Bolgatanga constituency indicated that, the state of the economy had some influence on their voting decision in the year 2000, 2004 and 2008 whiles 31.0% indicated that, their opinion about the economy had no influence on their voting choice in the three elections. On the other hand, respondents in Bongo constituency had a different opinion from those in Bolgatanga constituency. Unlike Bolgatanga, 79.0% of respondents in Bongo constituency were of the opinion that, the state of the economy had nothing to do with their voting choices in the elections of 2000, 2004 and 2008 whiles 21.0% indicated that, the state of the economy had some significant influence in their voting choice in the three elections under consideration. The conclusions from this analysis is that, the people of Bolgatanga are more likely to vote on issues relating to the stability of the economy than their counterparts in Bongo who are more likely to vote on matters that have nothing to do with economy. This explains why the people of Bolgatanga vary their voting choices in the 2000, 2004 and 2008 whiles the people of Bongo have consistently maintained one candidate and one party in the three elections under consideration.

Many voters have certain specific needs and priorities at the local level that require governments attention and many voters are persuaded by candidates who often make pronouncements that reflects these specific priority needs of the voters in an election as cited by Brobbey (2009). In this regard, three priority issues were identified as key indicators in the choice of voters in the two constituencies. These issues are: utility services, social services and economic issues. Respondents in the two constituencies were asked which of these issues most influenced their choice in an election and the following responses were captured and analyzed below.

Table 4.13. which of these reasons most influenced your decisions to vote in the three elections?

Issues	Bolga	Valid Percent	Bongo	Valid Percent
Valid Economic issues: Creating employment and access to soft loans.	10	6.7	11	11.0
Social issues: Need to have good roads, schools and health centres.	101	67.3	58	58.0
Utility services : Extension of electricity, water supply and communication /ICT	39	26.0	31	31.0
Total	150	100.0	100	100.0

Source: Survey data, 2013

From the responses obtained above in table 4.1.4, majority of the respondents in both constituencies agree that, the most influential issue that persuaded their votes in the three elections is social services. They both agree that, the need to have good roads, schools and health centres were key priorities that influenced their decision in the three elections as shown in the table were 67.3% and 58.0 of the respondents in Bolgatanga and Bongo constituencies opted for social issues. Following from the social issues, 26.0% and 31.0%

respondents in Bolgatanga and Bongo constituency respectively also opted for the provision of utility services as the main issue that has influenced their voting decision. Among the utility services that were of paramount importance to these respondents were the extension of electricity to their communities and homes, the availability of potable drinking water, access to telecommunication networks and the provision of Information Communication Technology to their communities. Economic issues such as access to loans and the creation of employment opportunities received the least responses from the respondents in both constituencies representing 6.7% and 11.0% in Bolgatanga and Bongo respectively. The conclusion from this analysis is that, many voters in the two constituencies are more likely to vote for candidates who choose to concentrate on social development issues and the provision of other utility services than those who choose to concentrate on economic stability issues which many may not be understood by the people.

4.2 DISCUSSIONS

The objectives of the study was to verify the reasons that accounts for the level of consistency in the voting behaviour of the electorate in Bongo constituency under the fourth republic and also to explain the variations in voter behaviour exhibited by the electorate of Bolgatanga constituency in the year 2000 and 2008 parliamentary elections. The study also sort to explore the possible reasons that accounted for the defeat of the NDC and PNC parliamentary candidates in the year 2000 and 2008 respectively in Bolgatanga constituency.

4.2.1 Explaining the consistency in voting behaviour of the electorate of Bongo constituency under the fourth republic.

From the analysis presented above, several factors accounts for why the voters in Bongo constituency consistently vote for the NDC and its parliamentary candidates in all the general elections under the fourth republic. These factors are;

1. The popularity and visibility of the NDC compared to the other political parties in the constituency. The popularity and visibility of the NDC has made it possible for the ordinary citizen in Bongo to participate in its activities without any prejudice to educational level or status in society. As a result, the people are able to identify themselves with the NDC, contribute actively in its programs and are also willing to campaign and encourage others to vote for the NDC and its parliamentary candidate during elections because they believe it is the only party that can serve the interest of the people of Bongo.
2. Also, the people of Bongo believe that, the PNDC/NDC government has instituted several development policies in the constituency to which they owe them a debt of gratitude and hence will always vote for the NDC and its parliamentary candidate. A case in point is the extension of electricity to Bongo district, the creation of Bongo district Assembly under LI 1446 in 1988, construction of Bongo hospital and clinics at Zorko, Namoo and Balungu attest to their case of developments made by the NDC. Even though the people of Bongo admits more needs to be done in the area of development, when given the option to vote, they will always vote for the NDC as the first choice. This behaviour is in line with the assumptions made by Downs (1957) rationality theory in which he argues that, the voter has the ability to avoid contradictions when presented with the similar alternatives to choose from in an election.
3. The people of Bongo also recall very much the influential role played by the J.J Rawlings led PNDC administration in stopping the numerous armed robbery cases recorded in Bongo district before the PNDC regime in 1981. In recognition of this, the NDC remain the party of choice to the voters in Bongo constituency. This explains

their love for the NDC as exhibited by their consistency in voting behaviour over the years in the fourth republic.

4. The people of Bongo also consider the personality of the incumbent MP Hon. Albert Abongo to be very open to views of the people with regardless of their status in society, He associates very well with the electorate, drink the same 'pito' with them, attend festivals and funerals and contribute significantly on such occasions. As result of these attributes, they have faith in him and that explains their consistency in voting for the NDC parliamentary candidate.

In short, the love for the NDC, the major development policies introduced and completed by the NDC government, the popularity of the NDC in the constituency and the open personality of Hon. Albert Abongo are among the reasons that accounts for the consistency in voting behaviour of the voters in Bongo constituency under the fourth republic.

4.2.2 Explaining variations in voting behaviour of electorate in Bolgatanga constituency, 2000-2008.

Several factors accounted for the variations in voting behaviour of the electorate in Bolgatanga constituency that occurred in the year 2000 where the NDC parliamentary candidate loss to the PNC parliamentary candidate. The PNC candidate subsequently won the 2004 parliamentary election but in 2008, the PNC parliamentary candidate loss to the NDC parliamentary candidate. From the analysis presented above, the following reasons accounts for such variations in voter behaviour;

1. Many voters in Bolgatanga constituency are literates and hence have the ability to understand the issues of politics in the constituency and the national level. As a result they have a better sense of political judgement of the candidates competing in an

election and which one of them can better represent the constituency in the legislature arm of government. The performance of the MP is put to proper scrutiny and when voters are not satisfied with his performance they turn to change their decision and vote for another candidate. This explains why in the year 2000 the incumbent MP Hon. Simon Abengya was voted out and the PNC candidate Mr. David Apasera was elected and subsequently re-elected in 2004 as the MP for the constituency for the second term. However, in 2008 when the electorate were dissatisfied with his performance for the two terms, they showed their dissatisfaction by voting out Hon. David Apasera of the PNC and elected Mr. Opam-Brown Akolbire of the NDC in the year 2008.

2. Aside considering the performance of the incumbent MP, the voter also expect some development projects in their communities and as long as these projects are not forthcoming their support for the incumbent MP begins to diminish gradually because they will eventually lose trust in his words and promises he delivered to the people during his campaigns.

4.2.3 Explaining the factors that accounted for the defeat of the NDC and PNC parliamentary candidates in the year 2000 and 2008 respectively.

Politics in Bolgatanga constituency assumes a very interesting dynamics when viewed from the perspectives of the people of Bolgatanga. From radio discussions of parliamentary candidates to newspaper reviews at local radio stations and at the market places gives a scenario how passionate the people of Bolgatanga are involved in politics. This discussion focuses on the personality of candidates, their status in society, which community they belong and which political party they owe allegiance. However, the parliamentary contest from 2000 to 2008 has always been between the NDC and the PNC. Several factors accounts

for the defeat of the NDC and PNC parliamentary candidates in the year 2000 and 2008 respectively. These are;

1. Internal party factionalism as a result of the dissatisfaction of some leading NDC party members over the re-election of Hon. Simon Abengya in the primaries of the NDC in the year 2000. As a result, some members refused to campaign for the incumbent MP, Hon. Simon Abengya and opted for either the PNC parliamentary candidate or the independent parliamentary candidate Mr. Amoshie Julius. This subtle misunderstanding and dissatisfaction within the rank and file of the NDC party in the year 2000 did not give the voters much confidence to retain the incumbent MP in office hence they opted for the PNC candidate (Hon. David Apasera).
2. Aside party factionalism in the NDC, many voters in the year 2000 felt the incumbent MP had not done enough to deserve a second term in office despite him being a deputy minister of state at the time (2000). Their dissatisfaction over his performance paved way for them to vote him out as MP for Bolgatanga.
3. In a similar way, the incumbent MP in 2008 loss his seat because the voters felt his performance for the past two terms was not satisfactory enough to warrant another term in office. Added this was the fact that, some promises he made to the people did not come to fruition and hence majority of the electorate felt it was time to change a new person to represent the people of Bolgatanga.

4.3 CONCLUSION

From the analysis and presentations indicated above, the determinants of voter choice in the two constituencies are not uniform but varied from different perspectives and understanding about what constitute the issues for consideration in the decisions of voters. For the electorate

of Bongo constituency, the personality of the candidate, the political party he or she belongs and his association and contribution to the activities and programs of the District are the cardinal issues that electorate consider in their voting decisions over the years in elections. On the other hand, the electorate of Bolgatanga consider the performance of the incumbent candidate against his or her campaign promises to the people, the personalities of the parliamentary candidates and the issues they seek to bring on board when elected as the MP for the constituency and the political party they belong.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The research was carried out in Bolgatanga and Bongo constituencies to examine and explore the reasons behind the voting behaviour of the electorate in Bolgatanga and Bongo constituencies in the parliamentary elections of 2000, 2004 and 2008. This chapter critically assessed the issues that are considered by voters in an election in the two constituencies, summaries the findings, makes conclusions and recommendations to stakeholders, political parties and parliamentary candidates seeking the support of voters during elections.

5.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Majority of the voters voted for the NDC parliamentary candidate Hon. Albert Abongo in the 2000, 2004 and 2008 parliamentary elections in Bongo. This attests to the loyalty of voters in the constituency towards the NDC parliamentary candidate for three consecutive times.

In the case of Bolgatanga constituency, majority of the voters voted for the PNC parliamentary candidate Hon. David Apasera in the year 2000 and 2004 but in the 2008 parliamentary elections they opted for the NDC parliamentary candidate, Hon. Opam-Brown Akolbire.

The reasons that accounted for their voting behaviour are attributable to the overwhelming loyalty of the people for the NDC and its parliamentary candidate. This is evident in the survey conducted where majority of the respondents (49.7%) indicated that, their loyalty for the NDC party explains why they have been voting consistently for the party and its

candidates in elections under the fourth republic. This also goes to confirm the assumptions in the Behaviour theory employed by this study that, some voters (Bongo) vote on emotional attachment to a party or candidate in an election.

Added to this is the fact that, the people of Bongo forever remember the Rawling PNDC regime for curbing the incidence of armed robbery and rampant stealing of farm animals that occurred around the 1980s where the people stood helpless in such situations. However, it took the intervention of the PNDC regime to stop the rampant robbery due to the strict surveillance of the soldiers and hence the people of Bongo forever give credit to Rawling's regime for stopping the robbery and bringing some sanity back to their community hence their faithful and conscious attachment to the NDC government and its parliamentary candidates since the inception of multi-party democracy under the fourth republic. This explains why they have been voting very consistently for the NDC candidates.

Following from the loyalty expressed by voters for the NDC in Bongo constituency, the personality of the parliamentary candidate also counts a lot in the decisions of the voters in Bongo constituency. The people of Bongo prefer a candidate who is a 'home boy', associate regularly with the people, attend their local programs such as funerals and festivals and constantly visits home to interact with them. The personality of the candidate showed much clearly in the 2004 parliamentary elections between Hon. Albert Abongo and Hon. Andrews Awuni of the NDC and NPP respectively. The voters in Bongo constituency saw Hon. Albert Abongo a more appealing candidate who associated with the people than Hon. Andrews Awuni hence that explains why they voted for Hon. Albert Abongo in the 2004 parliamentary election. This finding also attest to the contribution made by Gyimah-Boadi (2007) that, many African voters vote on the grounds of personalities and not necessarily on issues relating to the economy, governance and development.

On the other hand, the variations in the voting behaviour of the electorate in Bolgatanga constituency are attributable to the following factors;

First, the electorate of Bolgatanga vote on issues and not on strict party disciplined lines as observed in the case of Bongo constituency. This issue voting as depicted by Anebo (2006) explains why they opted for the NDC parliamentary candidates in 1992 and 1996 and when they felt the candidates did not meet their expectations in the constituency, they voted for the PNC candidate, Mr. David Apasera in the year 2000 and 2004. However, in 2008 parliamentary election they voted for the NDC candidate Mr. Opam-Brown Akolbire.

Secondly, non-performance of the incumbent MPs over the years also accounts for the variations in voting behaviour among the electorate in Bolgatanga. In short, if they are not satisfied with your performance as the MP they will always opt for another candidate.

Thirdly, about 14.4% of the respondents indicated that, their voting variations in the three parliamentary elections under consideration have been influenced by the need for change of an incumbent MP because they felt two terms as an MP was enough and a new person should be given the opportunity to also serve as the MP for the constituency.

Finally, just as the voters of Bongo are very particular about the personality of the candidates contesting in an election and their level of interaction with the people in the constituency, same goes with the voters of Bolgatanga who would want their MP to be very eloquent and articulate in parliament, contribute to debates in the House and be more visible and accessible to the people. The candidate must also identify with the people and their beliefs and traditions, participate in festivals and funerals and other social gatherings, this according to Chazan (1985) would let the electorate appreciate and understand the identity and contribution of their elected representative.

The reasons that accounted for the voting consistency of the electorate in Bongo constituency are attributable to the love for the NDC, the visibility and popularity of the NDC and its

colours, flags and offices in almost every community in Bongo and the personality of the parliamentary candidate (Hon. Albert Abongo).

Another major reason that explains this love for the NDC party is to the effect that, the people of Bongo will forever remember the Rawling PNDC administration for curbing the many incidence of armed robbery and stealing cases in Bongo district that occurred before 1981 and the people of Bongo were often helpless when their farm animals were taken away from them. However, thanks to the PNDC regime, enough surveillance was put in place by the military regime and gradually these armed robbery incidences were curbed and the residence had their freedom. This scenario is an issue that many people in Bongo district will always attest and grateful to the PNDC regime for restoring order to their district.

Another reason that explains their voting consistency for the NDC is that, the PNDC/ NDC government created Bongo district and instituted some developmental policies such as the extension of electricity to Bongo, the building of the Bongo Secondary School, the upgrading of the Vea irrigation dam, the Bongo hospital, the Bongo market and many others. A recall by any politician or candidate to these policies of the NDC government convinces that, the NDC is the party to bring further developments to Bongo district. This perspective of voting further confirms the theoretical framework adopted for the study that, voters can be rational in choice of candidate or party in an election based on what they have seen or anticipate.

The people of Bongo and Bolgatanga constituencies agreed that social and economic issues derive their voting decisions in an election but it is more widely pronounced in Bolgatanga where the voters are more particular about issues of policies and governance in the country than the voters of Bongo whose persuasions are directed at party loyalty and candidates' personality. (Agyeman-Duah, 2008)

The NDC is well organized in Bongo constituency with many of the electoral areas having party offices and branches that are active and visible to the people of the constituency. The other political parties are barely seen, nor do they have offices in many of these electoral areas. The only party that comes next to the NDC in party organization and infrastructure in the constituency is the NPP. Same goes with Bolgatanga constituency where both the NDC and the NPP have well organized structure and very active youth wings that goes round mobilizing voters and educating them on the election process and the need to vote for their party of choice.

Majority of the voters had a fair idea why they voted in the year 2000 general election particularly in the parliamentary slot. For voters in Bolgatanga, their decision to vote for a change in their parliamentary candidate was based on the fact that, they wanted a change of their incumbent MP, Hon. Simon Abengya who had served for one term in office as a Member of Parliament for Bolgatanga constituency. Several factors caused the defeat of the NDC candidate in the 2000 parliamentary elections, these were complacency on the part of the incumbent MP who was a deputy minister of state and hence felt he had an advantage over the others and therefore was unperturbed on many occasion because he felt he would win. The second issue that caused the defeat of the NDC incumbent MP in the 2000 election was the lack of party unity among party executives in the constituency prior to the elections. Their inability to resolve these challenges left the NDC nothing but a divided house going into the 2000 election. The third issue that also caused the defeat of the NDC candidate in the year 2000 was the unwillingness of the NDC party executives in the constituency to campaign for the incumbent MP for re-election. In many occasions, the incumbent MP went to campaign grounds with only members of his campaign team without many of the party executives on board.

Finally, the personality of the incumbent MP whom many describe as inward looking, not appealing, not friendly and did not associate so much with the downtrodden in the society all accounted for the defeat of Hon. Simon Abengya in the year 2000.

On the other hand, the PNC candidate, Mr. David Apasera was seen as a more appealing candidate who ate and drank with the people at the local pito bars, attended funerals and festivals and made visible donations on such occasions. As a result, many voters in the constituency opted to vote for the PNC candidate in the 2000 parliamentary election in Bolgatanga constituency.

In the 2004 parliamentary elections, internal party factionalism caused both the NDC and the NPP severely leading to their defeat in the election. The losers in the party primaries deliberately refused to campaign for those who won in the primaries but rather opted to vote 'skirt and blouse' as indicated by Essuman-Johnson (2006) with their supporters for their presidential candidate and either the PNC candidate or an independent candidate in the parliamentary election. Amidst this internal party factionalism, the PNC candidate benefitted from the woes of these divisions by the two leading parties. This indication is contrary to many suggestions that the PNC candidate won the 2004 parliamentary elections because of sympathy votes as a result of his involvement in a motor accident that got him attending campaign rallies on crutches.

The change that occurred in the parliamentary election of 2008 from the PNC candidate Hon. Apasera to the NDC candidate Mr. Opam-Brown Akolbire was as a result of the following factors;

First, the non-satisfactory performance of the PNC parliamentary candidate in his tenure relating to some major development projects he promised the people as well as his inability to project the image of Bolgatanga constituency within the two consecutive term in parliament.

Secondly, many voters were not interested in the PNC candidate because they felt he had done his part and should step aside for others to continue.

Thirdly, the renewed popularity and visibility of the NDC parliamentary candidate and the efforts made at party unity all together facilitated the victory of the NDC in the 2008 parliamentary election.

Finally, the general call for change of government also had some significant influence in the outcome of the 2008 parliamentary election in Bolgatanga constituency because the incumbent MP had also served for eight years and many voters felt it was time for him to give way to another candidate.

5.3 CONCLUSION

The NDC remains the most visible and active political party known to the people of Bongo than any other political party and hence their unflinching loyalty to the party over the years in both parliamentary and presidential elections is unquestionable.

The development projects initiated and completed by the NDC administration from the PNDC era to the year 2000 makes the NDC very outstanding to any other political party's achievements in the constituency under the fourth republic in terms of development projects. This accounts for why the voters have always opted for the NDC party and its parliamentary candidates over the years.

Also, the people of Bongo also see the NDC as a mass party open to all manner of persons both literates and non-literates that associate itself with the plight of the people. The people of Bongo see and hear a lot of their indigenes occupying major governmental positions in the NDC. Fore instance, Hon. Albert Abongo was the Minister of Water Resources Works and Housing in 2009 and Dr. Avea Ephraim is currently the Upper West Regional minister, both

from Bongo constituency and that serves as a source of pride for them and hence they will always show solidarity and love to any candidate representing the NDC in the constituency.

On the other hand, the voting behaviour of voters in Bolgatanga constituency is attributable to the consciousness of the voters on issue based politics and personality of the candidates competing in the elections. Complacency and party factionalism within the rank and file of the NDC and NPP were enabling factors that aided the PNC candidate to win the Bolgatanga constituency seat in the year 2000 and 2004 parliamentary elections.

The need for change as a result of non-performance of the incumbent MP caused the defeat of the PNC parliamentary candidate in the 2008 elections to the NDC parliamentary candidate who took advantage of the failure of the PNC candidate to revitalize his campaign strategies and policies to the people.

Finally, both constituencies are strong holds of the NDC but the voters in Bolgatanga constituency are more aligned to voting based on issues and the personality of the candidates than the vote in of Bongo constituency whose voting decisions are based on unflinching party loyalty to the NDC and its candidates over the three elections.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

After a careful study and analysis of the research findings, the following recommendations have been put forward for political parties, candidates and the government.

5.4.1. For the political parties and candidates

- Political parties should try as much as possible to unite all contestants who took part in party primaries and lost to concede defeat to the winner. The losers should also be encouraged to play an active role in the campaigns of the elected candidate to avoid

the unforeseen factionalism that may occur if the necessary structures and measures are not put in place.

- Losers who refuse to concede defeat but opt to campaign against the elected parliamentary candidate should be severely disciplined and cautioned and then as a matter of last resort expelled from the party. This will serve as a deterrent for others to take note and abide by the party's rules and regulations.
- Incumbent parliamentary candidates should not be complacent and take the voters for a ride with the belief that they enjoy incumbency advantage and so are likely to win. The voters are very rational and sometimes unpredictable and hence could spring surprises based on the issues prevailing at a time.
- Political parties should also campaign on issues relating to economic development of the constituencies such as education, health, roads and infrastructural developments. The extension of electricity to some rural communities, access to potable drinking water and creating an enabling environment for the local craft industries to grow are among the key priority development concerns of the electorate of both constituencies and the political parties or candidates should direct their campaign issues to the heart of these development needs in the constituencies.
- Parliamentary candidates should also have a personal attachment and understanding of the beliefs and customs of the people, live with them, appreciate their concerns and have an open character to accommodate the views of many people in the constituency. Failure to do so you will be tagged as not friendly and inward looking.
- Also, parliamentary candidates should also endeavour to attend important community programs such as festivals and durbars and actively participate in such occasions. This is the only way the people will feel the candidates' personality and are more likely to vote for such a candidate in an election.

5.4.2. For the government(s)

- Governments in power must appreciate that, when voters vote in an election every four years, they expect some benefits in return such as a better standard of living, economic and infrastructural developments, employment opportunities, security and good governance. When these expected benefits are not reflecting in their lives and their communities' year on and year after, then the people will begin to lose confidence in the governance system because it is not generating sufficient wealth to benefit the people. In the long run, when the people lose confidence in the governance systems, they are likely not to come out next time and vote because they see it to be a meaningless exercise.
- Political leaders are also advised to ensure that, the economy generates sufficient wealth that is redistributed to all parts of the country so that the voters can appreciate the essence of voting in an election.
- Social issues such as the construction of motorable roads, schools and health centres as well as extension of electricity, water and telecommunication services are among the key priority areas that needs governments' attention in both constituencies particularly in Bongo district.

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APPENDIX A

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

The researcher is a Master of Philosophy student at the department of political science, university of Ghana. As part of a requirement for the award of Master of Philosophy Degree in Political Science, the researcher is to conduct a research into **A Comparative study of Parliamentary Elections in Bolgatanga and Bongo Constituencies, 2000-2008.**

The research is purely for academic purpose and as such respondent's confidentiality will be kept secret as required by academic standards. Your kind assistance and cooperation is needed for a successful completion of this work.

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

QID Number.....

NUMBER.....

BACKGROUND DATA

Name of Constituency.....

Name of Electoral area.....

Date and Time of interview.....

Language used in the interview.....

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA OF RESPONDENTS

Please tick the appropriate response to the questions

1. Name:.....

2. Gender (1) Male [] (2) Female []

3. Age (1)18-28 [] (2) 29-39 [] (3) 40-50 [] (4) 51-60 [] (5) 61-70 [] (6) 71—[]

4. Educational level of respondent (1) Primary level [] (2) Middle school/ JSS []

(3) Secondary level [] 4.Tertiary level [] (5) No level []

5. Occupation of respondents. (1) Trader [] (2) Teacher [] (3) Farmer (4) Blacksmith []

(5) Public/civil Servant [] (6) Student []
7.Unemployed []

6. Which religious denomination do you belong?

(1) Islamic [] (2) Christianity [] (3) Traditional []

ELECTION RELATED ISSUES

7. Are you a registered voter? (1)Yes [] (2) No []

8. Are you a registered member of a political party? (1).Yes [] (2) No []

9. If Yes in Q8, which political party?(1) NPP [] (2) NDC [] 3 CPP [] 4. PNC [] 5.GCPP []

(6) Others

10. Did you vote in the 2000 general elections? (1) Yes [] (2) No []

11. Which political party did you vote for in the presidential election in the year 2000?

(1) NPP [] (2) PNC [] (3) NDC []

(4) CPP [] (5) UGM [] (6) NRP []

12. Why did you vote for that party in the year 2000?

(1) They had good policies [] (2) I am a registered party member []

(3) Because I love the party [] (4) Because of the personality of the candidate

(5) Because I want change in government 6.Others

13. Which parliamentary candidate did you vote for in the year 2000?

(1) NPP [] (2) PNC [] (3) NDC []

(4) CPP [] (5) IND [] (6) NRP []

14. Why did you vote for that candidate in the parliamentary elections in the year 2000?

(1) He had good policies [] (2) He is a native [] (3) Because of his/her party []

4 Because of his personality/character (5). Just like the candidate [] 6. Others

.....

15. Did you vote in the 2004 general elections? (1) Yes [] (2) No []

16. Which political party did you vote for in the presidential election in the year 2000?

(1) NPP [] (2) PNC [] (3) NDC []

(4) CPP [] (5) UGM [] (6) NRP []

17. Why did you vote for that party in the year 2004?

(1) They had good policies [] (2) I am a registered party member []

(3) Because I love the party [] (4) Because of the personality of the candidate

(5) Because I want maintain the government 6.Others

18. Which parliamentary candidate did you vote for in the year 2004?

(1) NPP [] (2) PNC [] (3) NDC []

(4) CPP [] (5) IND [] (6) NRP []

19. Why did you vote for that candidate in the parliamentary elections in the year 2004?

(1) He had good policies [] (2) He is a native [] (3) Because of his/her party []

(4) Because of his personality/character (5). Just like the candidate [] 6. Others

.....

20. Did you vote in the 2008 general elections? (1) Yes [] (2) No []

21. Which political party did you vote for in the presidential election in the year 2008?

(1) NPP [] (2) PNC [] (3) NDC []

(4) CPP [] (5) UGM [] (6) NRP []

22. Why did you vote for that party in the year 2008?

(1) They had good policies [] (2) I am a registered party member []

(3) Because I love the party [] (4) Because of the personality of the candidate

(5) Because I want maintain the government 6.Others

23. Which parliamentary candidate did you vote for in the year 2008?

(1) NPP [] (2) PNC [] (3) NDC []

(4) CPP [] (5) IND [] (6) NRP []

24. Which of these reasons could have accounted for your voting consistency in the three elections?

(1) Party loyalty [] (2) Love for candidate [] (3).Good policies of candidate [] (4) others.....

25. Which of these reasons most influenced your decision to vote in the election?

- 1. Economic issues: Unemployment, currency stability, access to loans []
- 2. Social issues: Roads, schools, health centres, infrastructural development []
- 3. Utilities: Extension of electricity, water supply, access to fuel []

26. Did your opinion about the economy influence your vote? 1. Yes [] 2. No []

27. Which of the following issues on governance did influence your decision to vote in the elections of 2000, 2004 and 2008?

- 1. Issues about economic mismanagement []
- 2. Corruption []
- 3. Insecurity and injustice []
- 4. Good governance []

28. Do you think any other party has the possibility of unseating the NDC in Bongo constituency in 2016? 1. Yes [] 2. No []

29. If Yes which party

30. What reasons can you give for the consistency in voting behaviour in Bongo Constituency for the NDC?

.....
.....
.....

31. What reasons can you give for the variations in voting behaviour in Bolgatanga Constituency in the year 2000 and 2008 elections?

.....
.....
.....

THANK YOU