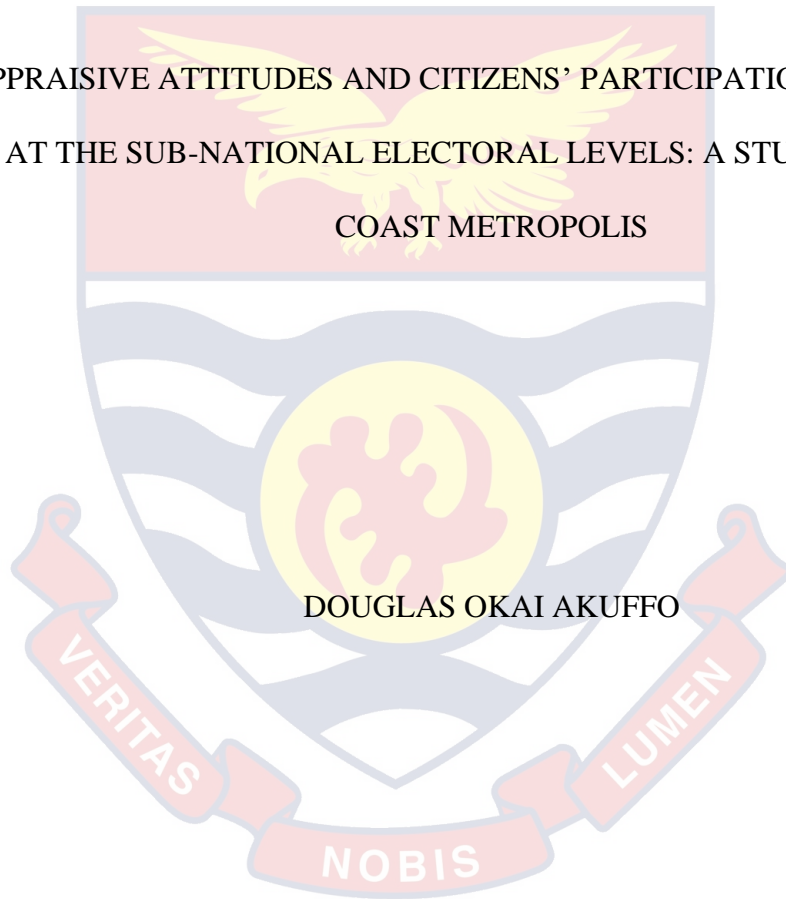


UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

APPRAISIVE ATTITUDES AND CITIZENS' PARTICIPATION BEHAVIOUR  
AT THE SUB-NATIONAL ELECTORAL LEVELS: A STUDY OF CAPE  
COAST METROPOLIS

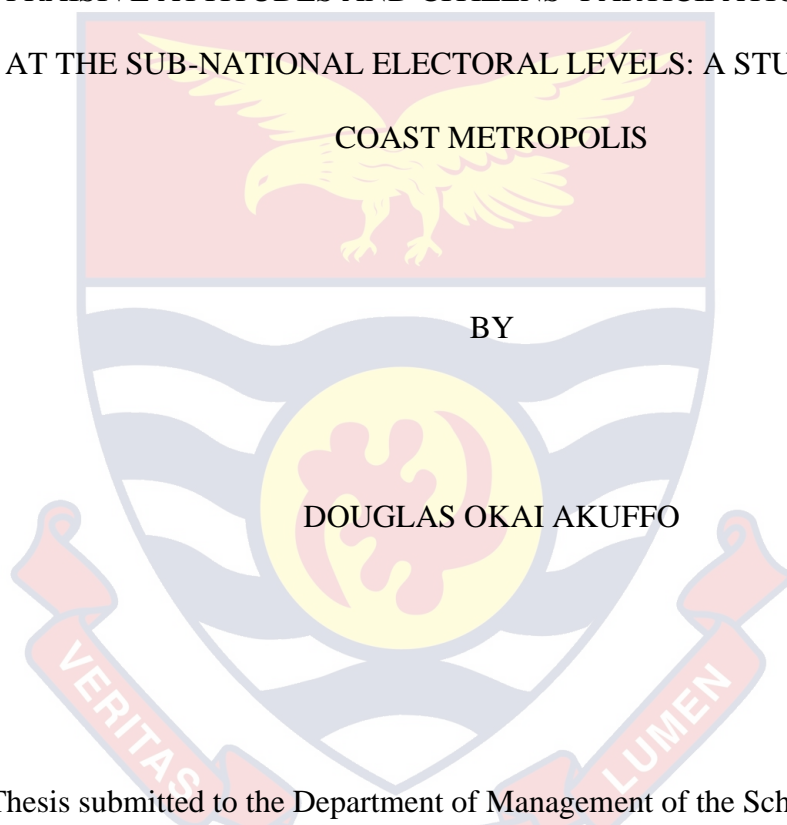


DOUGLAS OKAI AKUFFO

2021

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

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AT THE SUB-NATIONAL ELECTORAL LEVELS: A STUDY OF CAPE  
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BY

DOUGLAS OKAI AKUFFO

This thesis submitted to the Department of Management of the School of Business, College of Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of Philosophy degree in Public Policy and Management.

OCTOBER 2021

## DECLARATION

### Candidate Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in the university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature..... Date.....

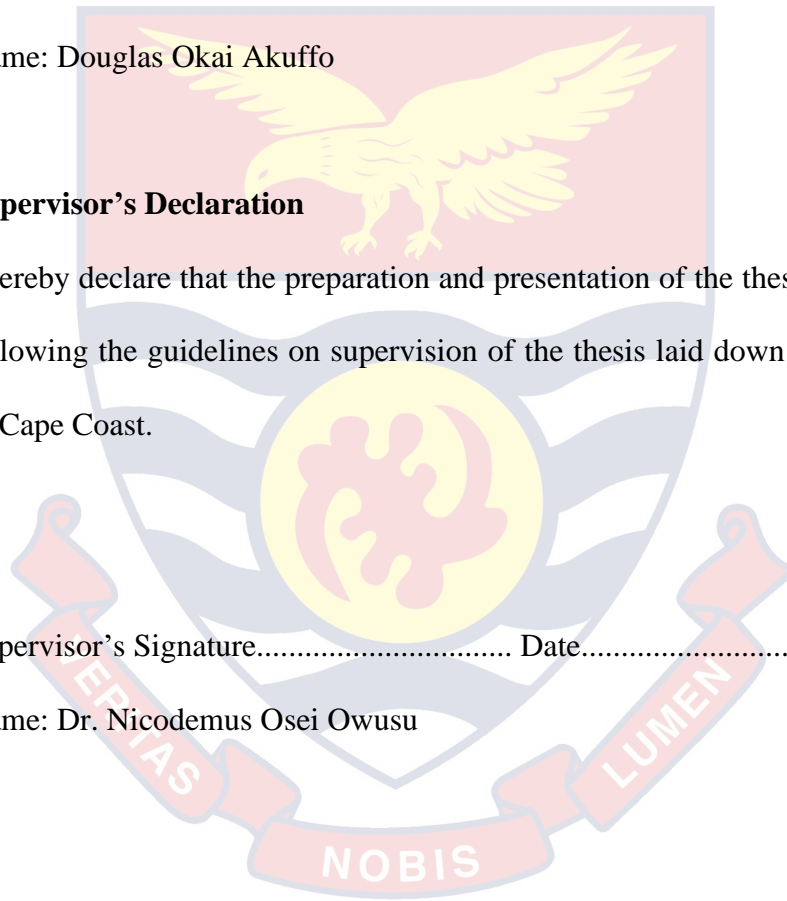
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### Supervisor's Declaration

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis was supervised following the guidelines on supervision of the thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Supervisor's Signature..... Date.....

Name: Dr. Nicodemus Osei Owusu



## ABSTRACT

This study sought to assess the effect of appraisive attitudes on citizens' participation behaviour at the sub-national electoral levels in Ghana using the Cape Coast metropolis as a case. The study adopted a quantitative approach. The stratified sampling technique was used to collect data from 265 delegates from the Cape Coast North and Cape Coast South constituencies through self-administered questionnaires. Partial Least Squares (PLS) structural equation modelling was used to test the hypotheses postulated. The findings revealed that the study supported the assertions that evaluations of candidates' policy responsiveness positively affected citizens' participation behaviour. Given the second study objective, the study found that appraisal of candidates' performance positively affected citizens' participation behaviour. Finally, the study proved that examination of candidates' candidates' integrity has a positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour. The study showed that the perception of honesty and trustworthiness of the parliamentary candidate is a crucial determinant of citizens' participation behaviour. The study concludes that the appraisive attitudes of election candidates regarding responsiveness evaluation, performance evaluation, and integrity evaluation determine the citizens' participation behaviour regarding their voting decisions. Therefore, the study recommends that political parties should ensure free and fair primaries to ensure that only candidates rationally evaluated and endorsed by voters represent the party in the general elections.

## KEYWORDS

Citizenship Participation Behaviour

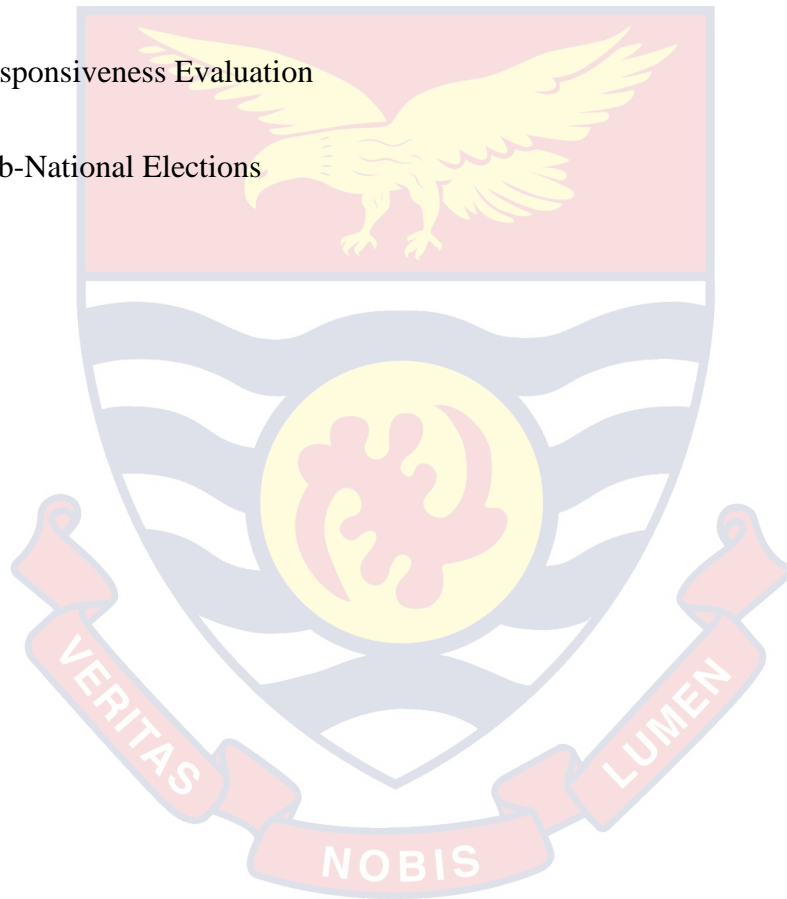
Appraisive Attitudes

Candidate Integrity Evaluation

Performance Evaluation

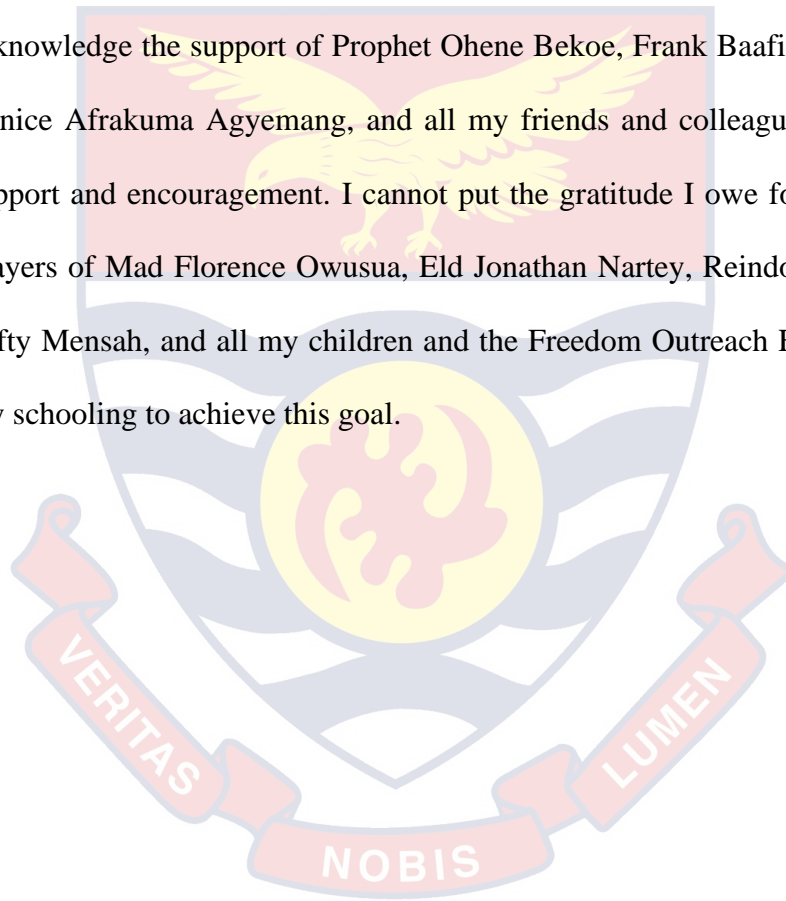
Responsiveness Evaluation

Sub-National Elections



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## DEDICATION

To my mother



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
DECLARATION	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
KEYWORDS	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
DEDICATION	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	
Introduction	1
Background to the Study	1
Statement of the Problem	6
Purpose of the Study	9
Objectives of the Study	9
Research Hypotheses	10
Significance of the Study	10
Delimitation of the Study	11
Limitations of the Study	12



Organisation of the Study	13
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	
Introduction	14
Review of Theories Underpinning the Determinants of Voting Behaviour	14
Conceptual Review	22
Citizens' Participation Behaviour	23
Economic Voting in the Case of Ghana	27
Swing Voting	28
An Overview of Primary Elections and Candidate Selection	30
Parliamentary Primary Election System	32
Appraisive Attitudes Dimensions	35
Policy Responsiveness Evaluation	36
Performance Evaluation	38
Candidate Integrity Evaluation	39
Empirical Review	40
Lessons Learnt and Issues Arising from the Review of Empirical Studies	60
Conceptual Framework	61
Chapter Summary	63
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODS	
Introduction	64

Research Paradigm	64
Research Design	65
Study Area	67
Population	68
Sampling Procedure	69
Data Collection Instrument	70
Measurement of Variables	71
Pre-testing	73
Validity and reliability	74
Data Collection Procedures	75
Data Processing and Analysis	78
Structural equation modelling	78
Validity and reliability of the model	80
Specifying the structural and measurement model	83
Common method bias	84
Ethical Consideration	85
Chapter Summary	86
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS</b>	
Introduction	87
Demographic Profile of Respondents	87

The Findings of the Main Study Objectives	91
Assessment of Measurement Models for the Study	91
Assessing the Structural Model	96
Assessing Coefficient of Determination and Predictive Relevance	97
Assessing the Paths Model of the Study	98
Policy Implications of the Findings	108
Chapter Summary	110
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS	
Introduction	112
Summary of the Study	112
Key Findings	113
Conclusion	114
Recommendations of the Study	115
Suggestions for Future Research	117
REFERENCES	118
APPENDICES	144
APPENDIX A: INTRODUCTORY LETTER	144
APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE	145
APPENDIX C: COMMON METHOD BIAS EXTRACTION	151

APPENDIX D: 152

KREJCIE AND MORGAN'S SAMPLE SIZE DETERMINATION TABLE 152



## LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Population and Sample Distribution in the Constituencies	70
2	Questionnaire Items and Their Reliability Coefficients	75
3	Response Rate	77
4	Demographic Characteristics of Respondents	88
5	Indicator Loadings	92
6	Validity and Reliability	94
7	Fornell-Lacker Criterion	95
8	Heterotrait - Monotrait Ratio (HTMT)	96
9	Collinearity Amongst Constructs	97
10	Structural Model Results for Hypotheses 1, 2 and 3	99
11	Structural Model Results for Hypothesis 1	101
12	Summary of Objective 1	102
13	Structural Model Results for Hypothesis 2	103
14	Summary of Objective 2	104
15	Structural Model Results for Hypothesis 3	106
16	Summary of Objective 3	107

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	Conceptual Framework	62
2	Structural Model	84
3	Outer and Inner Model Results	100



## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### Introduction

Citizens' participation behaviour in terms of voting decisions is a significant component that makes democracy whole. By voting in free and fair elections, citizens gain a democratic means of recruiting leaders to represent them in government institutions. Whether it is at the local or national levels of representation or at the intra-party level of selecting ticket bearers, the legitimacy of elected political leaders is guaranteed when voters' choices are respected. While some voters vote based on integrity, others vote for performance or the candidate's ability to respond to their needs through policy formulation. This section presents the background to the study which is centred on appraisive attitudes on citizens' participation behaviour at the sub-national electoral levels. It included the statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, objectives of the study, significance of the study, delimitation of the study, limitation of the study, and organisation of the study.

#### Background to the Study

In this democratic world, having the opportunity to make policies means you have been voted into power by the citizens. However, in the real world, citizens do not vote for their policy makers in a vacuum. While some vote based on integrity, others vote for performance or the candidate's ability to respond to their needs. Nonetheless, the concept of public participation in public affairs has gained attraction in the modern democratic literature. Börzel and Buzogány (2010) state

that public policy results from the interaction between state and non-state actors. Besides that, Sacks (2012) pointed out that the role of both state and non-state actors in policymaking has been generally recognised in both developed and developing countries. He lists increased recognition, ownership, and enforcement as some of the advantages of public involvement.

According to Gyimah-Boadi and Prempeh (2012), the system of public participation allows people to make decisions and participate in the decisions made about the use and goal of the country's endowments. Shortage of fairness assessment, declining trust in the instruments established, and the general lack of conceptualising any promised aspirations are all factors that encourage people to participate in a country's leadership process (Ferree, Gibson & Long, 2014). By casting their votes in free and fair elections, citizens get a democratic means of enlisting leaders to represent them in institutions of governance (Arthur, 2014). The 1992 Constitution of Ghana established a devolved system of control comprised of the National and Constituency governments. Members of Parliament are elected at the constituency level to empower citizens, increase their participation in decision-making that affects them, and offer close-by and easily accessible services in all parts of the country (Local Governance Act 2016, Act 45).

Whether at the local or national levels of representation or even at the intra-party level (party primaries), card-bearing members evaluate candidates' traits, behaviour, and performance, reflecting on the factors that motivate and determine their choice of these candidates (Kettl, 2011; Shirley, 2017). At this stage, the appraisive attitudes of candidates are brought to bear, where the voters' judgment



of candidates and parties are made along specified parameters. These judgements inform what voters think and feel about the candidates, and these dispose of the individual voters to either vote for or reject the candidates. In this study, appraisive attitudes shall mean the cognitive and affective triggers that lead to voters making their choices at the ballot.

Consequently, voting offers citizens a means for arriving at collective political decisions while giving them an avenue for regulating and controlling the actions of their leaders (Jacoby, Jacobs & Shapiro, 2011; Ganuza, Nez & Morales, 2014). In other words, voting is not limited to recruiting leaders. It involves selecting policies because every candidate presents a manifesto containing a set of policies and plan they would implement to better the lives of the citizens once elected to office. By implication, through voting, citizens get the chance to collectively go beyond deciding who should govern them and how they should be governed and what system of governance best suites them. Implicitly, voting has moral significance because the way a person votes, or whether they fail to vote, makes control better or worse and makes the lives of other people better or worse (Brennan, 2011).

However, existing studies on elections and citizens' participation behaviour tend to neglect Africa due to the notion that Africans vote based on their socio-ethnic background (Akinwunmi-Othman, 2017). Some researchers, based on ethnic census theory, have shown that although new identities such as gender, youth, and religion continue to grow in relevance, the socio-ethnic identity still trumps them all in its effectiveness as a basis for mobilising voters during the 2016 and 2020

elections (Wambugu, 2020; Gadjanova, 2021). Asingo (2015) demonstrates that voters in Ghana tend to resort to social identities, particularly ethnicity, for heuristic cues on voting due to the scarcity and ambiguity of political information. Since the leaders tend to provide electoral choices based on how they sense voters appear likely to vote (Adams, Agomor & Youmbi, 2018), Ghanaian leaders also resort to ethnic identities as the basis for forming political voters and mobilising support for their parties and the cycle continues (Alidu & Bukari, 2020).

While the ethnic census theory maintains relevance in explaining national-level electoral politics, especially the presidential elections, it cannot account for local-level elections, especially where almost everybody comes from the same ethnic group. This study then adopted the rational choice theory and the social exchange theory, which explains factors other than socio-ethnicity must influence citizens' participation behaviour in such contexts of homogeneity. Social Exchange Theory features the significance of understanding citizens' inspiration and its connection to the accomplishment of policies of policymakers.

Likewise, the Rational Choice theory suited the study because party primaries entailed competition among candidates exceeding two in number. The probability of rational voting behaviour to maximise the utility of one's ballot arises in such a case (Ordeshook & Zeng, 2017). The rational choice theory further explains that voters' judgement of candidates and parties corresponds with specified parameters. These judgements inform what voters think and feel about the candidates and dispose of the individual voters to either vote for or reject the candidates (Bratton, 2017).

However, the emerging studies which held on to rationality in elections tended to focus mainly on a national level of presidential and parliamentary elections. Additionally, they were concerned with the quality of the polls, but not so much with the dynamics of citizens' behaviours as they participate in political decision-making. It is worth noting that the focus on national-level elections is not limited to Ghana and Africa alone. Globally, studies also tend to focus on the general elections at the expense of party primaries, more so at the subnational level (Tsuruyo, 2013; Bratton, Bhavnani, & Chen, 2014). Krieg (2016) observed that this reality is more pronounced in emerging democracies such as Ghana, where the political parties are weak institutions. Primaries are an essential part of the Ghanaian electoral process because they foster internal party democracy (Debrah, 2021; Cheeseman, Lynch & Willis, 2017). They also allow political parties to narrow down on candidates who contest opponents from the other parties in the general elections. Once the voters select candidates, political parties can coalesce their policies around this candidate to ensure victory.

In Ghana, elections are primarily seen as revolving around identity politics, whereby socio-ethnic identities flourish these elections (Oloo, 2015; Wissenbach, 2019). Meanwhile, it is essential to better understand citizens' participation behaviour during party primaries at the subnational electoral level, especially in constituencies with the same socio-ethnic characteristics. As observed by Kiratli (2020, pg, 25), "...in terms of finances, interest groups, political dynamics, voter attitudes, and the factors shaping those preferences, municipal elections are unique". One of the defining characteristics of Ghana's sub-national electoral levels

is that they are overwhelmingly made up of members of the same socio-ethnic group, making race elements unacceptable as a factor affecting a candidate's choice.

This background motivated this investigation into critical appraisive attitudes and how they influence citizens' participation behaviour in the Cape Coast metropolis located in the Central Region of Ghana. The region is one of the regions whose voters always swing to the presidential candidate's side who emerge victorious in each general election rather than being a stronghold region for all political parties. The study used the New Patriotic Party (NPP) primaries in Cape Coast North and South constituencies leading to the December 2020 General Elections.

The NPP primaries in the Cape Coast Metropolis was selected because all the party's incumbent Member of Parliament candidates who won the primaries lost the national general election. In a metropolis where winning primaries of the strongest party is synonymous with losing the general elections, made it essential to understand why citizens (delegates) in Cape Coast metropolis decided that all candidates for Member of Parliament in the NPP were, in the words of Fiorina (2015), 'rascals' who need to be thrown out. As a result, it would be necessary to investigate the reasoning behind citizen participation in candidate evaluations in the Cape Coast Metropolis.

### **Statement of the Problem**

More than a few researchers have characterised elections in developing countries like Ghana as national-based, dominated by socio-ethnic factors like

ethnicity, personal ties, and clientelism (Erdmann, 2011; Posner & Weyl, 2015; Yadav & Mukherjee, 2016; Tooranian, 2018). Thus, instead of considering policy alternatives, the imperative aspect that forms citizens' decisions and electoral choices is extracted from socio-cultural and ethnic reasoning (Horowitz, 2017; Posner & Weyl, 2018). Some experts consider this argument inappropriate because other factors shape the voting choice of the electorates (Breux, Couture & Goodman, 2017; Levy, 2019). Some of these factors include performance evaluation, the educational level of candidates, the candidate's integrity, and many others.

Thus, while there has been an over-reliance on social and institutional structures in explaining citizens' participation behaviour in Ghana during elections, politicians always return to their villages to rally their relatives to vote for them (Mutiga, 2017). This assertion is supported by vast volumes of academic works of literature. For example, Horowitz (2018) concluded that elections in ethnically diverse polities are nothing more than ethnic censuses, whereby demands of a person's security within their ethnic identity group predetermines their vote. He further posited that social affiliation acts as a very effective mobiliser for high citizens' participation turn-out to protect the interests of their socio-ethnic groups. Nyantakyi-Frimpong (2019) also pointed out that citizens' participation in Ghana is greatly influenced by the politics of being an 'insider' or 'outsider' of an ethnic group.

These authors ( Mutiga, 2017; Horowitz, 2018; Nyantakyi-Frimpong, 2019) explain that socio-ethnic affiliation arises because the competing political elites

come from varying ethnicities, who dominate positions in the public sector. They distribute resources based on who should belong and should not belong to a community and even locality. However, in party primaries where voters choose among candidates within the same political party, especially where only one party is dominant, partisanship is eliminated as a factor influencing citizens' participation behaviour. The tendency to rely on social structure and political parties as institutional structures to explain citizens' participation behaviour leaves us with a gap in knowledge about what factors influence citizens' participation behaviour during party primaries in ethnically homogeneous polities.

Other research on the effect of candidate personality evaluations on voter preference was conducted by Hayes (2010) and Fridkin and Kenney (2017) in the United States of America; Verhulst, Hatemi, and Martin (2017) in Australia and Caprara, Schwartz, Capanna, Vecchione, and Barbaranelli (2017) in Italy. According to these researchers, voters' political choices were affected by a candidate's personality characteristics or perceived ideals in leadership skills, ethics, kindness, and caring for people. The main challenge with these studies is that they were all cross-national and longitudinal, cutting across several years. This methodology reduced the strength of short-term forces whose impact was felt at specific times and spaces. The method also led to complications in controlling for multiple long-term and stable details such as party identification, gender, and ethnicity. This study eliminated the party variable by adopting a cross-sectional design. Impliedly, the research focused on intra-party election within a specific political party, in an ethnically homogenous polity, and on one occasion only.

In Africa and Ghana, the effect of personality assessment on voter judgements was studied by Nwanganga, Peter and Udensi Mirian (2017) in Nigeria; Anebo (2018), Harding (2020), Bossuroy (2019), Dendere (2020), and Debrah (2021) in Ghana. Personal characteristics such as integrity, success, and relevance, instead of issues of ethnic nationalism and socio-ethnicity, are qualities that affect voters' preference of a political figure before and during the election cycle, as per the results of all of these surveys. According to the reports, voters are reasonable people who consider their financial situations and the incumbents' success and persona before voicing their opinions.

The weaknesses in all the studies mentioned above are that they did not address the behaviour of citizen participation in terms of voting during party primaries; neither did they address the subnational level of the vote. Therefore, they fail to adequately explain citizens' participation behaviour in Ghana's party primaries, particularly in mono-social constituencies. In light of these gaps, this study seeks to address the effect of appraisive attitudes on citizens' participation behaviour at the sub-national electoral levels in Cape Coast Metropolis, Ghana.

### **Purpose of the Study**

The aim of this research is to assess the influence of appraisive attitudes on citizens' participation behaviour at the sub-national electoral levels in Ghana using the Cape Coast metropolis as a case.

### **Objectives of the Study**

The following targets were determined based on the purpose of the research;

1. To determine the influence of candidates' policy responsiveness on citizens' participation behaviour
2. To establish the effects of candidates' performance on citizens' participation behaviour
3. To examine the effects of candidates' integrity on citizens' participation behaviour

### **Research Hypotheses**

The following models were formulated based on the purpose of the study;

H1: Evaluations of candidates' policy responsiveness has a positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour

H2: Appraisal of candidates' performance has a positive impact on citizens' participation behaviour

H3: Examination of candidates' integrity has a positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour

### **Significance of the Study**

This study contributes to a better understanding of what informs citizen participation behaviour in subnational elections in Ghana, particularly in party primaries in the Cape Coast Metropolis. It also contributes to the development of theory on citizens' participation behaviour. Firstly, the study empirically challenges the ethnic census theory by proving a limited understanding of the voter. The ethnic census theory can only be applicable in ethnically heterogeneous constituencies and at the national level of elections. Indeed, even at the national level, during the era of broad coalitions that bring together principals from different ethnic communities,



the ethnic census theory collapses. Although this study took place at a sub-national level, it is hoped that some of its key findings can be extrapolated to the national level. The study findings prove that voters are rational actors who evaluate their candidates using more variables beyond ethical identities and loyalty to political parties.

Investigating the appraisive attitude and citizens' participation within the Cape Coast metropolis can be of principal interest to the NPP government. Firstly, the findings should help in emphasising the need to ensure free and fair party nominations where voters get to select candidates they have evaluated and have gained their trust. Candidates considered to have integrity, be responsive to the policy problems faced by the citizens, and perceived to be capable of performance will appeal to voters, and parties must not interfere. Failure to adhere to voters' preferences will lead to party splits, defections, and independent candidature, which weaken the party in the legislature. Political parties are the custodians of ideologies and policies. Maintaining their traditional stands on issues, they help offer voters a starting point in evaluating the quality of leaders and conducting a cost-benefit analysis when choosing between candidates from two different parties. Hence, the findings of this study are an essential empirical resource for reference during policy formulation and the development of legal frameworks for electoral management.

### **Delimitation of the Study**

The study was conducted in Cape Coast Metropolis, one of the metropolises in Ghana established by the 1992 Constitution of Ghana and Local Government Act 1993 (ACT 462). The Cape Coast Metropolis is a cosmopolitan community

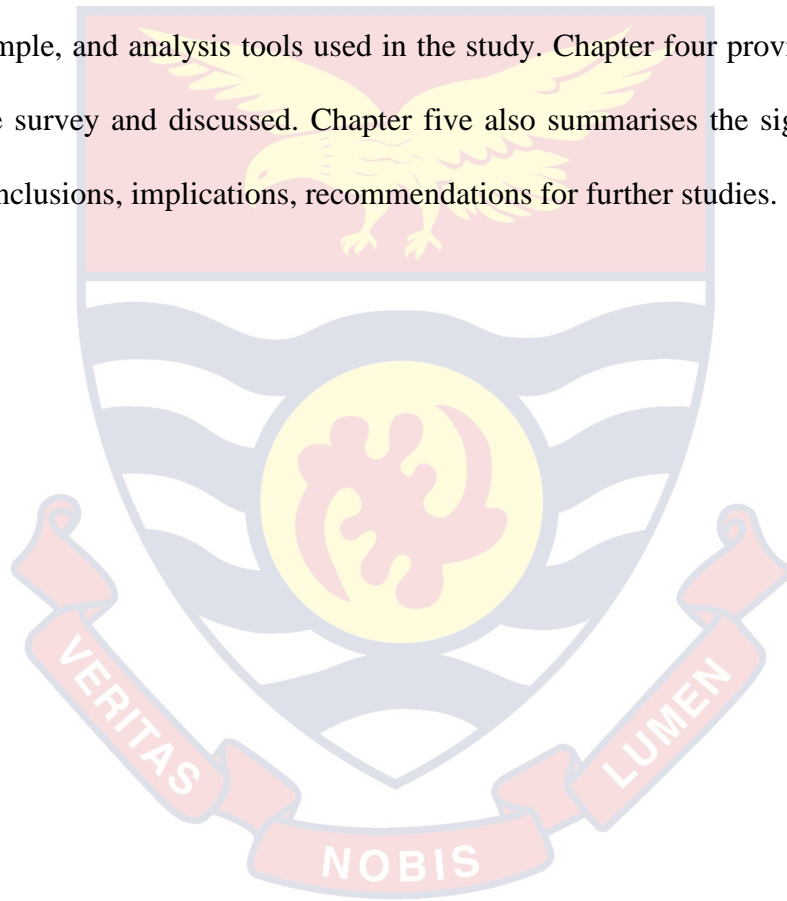
located in the Central Region. Since Central Region is often perceived as a swing region, the implication is that the Member of Parliament's election results does not always favour a particular political party (Alidu & Bukari, 2020). Specifically, the study focused on the New Patriotic Party primaries for the Member of Parliament Candidateship in 2019 and 2020 at the Cape Coast North and South Constituencies, respectively, organised ahead of the 2020 General Elections. Since the 2019 and 2020 primaries are the most recent in Ghana, the researcher selected the Member of Parliament candidate contest because it helped contextualise the study to the most basic sub-national level of elections, primarily mentioned earlier understudied.

### **Limitations of the Study**

This study uses a single primary data source (party delegates of the Cape Coast metropolis). Data from a single source can be affected by the potential presence of common method bias involving the study results. The presence of the common method bias necessitated using statistical tools to test for bias. Since the study employed a questionnaire in collecting data and it was cross-sectional, delegates did not have the opportunity to indicate other contextual factors that could influence citizens' participation behaviour. Notwithstanding, studies of the exact nature have been advanced in the literature, where some dimensions are investigated and recommendations are made. Due to the use of questionnaires in collecting data, some respondents failed to answer, in which case, the study could not capture the response of the entire sample.

## Organisation of the Study

The thesis consists of five segments. Chapter 1 is the introduction focusing primarily on the backstory, research problem and study and organisation objectives of the study. Following the introductory chapter, chapter two presents a review of the theoretical and empirical literature about the concerns of the thesis. Chapter three provides information on the methodology used in the research, population, sample, and analysis tools used in the study. Chapter four provided the results of the survey and discussed. Chapter five also summarises the significant findings, conclusions, implications, recommendations for further studies.



## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Introduction

This chapter reviews the theoretical and empirical framework on appraisive attitudes and citizens' participation behaviour. The review also shows how these constructs relate in a public sector setting. This chapter is based on the study's problem statement and research objectives. The purpose of the study was to understand the parliamentary candidate appraisive attitudes considering how candidates' policy responsiveness, candidates' performance, and candidates' integrity determine citizens' participation behaviour in the Cape Coast Metropolis, Ghana. The write-up of the chapter will begin with a review of theories underpinning the study before addressing conceptual and empirical issues of the appraisive attitudes and citizens' participation behaviour.

#### Review of Theories Underpinning the Determinants of Voting Behaviour

Appraisive attitudes and citizens' participation behaviour derive most of their theoretical foundations from several public participation theories. Corollary, the complex nature of elections demands a practical approach that emanates from multiple behavioural perspectives. It was ideal to understand the diverse trends and paths of citizens' participation behaviour. Notable among these is the Rational Choice Theory and the Social Exchange Theory. In this study, these theories examines the various appraisive attitudes and how they influence the trends associated with citizens' participation among Ghanaians in the Cape Coast Metropolis.

### **Rational choice theory**

The rational choice theory can be traced to Adam Smith's theory of Moral Sentiments and the Wealth of Nations (Coleman, 1987). He concluded that people also consider what is good for the broader society despite self-interest and make choices that are not selfish. Down (1957) introduced a rational choice approach to the study of citizen participation behaviour. He suggested that people behaved the same way in politics as they did in economics. The researcher agrees that the rational choice theory can explain everything in social sciences (Coleman, 1987). Wallestein (2001) posits that the only theory in comparative politics today that is sufficiently powerful and general to be a serious contender for the unified approach is the rational choice theory.

In its application to public participation and electoral studies, the theory assumes that individuals are rational actors. Rationality, simply put, is the ability to measure the cost and benefit of making one choice instead of the other. The choice is guided by a set of reasons over and above a person's socialisation or genetics (Lupia, McCubbins & Popkin, 2000). Rationality also implies that people are aware they cannot always get what they want in a world of competing interests. Therefore, such rational people are expected to trade off their positions, beliefs, and preferences (Tetlock, 2000). In the study of voters' behaviour in a socio-ethnically homogeneous space and intra-party competition, which eliminates obvious informational shortcuts, this definition of rationality is well suited.

Another assumption of the theory is that people are generally self-interested actors. This is to say that people are inward-looking and are primarily concerned

with outcomes that work to their advantage. Thirdly, the rational choice theory assumes that people always seek to maximise the utility of the consequences of their choices (Opp, Hartmann & Hartmann, 2019). This utility maximisation is derived from a gross estimation of electing a particular candidate. Depending on the level of satisfaction they expect, they go ahead to vote for the candidate. It is a form of expected utility because it is based on the benefits one wishes to derive from taking action whose impact will be felt in the future. In other words, a voter's decision to vote for a particular candidate is an investment and not wasteful. Finally, the theory assumes that decisions in collective action are motivated by a desire for a collective good, either for group members or the wider society (Asingo, 2018). A voter realises utility and satisfaction when their candidate wins the electoral contest and brings about policies and programmes that the voter wished for (Downs, 1957; Ordeshook & Zeng, 2017; Morton & Williams, 2019).

Whereas this theory is best suited for this study, it has several general limitations worth pointing out. Firstly, rational choice is dependent on availability or access to information. If the decision-maker lacks sufficient access to information, they are likely to resort to informational shortcuts such as rumours or misguided opinions of people they adore. Secondly, human interactions are pretty complex (Ogu, 2013), and motivations towards actions on the same subject may also be too numerous. However, this challenge is surmountable by the use of common method bias analysis in the data analysis. Another limitation of rational choice theory is that of setting boundaries. In many cases, the limit of what to be

considered rational behaviour may be so broad that nearly every human action can be argued to be reasonable (*ibid*).

Despite these challenges, the rational choice theory was best suited to address the variables adequately. Other potential variables, such as the socio-tropic views, were deemed limited economic variables only. It is worth noting that the rational-choice theory itself is not the only one that emphasises the importance of self-interest in voting. As described earlier, voters may make political decisions or elect people they believe reflect their community's needs. On the other hand, the rational-choice theory provides a brief description of how personality influences the election outcomes of autonomous and unaffiliated voters, as evidenced by the above information.

Amidst these critiques, several empirical studies have emphasised the rational choice model's importance. Strong (2013), for example, supported the rational choice theory of voting behaviour in a survey. If incumbent candidates and parties perform poorly, he claimed, voters will vote them out. This finding suggested that voters are aware of the effectiveness and that elections are primarily a referendum on elected governments. Evans (2017) defines the critical factors influencing voting choice for a particular candidate or party as community benefits, financial gain, and party policy. Even so, he states that a candidate's personality and how voters, whether individually or collectively, stand to gain from campaign pledges can persuade voters to change their minds during an election.

Anebo (2018) conducted a report on voting patterns in Ghana elections to support the rational-choice method. According to him, economic circumstances and

citizens' views of the two major political parties' likely results affected the 2016 presidential elections in Ghana (which resulted in a democratic change of power). Thus, Anebo's study concluded that voting decisions are based on the voters' financial status and that the group with the best chance of improving their standard of living wins their votes. As a result of such fair assessments, many citizens voted against the party they endorsed in the past election. As a result, swing voters rejected the incumbent to fail to fulfil the electorate's desires and standards.

In an even more current study in Ghana, Harding (2020) reported that the provision of social goods (mainly roads) could be related to government action. This can impact electoral support, especially in rural areas, using data from 2012-2016 polling results. This result supports recent research by Bossuoy (2019) and Denbere (2020), which found out that voters vary from each other in terms of their view of democracy, policy priorities, awareness of opposition parties, and access to local media, which all have a significant impact on whether they accept or reject the ruling party. In her analysis of the relationship between the economy and regime change, Debrah (2009) claims that economic problems have often dominated Ghanaian politics over culture, regionalism, and ethnicity. The most significant number of Ghanaians opted for the incumbent in the 2008 national elections, according to Debrah, because they anticipated the incumbent government to continue to create a sustainable future. According to the findings, voters are reasonable individuals who consider their economic circumstances and the incumbents' success before casting their vote.



### **Social exchange theory**

Social Exchange Theory argues that relationships at public participation evolve over time into trusting, loyal, and mutual commitments if all parties involved abide by reciprocity or repayment rules. This theory was proposed by Blau (1964) to explain the psychological contract that exists between the citizens and their policymakers. This is important in determining citizenship behaviour demonstrated by citizens within a specified place. The theory is founded on an agreement of implicit nature between the policymakers and the citizens, an agreement in a study of citizen's participation behaviour which is known as the psychological contract (Aggarwal & Bhargava, 2009).

For example, when the wellbeing of citizens is enhanced by the policy responsiveness, performance and integrity of candidates (e.g., support, employment, recognition, and opportunities of development) the citizens then feel obliged to respond in kind and “repay” these policymakers by voting in their favour. Following this lead, Shafir (2013) argues that one way for policymakers to repay the society is through increasing their productivity and integrity. In other words, policymakers will engage themselves to vary degrees and in response to the issues of the citizens, they receive from their society. In terms of Anggraeni, Dwiatmadja and Yuniawan's (2017) definition of citizens' participation behaviour, citizens feel obliged to bring themselves more deeply into their voting roles as repayment for the performances of the elected policymakers.

Alternatively, when the policymakers fail to provide these essential services to the citizens, individual citizens are more likely to withdraw and disengage

themselves from giving another chance to the policymakers, which eventually might result in voting against them (Swanson & Niehoff, 2017). Therefore, the social exchange theory presupposes that based on the policies, procedures, performances and other factors by the policymakers, the citizens tend to develop certain perceptions and attitudes in accordance to these enactments (Renn, 2017). Moreover, the theory assumes that these perceptions by the citizens towards their candidates could be resulting from previous performances and policy responsiveness of candidates (Young, 2011). The social exchange theory, therefore, makes citizens appear as individualistic and reward seeking with respect to voting.

The social exchange theory is relevant to this study because it is characterized by perceived equality imply the presence of reciprocity. Indeed, all social life needs a degree of reciprocity on the part of actors in all political and social situations. Thus, when individuals see that there are relatively balancing levels of reciprocity in a social exchange, they are more likely to be satisfied in that exchange. Social exchange theory concludes that individuals who perceive the presence of reciprocity in their electoral relationships are likely to feel more satisfied with and maintain those relationships in their respective participation. Social exchange theory is an evolving conceptual framework that can be used to explain the influence of appraisive attitudes on citizens' participation behaviour within the context of Cape Coast Metropolis.

The Rational Choice and Social Exchange theories are important to this study in light of the fact that both theories accept that citizens' increment their endeavours did for the benefit of the society to the extent that the policy is seen to

will and ready to respond with alluring indifferent and policy assets. Social Exchange Theory features the significance of understanding citizens' inspiration and its connection to the accomplishment of policies of policymakers. Likewise, the Rational Choice theory was suitable for the study because party primaries entailed competition among candidates exceeding two in number. The probability of rational voting behaviour to maximise the utility of one's ballot arises in such a case (Ordeshook & Zeng, 2017).

In particular, the assumptions of the theory as outlined above helped answer all three specific research questions. First, it helped answer the performance evaluation question as outlined above. Voter rationality enables them to evaluate the past performance of incumbents, thus giving them a reason to either punish them by electing competitors or reward them by giving them their votes. In this study, the theory had both retrospective and future perspectives. Retrospectively, voters tend to punish incumbents who performed poorly and continue rewarding those that serve well (Hansford & Gomez, 2015; Fiorina, 2015). Prospectively, voters tend to evaluate candidates based on what they have achieved in their past occupations and hope to bring the same good performance when serving in electoral offices.

Again, Hansford and Gomez (2015) argued that voter decisions in elections were based on whether they "like or don't like the government's policy." Fiorina argued that even the expectations of future performance of both incumbent candidates and their challengers through the proposed policies were nothing more than extrapolations from the past and current trends. Voters' self-interestedness and

need to be utility maximisers will help answer the responsiveness evaluation question. Since voters listen to the policy propositions of the candidates and measure these questions against the problems facing them and their communities, a candidate whose policy proposals indicate that they understand the difficulties facing the voters is likely to be elected over a candidate who proposes policy solutions for non-existing or non-pressing problems. Thirdly, rationality, self-interestedness, and utility maximisation will guide voters to vote for a candidate who has a reputation for integrity.

The assumption here is that a person of integrity will deliver on the policies they promised in their manifestos and manage public resources with integrity so that resources go to the intended purposes. A person evaluated as lacking integrity would be detrimental to the self-interest of voters, and therefore, there is no rationality in voting for them. These theories keep up that, considering the standard of correspondence, citizens endeavour to compensate the policymaker for an abnormal state of help by expanding their efforts to enable the policymakers to achieve its policies.

### **Conceptual Review**

This section aimed to provide a thorough discussion and increased understanding of the structures used in this research. It discussed how different concepts are defined in the literature. Citizens' Participation Behaviour will initially be addressed with an emphasis on the context of voting in the fourth republic elections. Also, appraisive attitudes will be addressed, followed by discussing the three appraisive attitudes considered in this study.

## Citizens' Participation Behaviour

Since Robert Putnam first popularised citizen participation in his 1993 book, *Making Democracy Work*, countless studies related to it. Despite the vast scholarship on the subject, there is no single, widely agreed-upon definition for the term citizen participation. How citizen participation is defined also depends on the perspective and focus of the definer (Adler & Goggin, 2005). Generally, the term is defined either specifically or broadly based on some of the previous definitions. For example, Diller (2001, p.21) points out that citizen participation is “*an individual's duty to embrace the responsibilities of citizens with the obligation to participate alone actively or in concert with others, in-service activities that strengthen the local community*”. Citizen participation “*can include efforts to address an issue directly, work with others in a country to solve a problem, or interact with the institutions of representative democracy. It encompasses various activities such as working in a soup kitchen, serving on a neighbourhood association, writing a letter to an elected official, or voting*” (Carpini, Cook & Jacobs, 2004).

Hopf (2016) defines citizen participation as four specific activities: civic awareness, collective identity, group participation, and political activism. In this study, citizen participation is primarily understood as the actions undertaken by people to solve problems and improve the well-being of citizens. Research into citizen participation is closely related to the concept of public participation. Its definition can be primarily derived from public participation, which focuses on the process of the decision-making behaviour of citizens to participate in activities or

affairs within their community, as well as the management and operation of community activities by citizens.

From an individual perspective, citizen participation can increase personal productivity, improve a stronger sense of competence and efficacy to better act and relate to others in their localities (Uslaner & Conley, 2003). Citizen participation also tends to help citizens increase a sense of collective interests, break down walls of insularity, improve trust, and civic virtue, accept more responsibilities, and develop a higher degree of respect for others in the country (Cooper, Bryer, & Meek, 2006). From a macro perspective, it is the notion that citizen participation is the cornerstone of politics and governance to sustain a vibrant democracy (Tocqueville, 1990). Participation can foster ties, connections, communication, and cooperation between the government and individuals, enhance government responsiveness, and lead to the effectiveness of governments (Putnam, 2000).

Fung (2006), considers that enhancing citizen participation is demanded in any area of contemporary governance. Many practitioners and scholars have conducted a great deal of research from various perspectives, investigating the factors influencing citizen participation behaviour. Some scholars have focused on summarising comprehensive factors; for example, Caplow and Forman (1950) proposed six principles to explain the conditions which encourage the public to participate: appropriate organisation, benefits acquisition, threats to the way of life, enriched knowledge, a sense of obligation, and an increased sense of metropolis (Meng, Pan & Yang, 2017). Conditional receptivity to citizen participation by Meng, Pan and Yang (2017) concluded that citizen participation factors include

economic income, social status, community identity, community social capital, civil political knowledge, and civic public spirit. Ping (2016) pointed out that gender, family size, professional title, social class, online time, social capital, community identity, and community structure are the major factors affecting citizen participation behavior.

Other scholars have taken a narrower perspective. Cui, Zhou, Zu, Zhai, Bai, Xu and Li (2020) analysed the factors influencing citizens' behaviour to participate in governance based on the theory of planned behaviour, which is anchored on the rational choice theory, while Chao (2013) investigated citizen participation behaviour and found that it determines the importance of the sense of affiliation of citizens based on the theory of rational choice. Besides, the citizens are rarely actively involved in active politics, neither do they have permanent standings. In comparison, civic engagement levels such as civic education could be attributed to the low participation, more on these need to be investigated. The strength and modes of participation are pertinent variables in political scrutiny (Ohme, 2019). Humans' voting conduct is an essential feature and a gateway to understanding the willingness of respondents. In democratic and egalitarian societies, voting is a powerful instrument, providing opportunities to the respondents to become vibrant citizens instead of inactive subjects (Zhou, 2014).

Hazarak (2015) explains that "voting" is a term used in contemporary democratic politics, and this practice has had increasing popularity in democratic theory and practice to become a household name. This, he explains, has become how adult citizens can express their approval or otherwise of the government's

decision, programs and policies. Through this process, various individuals seek to obtain the status of being representatives of the people. On the other hand, Malkopoulou (2016) explains that through voting, individual citizens choose a government and its policies, developing or maintaining allegiance or disaffection to a constitutional regime, expressing their emotions to some people emotionally and politically insignificant.

Citizen participation behaviour in terms of voting is studied as a whole, looking at the electoral behaviour to understand and try to explain why individuals and public decision-makers behave the way they do while exercising their voting rights and responsibility. This is a crucial area of concern for the electorate, political scientists, and other stakeholders in the electoral process. Thus, voting behaviour is studied from political science and the human psychology perspective, which has brought up political psychology to understand these political behaviours (Staerklé, 2015).

On their part, Biea and Bratucu (2016) describe voting behaviour as a study field concerned with how people vote in a public election and its reasoning. This part of the definition has been expanded to look into human political behaviour while in the context of public electoral voting. Tang and Hu (2016) stated that the driving force behind the participation behaviour of citizens in a metropolis has primarily two aspects; national identity and local identity. The study further found that participation was dependent on the needs of the citizens themselves. The research seeks to examine the human mind about the political process of voting and thus, constitute an integral part of political science theory. Collectively, these



studies above explain citizen participation in Ghana to a certain extent. Still, few scholars have investigated citizens' participation behaviour based on their participation willingness or the appraisive attitude of candidates (Ma, Yu, & Du, 2016).

### **Economic Voting in the Case of Ghana**

The concept of economic voting asserts that voters' election decisions are primarily affected by their financial status. Economic voting assumes that every voter wishes for wealth or a healthy economy (Bukari, 2017; Adida, Gottlieb, Kramon & McClendon, 2020). As a result, voters will pay particular attention to how well the economy is doing, and the economic voter will support the incumbent and punish when it is not doing well (Stewart & Clarke 2017; Valdini & Lewis-Beck, 2018). This study would imply that economic voting is a critical determinant defining election results in Ghana, especially in her swing regions, using the rational-choice theory.

The finding supports this presumption that elections in Ghana's swing areas, like the Central Region, are fiercely contested. In these areas, no single political party has ever won three elections in a row. As a result, the trick to deciding who wins the Ghanaian presidential elections is to look at the swing region. Indeed, the alternations of influence in the elections of 2000, 2008, 2016, and 2020 were made possible by changes in electoral results from these swing regions (Antwi, 2018; Frimpong, Li, Nyame & Hossin, 2020; Welz, 2021). It is argued that voters in these swing regions consider the candidates' personality, the incumbent party's works, and their economic circumstances when deciding which individual to vote

for (Lindberg, 2017). In summary, based on rational choice theory, the economic voting paradigm is used to understand voter behaviour in the Central Region.

### **Swing Voting**

In existing democracies like the United States, there is comprehensive research on the essence of swing voters and their effect on electoral results. According to Campbell (2007), swing voters are undecided on who they might opt for in an election. They aren't firmly committed to a single candidate or political party, and they can switch their vote choice from election to election. Swing voter research has gotten a lot of attention in recent years because of how important they are to election results. As current electoral results clearly show, most presidential elections in the United States are determined by a margin of 45 to 55 per cent. Except in landslide presidential elections, victorious candidates seldom achieve a more than 40-60% victory margin. The empirical and electioneering emphasis on swing states such as Ohio and Florida are based on the belief that swing voters determine election outcomes (Campbell 2007; Silver, 2012).

Swing states like Ohio and Florida, according to Silver (2012), are dynamic states because they are open to and responsive to changes in political conditions. An elastic good, as in economics, is one whose demand is subject to price changes; in contrast, the votes of a relaxed region react to changes in the state's political circumstances. Since the electorate is not strongly tied to any political party, voters in such an elastic region have a reasonably fair chance of voting for either party's candidate. Other than financial results, the voters are largely autonomous and lack traits that are likely to be good predictors of voting conduct. Swing votes are critical

to electoral wins in countries with solid core voters, such as the United States. In better moments or responses to policies representing their interests, swing voters will vote for incumbents. Similarly, in tough times or as a rebuke for controversial measures, swing voters would vote against the government. According to Lindberg (2014), much of what we understand about voting and democratic political systems in developed democracies can be applied to new African democracies.

In Ghana, electoral results under the Fourth Republic have designated some areas, such as the Central Region, as swing regions. Though 85% of voters are core voters who are evenly split between the NPP and NDC, approximately 10-15% of voters are known as swing voters. Since these two parties have roughly equal electoral power, swing voter support is crucial to winning polls. According to Adams and Agomor (2015), swing voters are described by a conscious assessment of government and candidate effectiveness; this indicates democratic voting behaviour that is reasonably “mature.” According to Lindberg (2016), Ghana’s swing voter proportion is adequate to maintain a high degree of competitiveness and potential peaceful power transfers, representing a functioning democracy. Based on changes in the voters’ financial realities, swing voters might switch their political support from one party to another. Swing votes in Ghana’s Central Region are worth examining because these two major parties have built sustainable and multi-ethnic support structures. Though each party has regional and ethnic strongholds, a candidate cannot win parliamentary elections without appealing to unaffiliated electorates.

According to the West Africa literature, swing voters vary from core voters in that they have no electoral allegiance to any individual or political party. They are responsible voters who base their decisions mainly on their assessments and judgments. Stable social structures, party affiliation, race, and non-appraisive factors impact swing voters (Campbell, 2007; Kim, 2018). The representatives' policy responsiveness, performance, and credibility, according to this report, decide citizens' participation behaviour of delegates in Cape Coast Metropolis, Ghana. As a result, the study will concentrate on the most critical factors that affect voter choice in this metropolis.

### **An Overview of Primary Elections and Candidate Selection**

Elections serve as a mechanism for ensuring that politicians do the interest of the public. In party-politics democracies, primary elections help narrow down the politicians from whom the people will choose their representatives (Ichino & Nathan, 2017). Primary elections are increasingly used by political parties in both presidential and parliamentary systems worldwide to nominate candidates for office. Primaries are also hailed as ensuring “inclusiveness and inner-party democracy” in places where they are implemented. Nevertheless, academics in the United States (US) have argued that primaries elections pick candidates who are less competitive in general elections than other selection processes (Carey & Polga-Hecimovich, 2006). They say that primary voters are more narrow-minded in selecting candidates than the experienced party leaders who monitor nominations before primaries.

The essence of the primary method is the basis for this so-called “primary penalty” claim. It claims that hotly contested primaries leave even the winners “scarred from political battle, drained (at least financially), and therefore weaker in the general election” (Carey & Polga-Hecimovich, 2006). Nonetheless, the authors argued that the electorate values openness, accountability, and internal party democracy in selecting candidates. Other candidate selection processes do not produce these values in the same way as primary elections do. Primaries can have a ‘mark of legitimacy that is an advantage to candidates compared to rivals chosen by other procedures’ in this sense (Carey & Polga-Hecimovich, 2006).

Ichino and Nathan (2017) provide evidence to support an ‘aspirant request’ reason for primaries in their review of National Democratic Congress (NDC) and New Patriotic Party (NPP) parliamentary nominations for the 2008 and 2016 elections. The underlying presumption is that party leaders are uninterested in prospective nominees’ policy positions. Contrary to popular belief, they showed that primaries are not more likely in competitive constituencies or weaker political parties. Instead, the likelihood of primaries rises in tandem with the nominee’s probability of winning the general election. According to other empirical studies, the selection of candidates has broad and significant consequences for political parties, party members, representatives, and democratic governance (Iitzkovitch-Malka & Hazan, 2017). Gallagher (2017) describes candidate selection as a “critical step” in political party selection.

## Parliamentary Primary Election System

As per Bardi (1982, pg. 75), candidate selection is “the mechanism by which a political party determines which of the individuals qualified to hold an elective office will be named on the ballot and in election communications as its recommended and endorsed candidate or list”. General elections have been held every four years in Ghana since 1992, according to the 1992 Constitution. Both party-sponsored and independent candidates are permitted under the electoral law.

For its part, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) selects parliamentary candidates based on Article 11 of its Constitution (New Patriotic Party, 2009: 52–54). In terms of qualifications, the party’s constitution requires that no individual be nominated or approved as an official candidate in any parliamentary election unless they have been chosen according to Article 11. Parliamentary candidates are chosen 18 months before the national election, and they must be seated at least 12 months before the nation’s general election. The National Executive Council (NEC) sets different election dates for constituencies with sitting MPs. Before the deadline set out in Article 11 (2), any NPP member can apply for nomination as the party’s parliamentary runner.

No member is entitled to apply for nomination as the party’s parliamentary candidate for any constituency unless he or she is a known and active member of at least two years; a registered member, and a voter in the 275 constituency which he or she seeks to represent, although in appropriate cases the Constituency Executive Committee (CEC) may suspend the requirement; is of good character; is otherwise of good standing; has paid the prescribed fees for a parliamentary

candidate by the deadline set by the NEC; qualifies under the electoral laws to be a parliamentary candidate for the constituency; and has signed the ‘undertaking for parliamentary candidates’. It is incumbent upon the member seeking nomination as the party’s parliamentary candidate to satisfy all three tiers; Constituency Executive Council (CEC), Regional Executive Council (REC) and National Executive Council (NEC), of the organizational structure of the party that the conditions stipulated in article 11 (4) have been fulfilled. An application that did not comply with these conditions was to be rejected.

The rules governing the parties’ selection of parliamentary candidates are reasonably standard and unobjectionable. The NPP, for example, advertises 18 months before general elections and must hold primaries at least a month before general elections. Another point of contention between the parties is that the NPP has a higher presumption of proof than the NDC. As previously stated, an NPP candidate must first pass the CEC, then perhaps the REC, and the NEC. Nonetheless, there is agreement on the length of membership of both political parties. A candidate in the NDC and NPP must be a registered member for at least two years to be eligible for candidacy. The parties’ primary election system has changed over time. Initially, the NPP used different methods for nominating parliamentary candidates than other parties.

Compared to the NDC’s somewhat lax laws, the NPP constitution established a more explicit system for parliamentary candidates to be chosen in constituency primaries by local party supporters. From 1996 to the present, the NPP has held primary elections in several constituencies. Nonetheless, the National

Executive Committee exerted some ‘imposition,’ resulting in the cancellation of competitive primaries in some constituencies. Primaries, on the other hand, have become far more prevalent and hotly contested in recent times. The NDC, whose primary elections did not choose presidential and parliamentary candidates at first, was scrutinised. It came under fire for how it conducted its selection process, which was seen as undemocratic. After losing to the NPP in 2000, the NDC started to take internal party democracy seriously, partially because a post-mortem found that the centralised approach to candidate selection had harmed the party by causing internal dissent (Interview, Accra, 18 May 2019). Following constitutional reforms in 2002, the party adopted a more similar structure to that of the NPP.

The NPP held parliamentary primaries based on similar procedural processes in both the 2016 and 2020 polls. The candidates were chosen by a constituency-level electoral system made up of polling station representatives in several situations. Ghana’s parliamentary and presidential primaries are, in essence, also restrictive and closed instead of open. Only those types of voters or members of the party are permitted to participate in the election. However, as previously mentioned, the presence of clear, structured protocols did not preclude party leaders and other interested parties from manipulating the system. Some candidates were also chosen without a competitive election.

The scope of the constituency electoral college – qualified electors are the chair people of each polling station executive board and the constituency executive – has drawn criticism because aspirants can easily rig the results by buying off individual voters (Lindberg, 2013). The amount of money spent on a campaign has



a significant impact on the results of a primary election. In Ghana, the legal structure for party funding is enshrined in Article 55 (14) of the 1992 Constitution and the Political Parties Act, 2000 (Act 547) of 2000, which contains constitutional provisions, laws regulating political parties, and funding regulations governing election campaigns.

Except for prohibiting non-citizens and international business corporations from making cash or in-kind contributions to political parties, these two acts leave political party funding entirely unregulated. There are no limitations on contributions from individuals, including corporations, in the constitution or the Acts. There are no transparency laws that enable us to track the flow of funds. Additionally, there are no restrictions on how much money individual candidates or political parties will spend on elections.

### **Appraisive Attitudes Dimensions**

In the framework of elections, the term “appraisive attitude” applies to human behaviour. It is defined as a collection of related personal and electoral judgments of candidates and parties, as well as conditions (Bratton, 2013). These judgements inform what voters think and feel about the candidates and dispose of the individual voters to either vote for or reject the candidates. In this study, appraisive attitudes shall mean the cognitive, affective triggers that lead to voters making their choices at the ballot. As a result, it includes both people’s acts and inactions about political engagement and who to help if one chooses to vote (Hart & Henn, 2017). As a result, the analysis of appraisive attitudes is an effort to unpack the sense in which voters make candidate choices by evaluating candidates for

elections. Research like this provides insight into the thoughts of the millions of people who participate in the democratic process as citizens.

According to research on electoral behaviour, voting decisions are not made in a vacuum; instead, they are focused on a candidate's life experiences. After analysing these candidates' factors, voters' decisions are likely to be affected by various factors (Bob-Milliar & Paller, 2018). According to research, voters may base their votes on one or more of the following factors: (1) incumbent candidate results, (2) candidate personality, (3) voters' positions or orientations on specific issues of the candidate (integrity), (4) responsiveness to the welfare of the communities, and (5) candidate identity or ethnic origin (Sabharwal, 2017; Prysby & Scavo, 2018, Ofofu, 2019).

### **Policy Responsiveness Evaluation**

The purpose of a democratic government is policy responsiveness, or the ability of the government to respond to the wishes of its people. It is conceptually distinct from "representation," in which government decisions reflect public opinion preferences (Font, Wojcieszak & Navarro, 2015; Silva, Andreadis, Anduiza, Blanuša, Corti, Delfino & Littvay, 2018). Governments may be interpreted without a direct causal mechanism for responsiveness. Fuller (2015) stated that a policy could lead to public sentiment, but it will still be skewed due to other factors. In a democracy, responsiveness is not a foregone conclusion since several times in the causal chain must remain intact for it to function. Citizens may vote policymakers in or out of office-based chiefly on policy coverage they have (Dean, 2019). Responsiveness evaluation refers to the capacity of political

systems, through the elected and appointed officials, to respond to the citizens' issues and expressed them through public opinions (Brinkerhoff & Wetterberg, 2016; Manza & Cook, 2019).

The responsiveness is defined through public policies that are congruent to the problems faced by the citizens. In this study, the concept refers to the policies candidates promise to implement once they get elected to office. A prerequisite for proposing policies is knowing the problems that need policy intervention. Public opinion, according to studies, is a powerful force in deciding public policy in the United States, particularly when it comes to setting the ideological tone of policy in states or the country (Birkland, 2017; Bennett, 2018). Given what we know about voters' skills, the degree of control can seem surprising. Briggs (2021), however, posits that there are reasons to be cautious and optimistic. Aggressive economic powers often hamper the ability of the general public. Influence is not distributed evenly among all segments of the population (Ford & Pepinsky, 2018). Some scholars provide broad overviews of the democratic responsiveness mechanism in the United States. Burstein (2003) provides a comprehensive overview of democratic representation literature.

Michels and De Graaf (2010) draw a distinction between research that finds evidence of overall responsiveness and literature that claims the public has a diminished role in policymaking. Hurley and Hill (2012), discussed the challenges of measuring responsiveness and the causal mechanism that underpins it. Shapiro (2011) examines public opinion polling and its effect on political representation. In terms of processes, Miller and Stokes (1963) offer a classic example of how

constituents can affect the conduct of their representatives. Soroka and Wlezien (2010) present a thermostatic representation model in their discussion of representation across three countries.

### **Performance Evaluation**

Dalton (2018) has noted that “Performance Evaluations are judgements about how a political actor (party, candidate, or government) has been doing its job.” In the proposed study, performance evaluation will be both retrospective and prospective. Retrospective performance evaluation refers to the voters’ perception of the incumbents’ ability to solve the voters’ problems before they came to office and how well they dealt with new issues that required action from the elected officials. Prospective evaluation refers to the expectations voters have of challengers to deal with problems facing voters.

When evaluations are commissioned “after the fact,” it may not be possible to construct valid control groups. It will be impossible to assemble time-series data that stretches back to the beginning of the project in some cases. For these cases, we suggest –to the extent possible that evaluation teams construct comparative groups by collecting information about the pre-treatment period or individuals or regions that did not participate in the programs. These studies will generally lack carefully constructed control groups; confounding factors are a particular concern. These evaluations must then carefully consider contextual and other factors as potential influences on the parties and party systems.

It is therefore suggested that these types of evaluations include two complementary components; the first one starts with program activities and seeks

specific evidence to determine direct results from the activities and the second component works from the perspective of the role of parties and party systems in a developed democracy (accountability, representation, and participation, governability and good governance, etc.). It seeks to determine whether the country has made progress toward these aspects of development or not.

### **Candidate Integrity Evaluation**

Candidate integrity evaluation refers to the perceptions of the candidate's personality traits and has multiple indicators (Miller & Shanks, 2016). In this study, candidate integrity encompasses perceptions of honesty and trustworthiness. Candidate personality characteristics have emerged as a critical element in electoral research, and they are the most common method of assessing voter assessments of political candidates. Since traits serve as shortcuts for voters in recognising and processing more nuanced and challenging information, such as “it is easier for people to judge political artefacts based on personalities because citizens apply the same processes in their daily lives” (Capelos, 2010), traits are a central feature in leader evaluation. This is especially useful for voters because it uses the same tools to communicate with other people daily, offering a context for categorising the range of political knowledge available through psychological and emotional representations.

Many studies show that when judging political leaders, people use a smaller set of categories such as trustworthiness, competence and honesty (Bean 2010; Bean & Mughan, 2012; Kinder, 2013; Kinder & Fiske, 2014; Kinder, Peters, Abelson & Fiske, 2015; Miller, Wattenberg & Malanchuk, 2016; Stewart & Clarke,

2018). As a result, personality characteristics can be categorised into a small number of dimensions considered essential for assessing leaders. Scholars disagree on the exact number and description of specific measurements. The number of dimensions used in existing research varies greatly. The types of dimensions and characteristics inside them, such as politically related and non-political traits, can vary in nature. Even if it seems less critical, the latter may provide vital information to voters because personality traits related to the leader's behaviour may serve as essential clues to their behaviour in ambiguous circumstances.

### **Empirical Review**

The empirical review was created following the study objectives. The contributions of appraisive attitudes on citizen's participation behaviour have been acknowledged in the literature. This section is subdivided into three subheadings, each corresponding to the outlined objectives of the study. The first subtitle looks at how policy responsiveness by candidates affects citizen's participation behaviour. The second subtitle discusses how evaluations of performance influence citizen's participation behaviour, while the last one discusses how evaluations of candidates integrity influence citizen's participation behaviour. Under each subtitle, the researcher assesses the current literature, listing its strengths and limitations and the gaps in knowledge and how this analysis can fill those discrepancies.

### **Policy Responsiveness Evaluation and Citizens' Participation Behaviour.**

Initial studies of citizens' participation behaviour had found voters incapable of having the rationality to form coherent attitudes towards issues

affecting them or evaluate these issues regarding the candidates' and parties' framing. In the influential study on voter behaviour, titled *The American Voter*, Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes (2014) argued that American voters formed lasting psychological attachments to either the Democratic or Republican and that these attachments became the main determinants of attitudes and perceptions of all political issues affecting them, and therefore influenced their electoral choices. They also added that these party identities tend to be stable and resistant to alternative influence once formed. Besides, the authors found that policy considerations and policy issues were not important to voters when making an electoral choice, with a paltry of 12% exhibiting any traits of ideological cognition. They argued that political knowledge and ideological thinking were much less common in the general public than elite political commentators assumed.

Hansford and Gomez (2015) offered the first absolute refutation of *The American Voter*. They illustrated that voters were fluid with their electoral choices from one election to the other. They identified a type of voters he called 'switchers,' who readily changed their minds about parties and candidates based on their (voters) policy preferences framed by the competing candidates or parties. It is their rationality and appraisive capabilities that enabled these switchers to change their minds about candidates. Hansford and Gomez (2015) successfully aggregate statistical data from numerous surveys from 2010 – 2014 to present a hitherto unknown voter image in the U.S.

Most importantly, the author offered a theoretical foundation to guide future studies, including the proposed one. Just as Hansford and Gomez (2015) debunked

the sociopsychological account of voting behaviour, this study seeks to challenge the ethnic voting theory into citizens' participation behaviour in Ghana. The gap in Hansford and Gomez's (2015) research is that it did not address voter behaviour during party primaries, neither did it address the subnational level of voting. Therefore, it failed to adequately explain citizens' participation behaviour in Ghana's party primaries, particularly in mono-ethnic constituencies.

Nie, Verba and Petrocik (2016) also refuted the claim that voters are ignorant of significant policy issues. Using a political history method to trace political events over two decades, they presented a causal relationship between these political events and the change in attitudes and character among the electorate towards issues affecting their lives. The emergence of significant problems in American national politics, such as the civil rights struggle, the Vietnam War, the urban crisis, Watergate, and an economic recession, acted as political stimuli. Political parties and candidates took different positions on these issues and mobilised voters accordingly. The authors also observed that newer, younger, and better-educated generations were more aware of the political world and capable of attaching values to their policy needs and current events. The government's reaction and treatment of these issues determined its incumbents' survival in office.

While these authors' work is of great value in studying voting behaviour, its universality may be called to question because the data analysed was drawn from only the USA, a country whose political socialisation and institutions differ significantly from an emerging electoral democracy. The character of American voters may be very different from that of the constituents in Ghana. It also means



that while the methodology can be universalised, voters' findings change with time, and the emergence of issues might not. More importantly, my study did not seek to account for a change in voting behaviour over time but precisely determine how voters' appraisive attitudes towards candidates influence their voting behaviour during party primaries. The study is different because it addressed actual attitudes that influence voters to make rational voting decisions.

Tomz and Van Houweling (2018) used an experimental survey method to address a single policy issue of federal healthcare to illustrate the nexus between the policy positions of candidates and the choices of voters. The technique enabled them to combine theory and tests to determine which of the three approaches of proximity, directional, and discounting voting best account for how voters judge candidates' policy positions. The study discovered that voters support candidates whose policy views are more similar to their own. They are more concerned with the policies that they believe a candidate can produce than with the proposed guidelines that the candidates adopted. Although their findings are in tandem with the hypotheses of the current study, the present study found that the results cannot be generalised to Cape Coast Metropolis because the study neither focused on party primaries, neither did it take place at the sub-national level of voting, especially the lowest electoral seat. Also, they used an experimental method because they wanted to test different theories. This study used only one theory, and the data was collected using simple surveys.

Yalley (2018) used survey data from four regions to examine the factors that affect voting behaviour in Ghana. A descriptive analysis and logistic regression

of the data revealed that candidate personality and campaign promises were the most significant forecasters of voting decisions. Ethnic and economic factors, according to the report, are minor factors in Ghanaian voting conduct, as they have little bearing on how the majority of the electorate votes. Furthermore, the findings indicated that most Ghanaians are cautious voters who base their voting decisions on a careful evaluation of the competence of competing candidates and campaign promises. The role of personality and realistic policies in winning elections is highlighted in this report. Politicians must consider public perceptions of their reputation and image and their approaches to the campaign platform. The gap in Yalley's (2018) study is that it did not address the behaviour of voters during party primaries, neither did it address the subnational level of voting. Therefore, it fails to explain voter behaviour in Ghana's party primaries, particularly in mono-ethnic constituencies.

Lindberg and Morrison (2019) sought to determine the extent to which voting behaviour in Africa's new democracy is influenced by evaluating policy stands of political parties and their candidates, compared to the influence of non-appraisive rationales of proxy voting and clientelism. Using surveys of voters in two different Ghanaian elections, the authors found that 90% of voters in the 1996 elections and 86% in the 2000 elections were rational voters who evaluated the policy promises made by candidates and aligned themselves with politicians whose issue frames were of closest proximity to theirs.

The study's shortcoming is that the representativeness of their data set is questionable; firstly, because it was collected from only six out of 230

constituencies, but most importantly, because the six constituencies were not randomly sampled. This means their finding may not be extrapolated to reflect the national level, let alone all African emerging democracies. This study addressed this challenge by focusing on only one metropolis and using random sampling of study areas and respondents. Secondly, the duo used group-level data; this raises the risk of attributing individual behaviour from groups. It is, therefore, difficult to account for what influences an individual's choice. This study collected data at the personal level only and used that data to project what groups are likely to do. Moreover, Lindberg & Morrison's studies were conducted during General Elections, while the current study focused on party primaries.

Kim (2020), in a study, discussed the importance of the policies concerning voting. She believes that policies will continue to be at the centre of political debate in Kenya. They will play an essential part in the country's social, political, and economic growth. She adds that the policies of election candidates affect voting in that it becomes a significant factor of politics of inclusion and exclusion. Accordingly, the policy issue assumes two dimensions in Ghana's elections: on the one hand, there are blocks of voters who vote for the candidate who will protect their interest by preserving the status quo of the preferences of their locality, while on the other hand, there are voters who will vote for the candidate(s) who promises radical reforms, especially in favour of those who are having pressing problems in their community.

Kim's (2020) study gives much credence to the argument that policy issues determine and influence voters' choices. However, her analysis focuses on the

effect of the land question on voting at the national level. The land issue is unlikely to arise at the civic status of elections of Member of Parliament candidates in party primaries. This study is methodologically different because it did not use a single issue as a case study. On the contrary, it let voters identify the prevalent problems and measure how they evaluate candidates' ability to deliver on the policies that solve those problems.

Thus, this study hypothesised:

*H1: Evaluations of candidates' policy responsiveness has a positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour*

### **Performance Evaluation and Citizens' Participation Behaviour**

Downs (1957) was a pioneer work in the study of voter behaviour using the rational choice theory. He averred that to make the best decision, the rational voter exercises his or her appraisive character and looks at the incumbent party's performance and candidates' performance. In other words, due to lack of sufficient information, the voter looks at past performance and uses that as a retrospective cost-cutting method of predicting the future. The voter compares the utility they derived from the incumbents over the term coming to an end with what he thinks the alternative party or candidates would have delivered under the exact conditions.

If they think the alternative party or candidate would have delivered greater utility, they choose this alternative over the incumbent whose performance, they feel was underwhelming. Downs (1957) also posits that the voter looks at trends. If they believe the incumbent has been getting better with time, the voter will probably excuse the incumbent's shortcomings and give him another chance in office.

Downs' work is essential because it provided a foundation for voting behaviour's rational/spatial model. The voter could no longer be summed up as non-appraisive being incapable of forming attitudes towards governance and making an electoral choice based on reason.

Fiorina (2015) advanced and refined the performance voting argument. He argued that retrospective voting entails forming policy expectations for the future by evaluating the past policies by the incumbent regime. Most importantly, Fiorina added that voters were more interested in the outcomes of guidelines than the policy instruments. Besides, he offered a rational account for partisanship and explained why it remained stable. Rather than treating partisanship as a function of socialisation, Fiorina saw it as a tally of how a party or candidate treats the individual voter. Consequently, party identification will remain stable or change depending on how best it serves the interests of the individual voter.

Fiorina's (2015) study provides rational/spatial theories with a blueprint to base future works with a need for adjustments to fit contexts and address new realities. Also, the author offers some robust methodological insights. For instance, he discusses the strengths and weaknesses of the various survey questions used by past researchers of voting behaviour, notably Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes (2014), who propagated the socio-psychological model. However, as the book's title suggests, Fiorina's work addresses American national politics and no other context. Alongside the stated objectives of the current research, we should also gauge the extent to which Fiorina's findings can be universalised to account for voting behaviour at a sub-national level in a budding democracy.

In another research, Kinder and Kiewiet (2012) looked into the importance of measuring candidate success while voting. Using the case of economic performance, they found that socio-tropic judgements of the incumbent party's competence in handling financial problems affected congressional voting, presidential voting, and strength in party identification in the U.S. In congressional elections, they found that Democratic candidates benefitted greatly in 2004, 2008, and 2012 elections from the perceived incompetence of the incumbent Republican Party to handle the economic challenges represented by inflation and unemployment.

Similarly, the incumbent Republican Party's presidential candidate was punished at the ballot due to the administration's poor ratings in handling the economic problems. When it came to party identification, the authors found that although voters did not switch from Republicans to Democrats or vice versa based on their judgment of the parties' competence, their strength was affected. While these scholars devolved voting behaviour to the congressional level, which corresponds to the subnational level that the current research focuses on, it focused on party popularity among voters and not on candidates. The present study fills that gap by focusing on party primaries using one dominant party in a specific location.

In the African context, Bratton, Bhavnani, and Chen (2014) found that voters in Africa were motivated by rational socio-tropic intentions. By testing the ethnic, economic, and partisan voting variables, they found that ethnicity was the weakest variable, especially for voters who do not share ethnicity with the incumbent president. They also added that voting for the opposition depended on

whether they felt discriminated against by those in power. If they think that they and their ethnic group are treated fairly by the incumbent, they will vote for the incumbent ethnic differentiation, notwithstanding, and vice versa. However, evaluations of government performance in macro-economic policies such as job creation and inflation significantly influenced voters' choices across 16 African countries where data was collected.

Voters used their evaluation of economic performance to guide them in prospective voting. Positive evaluation increased the intention to vote for the incumbent by 37% - twice as enormous an influence as any ethnicity analysed in the study. However, the analysis also found that partisan affiliation increased support for the ruling party by 32 percent. It's impossible to say with certainty that performance appraisal is preferable to partisanship when the difference is just 5%. This failure to sufficiently prove performance evaluation's strength was addressed in this study simply because partisanship is held constant by focusing on party primaries. Besides, patronage as an incentive for ethnic voting and partisanship remains dominant in the study of presidential elections. Studies of party primaries in local contexts such as this one eliminates the promise of patronage.

Hoffman and Long (2015) use the case of Ghana's 2008 presidential elections to illustrate that these elections were not mere ethnic headcounts. They ran probit tests for the parliamentary and presidential votes. The models ran such that ethnicity variable, ethnicity plus demographic variable, and performance variable were all tested separately, and another test with all variables together also-ran. The tests showed that race had some relevance among some voters. However,

the more significant determinants of elections were evaluations of the political parties, mainly based on the incumbent's performance. Adding data on ethnicity variable did not reduce the coefficient of the performance variable but adding data on performance and party views reduced the coefficient of ethnicity, meaning ethnicity was the weaker variable.

Furthermore, the writers deconstruct the idea that Ghana's two major parties, the NPP and the NDC, are Asante and Ewe parties, respectively. They found that these two racial people make up just 28% of the electorate and that the presidential candidates backed by the parties are from two ethnic minority groups that make up just 16% of the population. They also asserted that there was no evidence of ethnic alliances formed around the Akan and Ewe people, which means the remaining 72% of the population had rational reasons to support either party. While Hoffman and Long's (2015) study bears similarities with the proposed research, a few shortcomings are revealed. Firstly, the study only proves that ethnicity is unimportant for most voters; it fails to prove the same for the Asante, Ewe, and Fante groups. The first two are perceived to be the owners of the two main parties, while the third presented a leading contender for the presidency. Also, the study was conducted in a national ethnic diverse setting and, therefore, cannot be generalised to answer the questions that the proposed research seeks to answer.

Bartels (2016) seeks to assess the evidence for performance voting in democratic electoral systems. In light of the continent's economic and financial booms since the mid-1990s, he believes retrospective voting, contextualised in a broad, economic and social sense of incumbents, is a powerful explanation for



recurring incumbent support. The research is mainly based on Afrobarometer survey data, which was analysed using a logit regression model to look into the voting motivations of over 22,000 people from thirteen countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. According to the report, African voters are retroactive. As a result, as public understanding of the government's overall performance or handling specific social and economic problems improves, incumbent support increases and vice versa.

According to Bartels (2016), retro voting in Africa reveals micro-level voting behaviour related to macro-level economic success. Like many studies on citizen participation behaviour, Bartels' is concerned with national-level elections. The main challenge with his research is that the findings may not be sufficient to explain voter behaviour in cross-sectional contexts by using data from multiple countries. Indeed, the results cannot be applied to many localised contexts as the proposed study seeks to explore. Moreover, Bartels (2016) looks at only one variable while this study looks at three variables, making it more informative.

Barkan (2017) used a sample of eleven constituencies to illustrate that voters in the rural parts of Kenya are more rational actors than conventionally assumed at that time and even to date. Barkan (2017) concluded that these voters had a robust conceptualisation of the roles their members of parliament should play. These expected roles formed the basis of evaluating the performance of their MPs. The study also found that voters' low evaluations of incumbents' performance led to increased challengers who were well-versed in the voters' sentiments. This, in turn, sent the message to incumbents, they either conform to the expectations of their constituents or be replaced by challengers.

While Barkan's (2017) study is highly aligned with the proposed research, it does not help fulfil its objectives. Firstly, the study scrutinises civic culture but does not concern itself with what factors affect voter behaviour. Secondly, its context was the national assembly vote, while the current research seeks to understand voter behaviour at the constituency level, and most importantly, in party primaries. By going a level lower than Barkan's study, this study is more qualified to shed light on voter behaviour at the lowest level. Besides, the study is more specific with its independent variables, while Barkan's was much broader.

Vanden Eynde, Kuhn and Moradi (2018) sought to compare and understand how performance, policy issues, and ethnicity influenced voting behaviour during the 2016 general elections in Kenya. They found that most voters who supported the two leading opposition candidates in the presidential contest evaluated the incumbent poorly and voted for change. According to the study, the primary opposition candidate drew a lot of attention to the incumbent president's poor performance perceived by opposition voters. The study also found that incumbent supporters evaluated him positively for the nation's economy but evaluated him negatively for their family's economic situation. This finding would suggest that incumbent supporters were sociotropic voters and not egotropic. The importance of performance evaluation was affirmed at the parliamentary level of elections. The study found that 75% of the voters had a negative assessment of the incumbent members of parliament, and this evaluation was reflected in the defeat of 65% of the incumbents.

The weakness in Vanden Eynde, Kuhn and Moradi's (2018) study is that it focused only on the national elections, especially the presidential ballot where performance is hard to evaluate, given the heterogeneous nature of the Kenyan population. For instance, the study cannot sufficiently prove that the incumbent's support was not predominantly ethnic. Even though the incumbent had more support beyond his ethnic group and region, according to the exit poll data used, he too had relied on alliances with prominent and influential leaders of the ethnic groups that supported him. It may be argued that voters from these ethnicities were merely following their leaders. This study was able to control for ethnicity variables completely and did not have data validation problem. Vanden Eynde, Kuhn and Moradi (2018) also ignored the civic elections where performance is easy to conceptualise and measure among voters, unlike the national level, where performance is expressed in macro-economic terms.

In another publication, Long and Gibson (2019) used the same data they collected in an exit poll on the polling day of the 2016 General Elections to compare the role of ethnicity and performance in determining voter behaviour. They concluded that the strength of performance evaluation is conditional. It depends on whether the voters evaluate a co-ethnic candidate [one who comes from the same ethnic community as the voters] or not. When assessing the incumbent president's performance, his co-ethnic voters were more willing to overlook his shortcomings than the non-co-ethnic voters. While this distinction of when performance evaluation is substantial is an important one, it is insufficient and opens itself to simple deconstructions.

Most importantly, the study treated ethnicity as a core variable, as the scope of the study rightly allowed. However, the study's conclusions were misleading and perpetuated the conventional wisdom that ethnicity plays a role in all Ghana elections. My research held the ethnic variable constant and the party variable to overcome this challenge, as explained earlier.

This study thus hypothesised that;

*H2: Appraisal of candidates' performance has a positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour*

### **Candidates' Integrity Evaluation and Citizens' Participation Behaviour**

Bittner (2011) researched the degree to which voters' perceptions of leaders [character and personality] influence their voting decisions. Like this study, Bittner's analysis treated voting decisions as the dependent variable, and candidate traits were put among other independent variables. The author began by observing that, as the media continued to play a dominant role in the coverage of campaigns, voters were getting more and more primed to base their attitudes more on the character of leaders than other sociological factors. The study found that in the context of partisanship, the political party of the candidate may have predisposed the voter to evaluate the character party leader and candidate favourably.

However, using the vote for the Republican Party in the US as the dependent variable, the author was able to show that evaluations of character were more important than evaluations of competence. The main challenge with Bittner's study is that it was both cross-national in seven countries and longitudinal, cutting across several years. This methodology reduces the strength of short-term forces whose

impact was felt at specific times and spaces. The method also leads to complications in controlling for multiple long-term and stable forces such as party identification, gender, and ethnicity. Using a cross-sectional design, this study avoided these challenges: the party variable is eliminated because the research focuses on intra-party competition within a specific political party in an ethnically homogenous polity and on one occasion only.

Strong (2013) backed the rational choice viewpoint on voting decisions. He said that if incumbent parties and candidates lack credibility, American voters will vote them out. This finding suggests that voters are aware of candidates' honesty and that election is primarily a referendum on incumbent governments. On the other hand, Evans and Pfister (2020) described the critical predictors of voter preference for a specific party or candidate as community benefits, material gain, and party ideology. Nonetheless, he noted that a candidate's personality and how voters, whether individually or collectively, stand to profit from campaign promises could persuade voters to change their minds during elections.

“Most human transactions involve faith and a degree of confidence in how others will act,” according to Hardy (2014), “[and]...the recognition of personality traits in others fosters interpersonal relationships because trait ascription reduces ambiguity, danger, and doubt by predicting future behaviour.” In voting, candidates’ traits are helpful because voters use these traits to predict the future quality of leadership by the candidates when they get elected. Also, candidates’ traits offer voters shortcuts to evaluate the contestants' performance without much investment in following their stands on issues. Candidates challenge their

opponents' credibility, fairness, and leadership credentials because of the value of trait assessments.

Citing several quotes from voters, the author illustrated that John McCain won the Republican primaries because voters, including those who disagreed with his policies, considered him an honest and trustworthy person. He also argued with examples that, to some extent, Obama's re-election resulted from a poor evaluation of Mitt Romney's character. The main shortcoming of the study is that it did not granulate the concept of traits. It was not clear how a particular trait influenced voters' choice or the strength of some traits over several others. My study cures this by focussing on the integrity trait only. Therefore, future researchers would reference the importance of this trait identified by Kinder (2013) as one of the four content dimensions of candidate traits.

McAllister (2015) argued that evaluating candidates' character had become more pronounced, leading to the personalisation of politics and political systems becoming more leader-oriented. The scholar attributed this personalization of politics to three key factors: first, the decreasing influence of the social system on the vote; second, voters had moved away from their conventional party affiliations; and third, political party mass membership had declined. In two-party structures like the United States, the nature of political organizations has traditionally shaped the degree of attention given to candidates. In such cases, a candidate gains relevance for being either Republican or Democrat before voters start evaluating them as individuals. He concluded that electoral systems with more minor parties

were more likely to concentrate voters' attention on candidates than systems with dominant parties.

Furthermore, weak party organisations can alter the position and profile of candidates, making voters more sceptical of their candidates' honesty. Candidate choice is limited to two overarching characteristics in such electoral settings: character and competence. McAllister's work only looked at literature from the Global North, which may or may not be repeated in other countries, such as the Global South, where robust party structures would still obscure the strength of short-term powers. This current study resolves this by adding to the limited literature, how evaluations of personal traits, candidate integrity, in particular, affect the behaviour of citizens' participation in terms of voting.

Similarly, Koppensteiner, Stephen and Jäschke (2016) looked into the connection between voters' first experiences and their propensity to vote for candidates with personality traits similar to or identical to their own. A total of 80 people were chosen from the University of Vienna. Respondents were asked to rate themselves and anonymous politicians introduced to them in brief video clips “giving a speech” and to measure the likelihood of voting for each politician they assessed during their experimental analysis. The study found that participants tended to vote for politicians perceived to have personality traits similar to those of voters. It was also established that first impressions could influence the participants' electoral choices. The study demonstrated that voters cast their ballots in favour of politicians with a specific desired personality trait.

Additionally, Hayes (2017) analysed the impact of candidate personality in the United States elections. He primarily concentrated on the effect of personality traits on voter preference. The study looked at a candidate's leadership abilities, morality, humanity, and concern for others. During the 2006 mid-term elections, the questionnaires were sent to 500 people from 30 different states. The research discovered that voters' electoral decisions were influenced by a candidate's characteristics or perceived attributes. Other studies, such as those conducted by Fridkin and Kenney (2017) in the United States of America; Verhulst, Hatemi and Martin (2017) in Australia; and Caprara, Schwartz, Capanna, Vecchio and Barbaranelli (2017) in Italy, have all found that personality traits have a significant effect on political behaviour and electoral outcomes. The gap in all the studies above is that they did not address the behaviour of citizen participation in terms of voting during party primaries, neither did they address the subnational level of voting. Therefore, they failed to adequately explain citizens' participation behaviour in Ghana's party primaries, particularly in mono-ethnic constituencies.

Before and during the 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria, Nwanganga, Peter and Udensi Mirian (2017) investigated the impact of personality characteristics on voter decisions. Personality dimensions like integrity and credibility/sincerity, according to the results, are qualities that affect voters' choice of a political candidate both before and during the election cycle. Another research by Anebo (2018) tried to assess the voting behaviour in Ghana elections. According to him, the 2016 presidential elections in Ghana (which resulted in a democratic change in leadership) were affected by economic conditions and citizens'



expressions of the potential success of the two major political parties. Thus, Anebo (2018) argued that selection decisions were based on the voters' living circumstances and that the group with the best chance of improving their living standards won their votes. Such reasonable evaluations prompted large voters to cast their ballots against the party they favoured in the past polls. As a result of the incumbent's failure to fulfil the electorate's desires and swing voters punished him.

In an even more current study in Ghana, Harding (2020) reported that when the provision of social goods (mainly roads) could be attributable to government action, it was likely to affect voter support, especially in rural areas, using a database on the 2012 and 2016 electoral results. This result supports recent research by Bossuroy (2019) and Debderere (2020), which found that rural voters differed from other voters in terms of their view of democracy, policy priorities, awareness of opposition parties, and disclosure of private media, all of which had a significant impact on whether they supported the governing party or not.

In researching the relationship between the economy and regime change, Debrah (2009) asserted that Ghana's politics had always been dominated by integrity issues rather than ethnic nationalism and cultural issues. According to Debrah, most Ghanaians supported the ruling party in the 2008 general elections because they expected the new government to continue to improve their living standards while punishing the weak incumbent MPs. The study concluded that voters were reasonable individuals who actively assessed their economic circumstances and the incumbents' legitimacy before casting their vote. The weaknesses in all the tasks above are that they did not address the behaviour of

citizen participation in terms of voting during party primaries, neither did they address the subnational level of the vote. Therefore, they failed to adequately explain citizens' participation behaviour in Ghana's party primaries, particularly in mono-ethnic constituencies.

Based on the empirical review, this hypothesis is stated in this study;

*H3: Examination of candidates' integrity has a positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour*

### **Lessons Learnt and Issues Arising from the Review of Empirical Studies**

Most of the studies were carried out in United States, Asia, and Europe, raising questions regarding their findings to developing African economies such as Ghana. In line with that, the results of the studies vary according to sector and context. The dominant study design employed was the survey method, implemented using self-administered questionnaires. The reason cited was to arrive at conclusions applicable to fairly representative proportions of the population involved in each case. Citizens' participation behaviour in terms of voting measures was mainly based on national election results. The role of evaluations of the candidates' appraisive attitudes dimensions has not been fully assessed, especially in a developing country like Ghana, even though support for rationality exhibited by citizens differs from helping citizens, indicating the need for further research on the concept. The review also showed that cross-sectional and quantitative designs were mainly used in the study, with a stratified sampling.

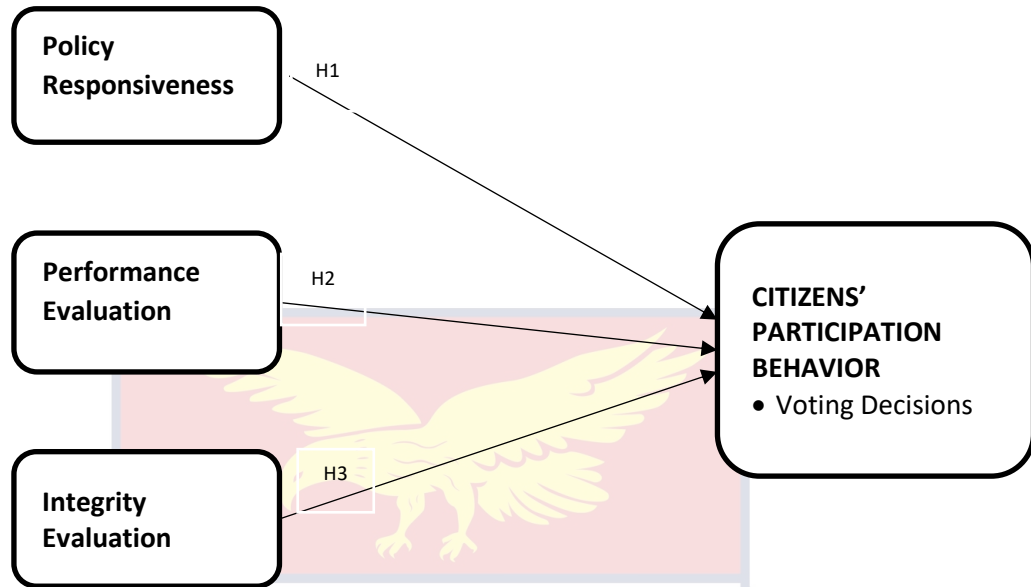
## Conceptual Framework

The study's conceptual framework variables describe the study's different relationships (Morariu, 2015). The study examines how candidate appraisive attitudes determine citizens' participation behaviour in Cape Coast Metropolis, Ghana. This study's research framework is focused on the relationship between appraisive attitudes and citizens' participation behaviours. The three appraisive perspectives in evaluating candidates were based on Sabharwal (2017) and Ofori (2019). The appraisive attitudes of candidates were measured in voters' perception of their candidates' responsiveness, performance, and integrity.

Citizens' participation behaviour was also measured in terms of the voting decisions made by voters in terms of whether to vote for the incumbent or another candidate during the party primaries (Zhou, 2014; Ma, Yu, & Du, 2016). Appraisive attitudes regarding candidates' policy responsiveness, candidates' performance, and candidates' integrity form the independent variables, while the citizens' participation behaviour in terms of voting is the dependent factor. The framework is shown in figure 1.

**INDEPENDENT VARIABLES**

**DEPENDENT VARIABLE**



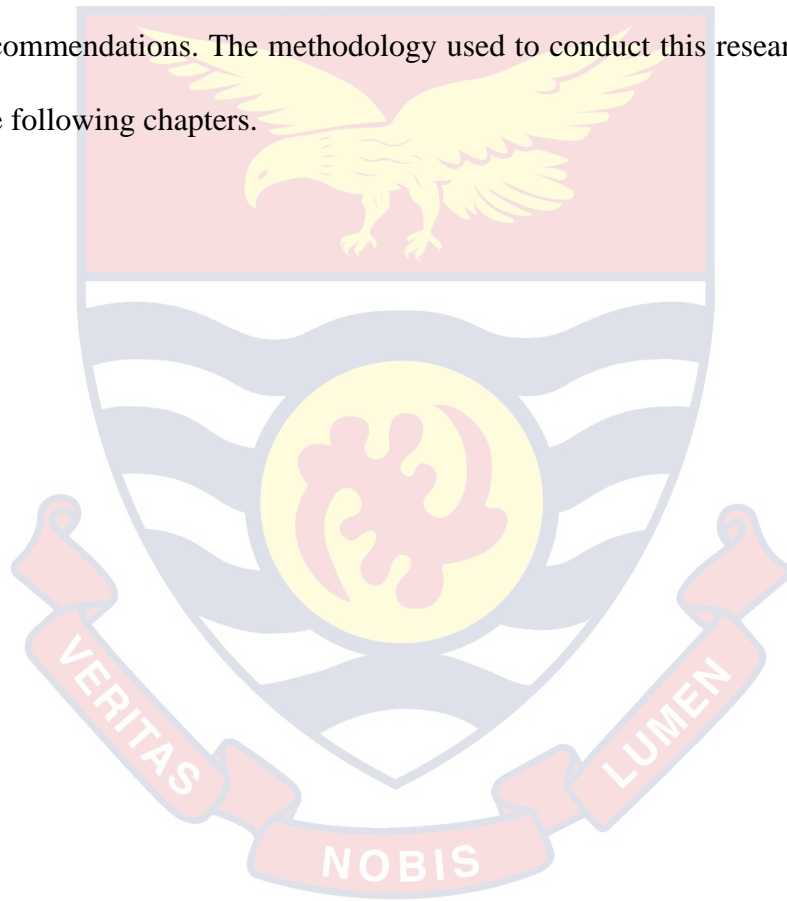
**Figure 1: Conceptual Framework**

Source: Researcher's Construct, 2021

The study proposes that the appraisive attitudes of candidates for elections have both a direct and indirect positive influence on citizens' participation behaviour in terms of voting decisions of voters (delegates), based on the assertion of prior scholars. The three dimensions of appraisive attitudes were adopted to examine the influence of appraisive attitudes from multiple perspectives. Based on other research findings, policy responsiveness, performance, and candidate integrity are assessed as a unidimensional variable in this analysis (Miller & Shanks, 2016; Lindberg & Morrison, 2019; Long & Gibson, 2019). The study measures the scale of citizens' participation behaviour in terms of the voting decisions of voters (Doolittle & Faul, 2013; Kim, 2018).

## Chapter Summary

The chapter summarised the literature on theoretical, conceptual, and empirical issues relating to citizen participation behaviour and appraisive attitudes as captured in previous studies. The review's main findings and lessons guided the study's conceptual structure. The analysis would also be helpful in terms of methods, analyses, results presentation, debates, conclusions, and recommendations. The methodology used to conduct this research is presented in the following chapters.



## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH METHODS

#### Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology used to carry out this study. Research methodology articulates how the researcher went about his/her research and the logic behind each method. The rationale is to help the researcher to solve the research problem systematically.

#### Research Paradigm

Every researcher is guided through the research procedure by certain beliefs, values, and a view of the world (Adjei, 2015). According to Guba (1990), this is mainly referred to as paradigms or philosophical assumptions that precede a study's commencement. According to Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill (2016), the expression research philosophy refers to a collection of beliefs and assumptions about the evolution of science. Individual researchers' assumptions about these variables often lead them to use a solid qualitative, quantitative, or mixed-methods approach in their study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The five main philosophies that have influenced social science research over time, according to Saunders et al. (2016), are positivism, critical realism, interpretivism, postmodernism, and pragmatism.

The positivist approach is used in this research. According to Saunders et al. (2016), positivism is a conceptual system that accepts problems that can be objectively tested and serves as a foundation for generalisation. This means positivists focus on procedures that lead to the generation of facts uninfluenced by

human interpretation. It is focused on the development of hypotheses using general theories. These theories will be checked and verified or debunked in whole or part, contributing to the creation of theory, which could then be tested by additional study (Creswell, 2010; Saunders et al., 2016). According to Saunders et al. (2016) and Sekaran and Bougie (2016), positivism allowed for objective fact and aimed for universal truth regarding human activities in management sciences. It was an apt guide for this study because theories will be tested, and relationships will be formed using rational choice.

### **Research Design**

According to Wyk (2010), the research design is the overall strategy for linking conceptual research problems to relevant empirical research. According to Creswell and Creswell (2018), there are three significant forms of design for quantitative studies; experimental (scientific experiments), non-experimental (such as surveys), and longitudinal designs. The nature of this study is non-experimental since it allows for the comparison of relationships between variables. One of the significant shortcomings in experimental research strategy is manipulating the variables (Creswell, 2014; Sekaran & Bougie, 2016). Investigators use correlational statistics to define and calculate the degree of association (or relationship) between two or more variables or sets of scores in correlational design, a type of non-experimental study design (Creswell, 2014). Structural equation modelling, hierarchical linear modelling, and logistic regression approaches have been used to elaborate these designs into more complex relationships among variables (Creswell, 2016).

Per the study, the correlational design was adopted for this analysis. The cross-sectional survey time horizon technique was employed for the current research. Furthermore, according to Neuman (2014) and Saunders et al. (2016), a cross-sectional survey entails collecting data on a large number of units over a short period to collect qualitative or quantitative data on variables and then determining correlations between the variables after the data has been analysed.

According to Creswell (2016), there are three types of research techniques: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed. Three significant differences between quantitative and qualitative research approaches were identified by Saunders et al. (2016). The first difference advanced by the authors was that the quantitative research method permits the researcher to isolate and define variables and link them together to frame research hypotheses. However, this is not the case concerning the qualitative research method. The authors' next point of distinction was that the quantitative research approach allows objectivity in the data collection and analysis processes. On the other hand, subjectivity is often applied during data collection and interpretation of the qualitative study. Finally, while the quantitative research method allows for larger samples and generalizes sample findings to the entire population, the qualitative research method aims not to generalise sample results to the study population.

As a result, based on the scope of the study's intent, essential goals, hypotheses, and the nature of the primary data to be obtained and analysed, this study used a quantitative research approach. According to Creswell (2014), the quantitative approach is concerned with describing phenomena by gathering



numerical data and analysing it using mathematically based methods (particularly statistics). Furthermore, the quantitative analysis approach will enable the researcher to generalise the sample's findings to the population from which the sample was taken.

### **Study Area**

In Ghana, the local government system consists of the Metropolitan, Municipal, and District Assembly. The population size and settlement characteristics of a region are essential factors determining whether or not a city is Metropolitan. According to the Local Governance Act 2016, Act 936, a metropolis is a local government entity or town with at least 250,000 inhabitants. There are six metropolitan assemblies in Ghana, i.e., Kumasi, Accra, Tema, Sekondi-Takoradi, Tamale, and the Cape Coast (Resnick, 2021). This study centres on Cape Coast metropolis, a cosmopolitan community located in the Central Region. This is because Central Region is often considered a swing region with the underlying assumption that the Member of Parliament's electoral results does not always support a particular political party. It is a region whose electorate always swings to the side of the presidential candidate who comes victorious in each national election rather than a stronghold region for either of the two dominant political parties.

The study was explicitly undertaken in Cape Coast Metropolis. It focused on the New Patriotic Party primaries for the Member of Parliament Candidate in 2019 and 2020 at the Cape Coast South and North Constituencies, organised ahead of the 2020 General Elections. This scope was informed for several reasons. Firstly, the 2019 and 2020 primaries are the most recent in Ghana. Since data collection

required respondents to remember how they voted during the primaries, selecting the most recent event helped reduce the recall problem. Generally, the more recent an event occurs, the more people will likely remember the role and decisions during the events.

Also, the Member of Parliament candidate contest was selected over national parliamentary or gubernatorial positions because it helped to contextualise the study to the most basic sub-national level of elections, which, as mentioned earlier, is largely understudied. Thus, by researching at this level, the researcher explored a new area of study. Moreover, the researcher was aware that elections in mono-ethnic constituencies in some parts of Ghana may still be influenced by clannism. Focusing on the Member of Parliament candidate position overcame this challenge because most polling stations end to be habited by members of the same clan where clannism may be an issue. Also, the Member of Parliament candidates are in proximity to the delegates, making it easier for voters to evaluate them with greater accuracy than the other elective positions. In essence, Cape Coast metropolis offered an excellent case study to help in developing a theory of citizens' participation behaviour.

### **Population**

According to Leedy and Ormrod (2010), the population of a study can be seen as the target group about which the researcher is interested in gaining information, and drawing conclusions. The population for this study consists of the New Patriotic Party delegates of both the Cape Coast North and South constituencies in the Cape Coast Metropolis in Ghana. Data acquired from the

party's membership registry at the offices of the two constituencies and the registry indicated that the total population for this study is one thousand, one hundred and forty-five (1145) delegates, made up of both party executives and party members (Constituency Delegates Register, 2020).

### **Sampling Procedure**

According to Malhotra, Birks, and Wills (2013), the method of selecting a representative, few, or unit from a larger group or population as a basis for estimating specific characteristics or elements about the group or population is known as sampling. Researchers usually advance researchers to use sample surveys instead of a census because complete coverage of the entire population is not always advantageous compared to the sample when dealing with a large population (Saunders et al., 2016). According to Sekaran and Bougie (2016), sampling can be divided into probability sampling and non-probability sampling. Non-probability sampling architecture does not allow each population element to have a predetermined chance of being selected to be included in the sample. In contrast, probability sampling allows each population element to have a known case of being chosen to be included in the sample (Sekaran & Bougie, 2016).

The stratified sampling technique of probability sampling was adopted for this study. Ofori and Dampson (2011) opined that probability sampling warrants drawing a representative sample from the target population and making statistical inferences from data. This fits best for the quantitative research approach (Saunders et al., 2016). This methodology was chosen because it grants unbiasedness in the selection of any of the study units. Kariuki, Wanjau, and Gakure (2011)

recommended that researchers resort to determining the optimum sample size for their studies. The optimum sample size is often determined either by direct calculation using appropriate statistical formulas or by reference to tables, which set out recommended sample sizes for a given population (Sekaran & Bougie, 2016). The sample size of the study was two hundred and ninety-one (291) delegates. This was determined using Krejcie and Morgan's (1970) sample determination table, attached in this work as Appendix D. Based on a sample size of 291, a proportionate representation was calculated for each constituency. The population and sample distribution among the two constituencies is indicated in Table 1.

**Table 1: Population and Sample Distribution in the Constituencies**

Constituency	Delegates Strength	Sample
Cape Coast North	526	134
Cape Coast South	619	157
<b>Total</b>	<b>1145</b>	<b>291</b>

Source: Constituency Delegates Register, 2020

#### **Data Collection Instrument**

A self-administered survey was the instrument used in collecting the data for this analysis. Sekaran and Bougie (2016) postulated that more excellent uniformity, consistency, and objectivity are guaranteed when a questionnaire is used for data collection. Also, the privacy and convenience of respondents can be accomplished during questionnaire completion, thereby ensuring greater anonymity (Neelankavil, 2015). Close-ended questions were used to elicit the responses needed to answer the research questions and achieve the objectives set

for this study. Closed-ended questions require the respondent to choose from a collection of options, and they also need the respondent to consider each choice separately from the others. The use of a self-administered questionnaire is justified because of the respondents' busy schedules; they would answer better if they were not monitored.

The questionnaire for the study comprised three (3) sections – A, B and C harbouring 39 items (Appendix B). Section A was used to collect demographic information of the respondents; as such, variables were measured categorically. Section B and C were used to capture candidates' policy responsiveness, candidates' performance, candidates' integrity, and citizens' participation behaviour. All of the statements in sections B and C were graded on a seven-point Likert-like scale, with one representing the slightest degree of agreement and seven indicating the most. The Likert scale facilitates measuring respondents' attitudes through the combination of scores of those respondents on different items into a single index (Likert, 1932). Likert scales are generally used to measure people's attitudes, opinions, and beliefs (Yates, 2004).

### **Measurement of Variables**

The variables used in this study were measured relying on previous empirical literature in areas of appraisive attitudes and citizens' participation behaviour. This allowed for the design of an instrument based on validated scales. Appraisive attitudes in this study were measured using various sources. The concept of three appraisive attitudes in evaluating candidates was adopted from Sabharwal (2017) and Oforu (2019). The appraisive attitudes of candidates were

measured in voters' perception of their candidates' responsiveness, performance, and integrity. This was in conformance with studies conducted on elections (Bittner, 2011; Yalley, 2018; Long & Gibson, 2019). Citizens' participation behaviour was also measured in terms of the voting decisions made by voters that is whether they vote for the incumbent or another candidate during the party primaries (Zhou, 2014; Ma, Yu, & Du, 2016).

Policy responsiveness was measured using the multifactor policy questionnaire (MPQ) developed by (Coleman, 2012). Policy Responsiveness was measured in terms of the degree of congruence between candidate agenda and voters' preferences. Eight (8) items were selected in line with the study of Lindberg and Morrison (2019). Lindberg and Morrison (2019) reported a cumulative Cronbach alpha of 0.88. Again, for Performance Evaluation, it was measured in terms of the performance index developed from responses to a battery of survey questions on candidate's perceived ability to initiate and complete projects as reported in survey responses as developed by Dalton (2018). Eight (8) items were selected in line with Long and Gibson (2019). The scale is based on the voter's perception of the candidate's performance. Long and Gibson (ibid) reported a cumulative Cronbach's alpha of 0.84. Again, Candidate Integrity was adapted from the scale of Miller and Shanks (2016), which explains candidate integrity as the perceptions of the candidate's personality traits. The scale was measured in terms of perception of honesty and trustworthiness of the candidate, which was made up of eight (8)-items with the reliability of 0.799 in line with Bossuroy (2019) and Dendere (2020).

The last part is the measurement of Citizens' Participation Behaviour. Zimmerman and Zahniser (1991) designed a political behaviour scale that consisted of 9 items. Doolittle and Faul (2013) further divided the scale of Zimmerman and Zahniser (ibid) into two dimensions: the attitude of citizen participation and the behaviour of citizen participation. Kim (2018) divided citizen participation behaviour into interest expression participation, electoral participation, and recreational participation. The current study is based on citizens' participation behaviour (Doolittle & Faul, 2013) and Kim (2018). To reflect the actual situation of the New Patriotic Party primaries in Cape Coast Metropolis, the researcher has consulted with experts to integrate and modify relevant items to formulate a citizens' participation behaviour scale that includes ten (10) items. A five-point Likert scale is used to measure all scales (ranging from the lowest agreement to the highest agreement).

### **Pre-testing**

The pre-testing method is described by Zikmund, Carr, and Griffin (2013) as “a collective term for any small-scale exploratory research technique that uses sampling but does not apply stringent requirements.” Pallant (2020) posited that pre-tests are required ahead of the central survey. This process assists in ensuring that instructions, questions, and scale items are clear. They further help potential respondents comprehend the questions and respond appropriately. Based on the approval of the questionnaire by the department, the study engaged in pilot testing on fifty (50) delegates who participated in the New Patriotic Party 2020 primaries in the Ablekuma Central Constituency in the Greater-Accra Region.

The Ablekuma Central Constituency in the Greater-Accra Region was selected as one of Ghana's swing constituency. The incumbent candidate who won the NPP 2020 primaries lost in the 2020 General elections. This sample size was deemed appropriate as it conformed to Saunders et al.'s (2016) minimum criteria of 10 for pilot studies by students. The only complaint that emanated from the pilot study was the length of the questionnaire's items. Based on this, the statements were summarised, and preambles were introduced to encourage answering.

### **Validity and reliability**

In ensuring the instrument's content validity, the researcher employed proper definition measuring items, scale scrutiny by experts, and scale pre-testing. These were in line with the principles of McDaniel and Gates (1996). When testing an instrument, reliability and validity are two important factors to remember. Cronbach's Alpha is a measurement of an instrument's level of reliability (Saunders & Lewis, 2012). Pallant (2020) posited that Cronbach's alpha coefficient for variables was generated to validate the instrument's reliability. Pallant (2020) also indicates that scales with a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of 0.70 and above are considered reliable. However, studies such as Boachie-Mensah and Issau (2015) support a coefficient of 0.5. The results of the pre-test were used to assess the reliability of the instrument. The result is presented in Table 2.



**Table 2: Questionnaire Items and Their Reliability Coefficients**

Variable	Questionnaire Items	Sample	Cronbach's Alpha
Policy Responsiveness	8	50	0.804
Performance	8	50	0.776
Integrity	8	50	0.818
Citizens' Participation	10	50	0.908
Behaviour			

Source: Field survey (2021)

Cronbach's alpha values for all variables were mentioned in Table 2. Cronbach's alpha values seem to have ranged between 0.776 and 0.908 in the table. All of these numbers are far higher than the minimum of 0.70. Based on Pallant's (2020) and Boachie-Mensah and Issau's (2015) guidelines, it can be concluded that all of the measurement items demonstrated a high degree of reliability and have a reasonable level of reliability in this case.

### **Data Collection Procedures**

According to Sekaran and Bougie (2016), there are different ways by which data can be collected through a questionnaire. The authors indicated that the method could be through the internet, post and hand delivery, and the collection of questionnaires. The technique of hand delivery and selection of the questionnaire was used in this analysis. Because it was difficult to get most respondents to respond to a questionnaire via the internet or mail for this type of study, this method was used. The technique chosen allowed the researcher to visit the two constituencies in the Cape Coast metropolis and hand-delivered the questionnaire to the respondents. Also, the hand delivery and collection technique of data

collection helped the researcher inquire from the respondents about the time they will complete the questionnaire and the convenient time for the researcher to collect the questionnaire.

The researcher booked appointments with the chairperson of both constituencies for the New Patriotic Party in Cape Coast, the sampled locality, to seek permission to conduct the research. The researcher presented a letter from the university as proof that the study was only meant for academic purposes. In this research, a personal distribution strategy was used in the administration of the 291 questionnaires. This method was considered appropriate since the researcher intended to increase the response rate. Respondents were given enough time to complete the questionnaire, which the researcher selected at different suitable intervals. The responses obtained were deemed adequate and representative of the total population, based on Sekaran's (2006) theory that limited sample sizes can provide highly accurate results depending on the sampling method used.

A copy of the introductory letter was obtained from the Head of Management Department, School of Business, University of Cape Coast (Attached as Appendix A), sent together with the questionnaires. Furthermore, the collection of data took place in the first quarter of 2021. The premises of the respondents were visited during working hours. The researcher presented an introductory letter as proof that the study was only meant for academic purposes. Introductory letters were submitted to the management of each constituency in the metropolis. Upon approval of the letters, the questionnaires were administered to the delegates based on the permission of the constituency executives. While there are some drawbacks

to self-administered surveys, they were minimised where possible and did not overshadow the benefits of high response rates quickly.

On average, the questionnaires were distributed and collected within three weeks. Out of 291 questionnaires administered, 265 questionnaires were collected, giving a response rate of 91%.

### Response Rate

The sample size for this review was two hundred and ninety-one (291) delegates. This means that out of 291 questionnaires sent out, 265 were filled out and returned, representing a 91 percent answer rate. As shown in Table 3, 26 (representing 9%) of the questionnaires were not returned.

**Table 3: Response Rate**

Questionnaire	Count	Percentage (%)
Returned	265	91
Non-Returned	26	9
<b>Total</b>	<b>291</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Field survey (2021)

According to Mugenda (2008), a response rate of 50 percent is sufficient for review and reporting. A rate of 60 percent is appropriate, and a rate of 70 percent or more is excellent. The high response rate was attributed to the candidate's contacts in the study field, making the data collection process more accessible. The candidate directly administered the questionnaires and made several follow-up calls between research assistants and respondents to explain questions to increase the high response rate.

## Data Processing and Analysis

The statistical softwares employed for this study were Statistical Package for Services Solution (SPSS) version 26 and SmartPLS version 3. The SPSS was used for descriptive analysis, and the Smart PLS was employed for structural equation modelling based on the hypotheses of this study. Descriptive statistics (frequencies and percentages) were used to determine the characteristics of the respondents. Each of the research objectives was analysed as follows:

1. To determine the effects of candidates' policy responsiveness on citizens' participation behaviour. Structural equation modelling was used to analyse this objective;
2. To establish the effects of candidates' performance on citizens' participation behaviour. This objective was analysed using structural equation modelling.
3. To establish the effects of candidates' integrity on citizens' participation behaviour. Structural equation modelling was used for this objective.

## Structural equation modelling

Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) is a second-generation statistical technique that "allows researchers to integrate unobservable variables calculated indirectly by predictor variables." Also, they make it easier to account for measurement error in observed variables" (Chin, 1998 as cited in Hair, Jr., Hult, Ringle & Sarstedt, 2016:3). PLS-SEM (Partial Least Squares-Structural Equation Modelling) estimates the nexuses of the path in the model to minimise the residual variance of the endogenous constructs using available data. Measurement equations

(by confirmatory factor analysis) and structural equations are the two main components of SEM (by path analysis). Path analysis is used to show the relationships that exist among study constructs, while confirmatory factor analysis models (CFA) are used for variable validation and scale refinement.

PLS-SEM calculates path model nexuses that maximise the endogenous constructs' R<sup>2</sup> values (Hair et al., 2014). When dealing with complex models and small sample sizes, it's also helpful (Hair et al., 2014; Rezaei & Ghodsi, 2014; Rezaei, 2015; Shahijan, Rezaei, Preece & Ismail, 2014). Where theory is less established, PLS-SEM is also more fitting (Ravand & Baghaei, 2016; Rönkkö & Evermann, 2013). In structural equation modelling, there are two types of measurement scales, according to Hair et al. (2014): Formative and Reflective. Whereas indicators cause the constructs of a study in a formative measurement scale, the constructs cause the indicators of a survey of a reflective measurement scale. The current study employed a reflective measurement scale because the constructs caused all the indicators.

Furthermore, Jeon (2015) itemised several benefits SEM has over other models, such as regression. These benefits are: Firstly, SEM uses “latent variables,” which allows multiple indicators to capture constructs validly and reliably. Second, relative to regression, SEM clarifies the causal equation model between latent variables. Third, SEM helps you to regress one or more independent variables on one or more dependent variables. Finally, since many exogenous and endogenous variables can be estimated simultaneously in SEM, a researcher can display the direct impact, indirect effect, and total effect. PLS is very forgiving of flaws such

as skewness, multicollinearity of metrics, and structural model misspecification (Cassel, Hackl & Westlund, 1999). Confirmatory factor analysis, correlation analysis, and regression analysis can all be done simultaneously in a model using SEM. This study relied on PLS-SEM to test the various hypotheses in line with the above benefits associated with SEM.

### **Validity and reliability of the model**

There are many standards for determining model structures. In general, a systematic application of the various criteria is carried out in two steps: (1) the measurement model assessment and (2) the structural model assessment.

#### **Assessment of measurement models**

Assessment of reflective measurement models includes composite reliability to evaluate internal consistency, individual indicator reliability, and average variance extracted (AVE) to assess convergent validity. Additionally, the Fornell-Larcker criteria and cross-loadings are used to test discriminant validity (Hair et al., 2013).

Internal consistency reliability is a form of reliability that assesses the accuracy of results across test products. It decides if the items measuring a construct have similar scores (i.e., whether the item correlations are significant) (Drolet & Morrison, 2001). Cronbach's alpha is a less good indicator of internal accuracy than composite reliability (Rossiter, 2002). The composite reliability scale ranges from 0 to 1, with higher values suggesting more excellent reliability. Cronbach's alpha is commonly used to interpret this value. In an exploratory study, composite reliability

values of 0.60 to 0.70 are sufficient, whereas values of 0.70 to 0.90 can be considered adequate in more advanced stages of research (Nunnally, 1994).

Convergent validity is the degree to which several items used to measure the exact definition agree (MacKinnon, Cheong & Pirlott, 2012). Convergent validity is defined, according to Anderson and Gerbing (1988), when all factor loadings for items measuring the same construct are statistically significant. Hair et al. (2019) claim that factor loadings and average variance can be used to determine convergent validity (using the Average Variance Extract). Factor loadings must be 0.60 or higher to develop convergent validity, according to Hair, Ringle, and Sarstedt (2019). An AVE of 0.50 or higher shows that the construct accounts for more than half of the variance in its indicators on average. An AVE of less than 0.50, on the other hand, means that there is, on average more error in the items than the variance explained by the construct.

Discriminant validity refers to how distinct a construct is from other constructs. As a result, establishing discriminant validity means that a construct is different from those in the model and catches phenomena not described by other constructs (MacKinnon, Cheong & Pirlott, 2012). The Heterotrait - Monotrait Ratio (HTMT) is a method for evaluating a PLS-SEM model's discriminant validity. When the HTMT ratio falls below 0.850, a latent construct has discriminant validity, according to Henseler, Ringle, and Sarstedt (2015). A Fornell-Larcker criterion is another method for determining discriminant validity. Compared to the latent variable correlations, the square root of the AVE values (Fornell & Larcker,

1981). The square root of each construct's AVE should, in particular, be greater than the highest correlation with any other construct (Hair et al., 2013).

### **Assessment of the structural model**

The coefficient of multiple determinations ( $R^2$ ) for each endogenous construct is the first and most important criterion for evaluating the PLS-SEM. R-square ( $R^2$ ) calculates a latent variable's explained variance about its total variance. For structural models, Hair et al. (2014) proposed that coefficients of determination ( $R^2$ ) of 0.25, 0.5, and 0.75 are considered weak, moderate, and substantial, respectively. Estimating the regression coefficients between the validated latent variables is the next step in assessing the structural model. The magnitude of a regression coefficient shows how strong the relationship between two latent variables is. Furthermore, regression coefficients must be meaningful at the 0.05 mark (Bradley & Tibshirani, 1993).

Finally, the structural model's ability to predict an endogenous construct is evaluated. Stone- $Q^2$  Geisser's statistic is used to evaluate the structural model's predictive relevance (Stone, 1974).  $Q^2$  values greater than zero for a reflective endogenous latent variable in the structural model suggest the path model's predictive validity for this construct. Values of 0.02, 0.15, and 0.35 mean that an exogenous construct has a small, medium, or high predictive significance for a specific endogenous construct, respectively (Hair et al., 2016). Specific endogenous variables must also be measured concerning the exogenous variable by calculating the impact size ( $f^2$ ). Cohen (1992) proposed that  $f^2$  values of 0.02, 0.15,

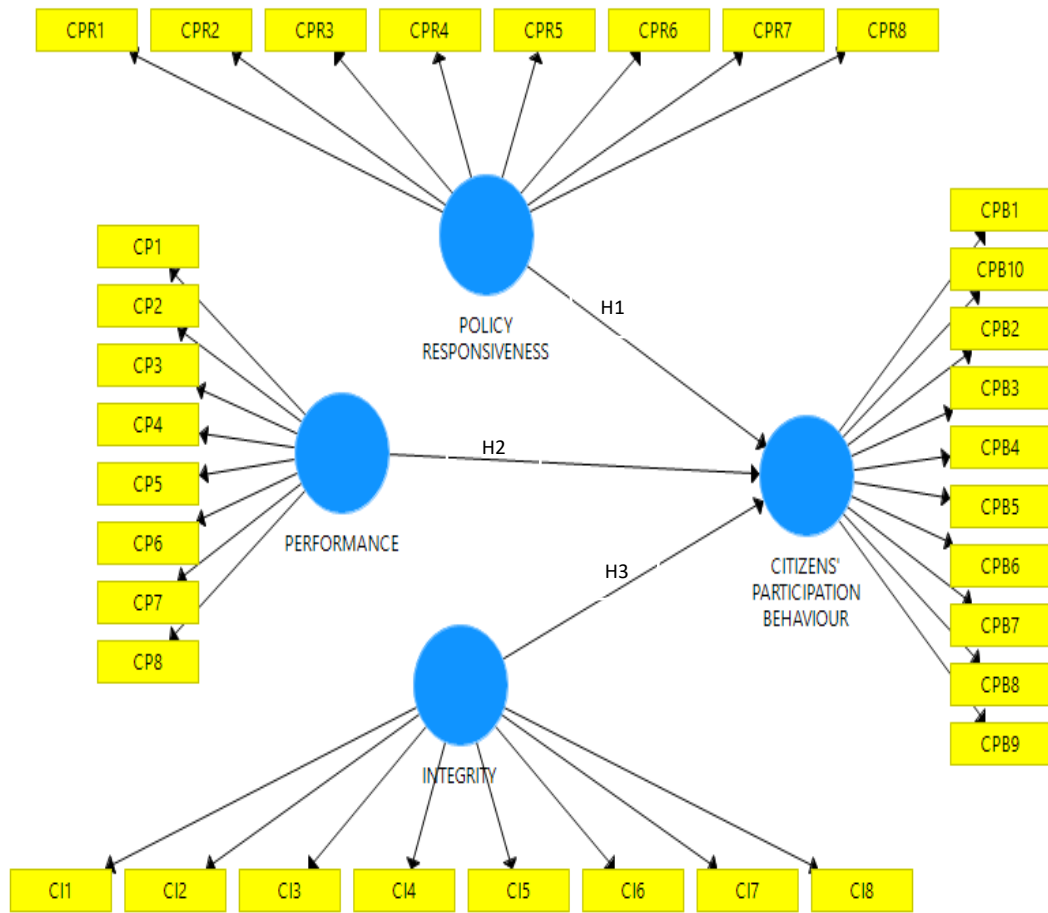


and 0.35 reflect the exogenous latent variable's small, medium, and significant effects.

### **Specifying the structural and measurement model**

The section specifies the structure of the model of this study. It indicates the exogenous and the endogenous variables with the various indicators. The structural model is defined in Figure 2. There are three exogenous variables and one endogenous variable in this study. The exogenous variables are; Candidates' Policy Responsiveness (CPR), Candidates' Performance (CP), and Candidates' Integrity (CI). The endogenous variable was Citizens' Participation Behaviour (CPB). The latent variable, Candidates' Policy Responsiveness, was measured by eight indicators (*CPR1, CPR2, CPR3, CPR4, CPR5, CPR6, CPR7, and CPR8*). The Candidates' Performance was measured by eight indicators (*CP1, CP2, CP3, CP4, CP5, CP6, CP7, and CP8*). Candidates' Integrity had eight indicators (*CI1, CI2, CI3, CI4, CI5, CI6, CI7, and CI8*).

Citizens' Participation Behaviour had the highest number of indicators, ten (*CPB1, CPB2, CPB3, CPB4, CPB5, CPB6, CPB7, CPB8, CPB9, and CPB10*). There are three (3) path hypotheses in the model (Figure 2). The study proposes a positive link between CPR and CPB. Also, the study hypothesises a positive relationship between CP and CPB. Finally, the study also hypothesises a significant association between CI and CPB and creating an indirect effect between the appraisive attitudes of candidates and citizens' participation behaviour.



**Figure 2: Structural Model**

Source: Smart PLS, 2021

**Common method bias**

Self-report tests are a common source of common method bias (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). The biasing of results caused by a particular process, such as a single survey, is a common method bias (Favero & Bullock, 2015). Another potential source of common method bias is the implicit social desirability associated with answering questions in a certain way in a questionnaire, allowing the measures to share a certain amount of shared variance once again

(Kock & Lynn, 2012). Only previously validated scales were used to avoid common method bias (Alfes, Shantz, Truss & Soane, 2013).

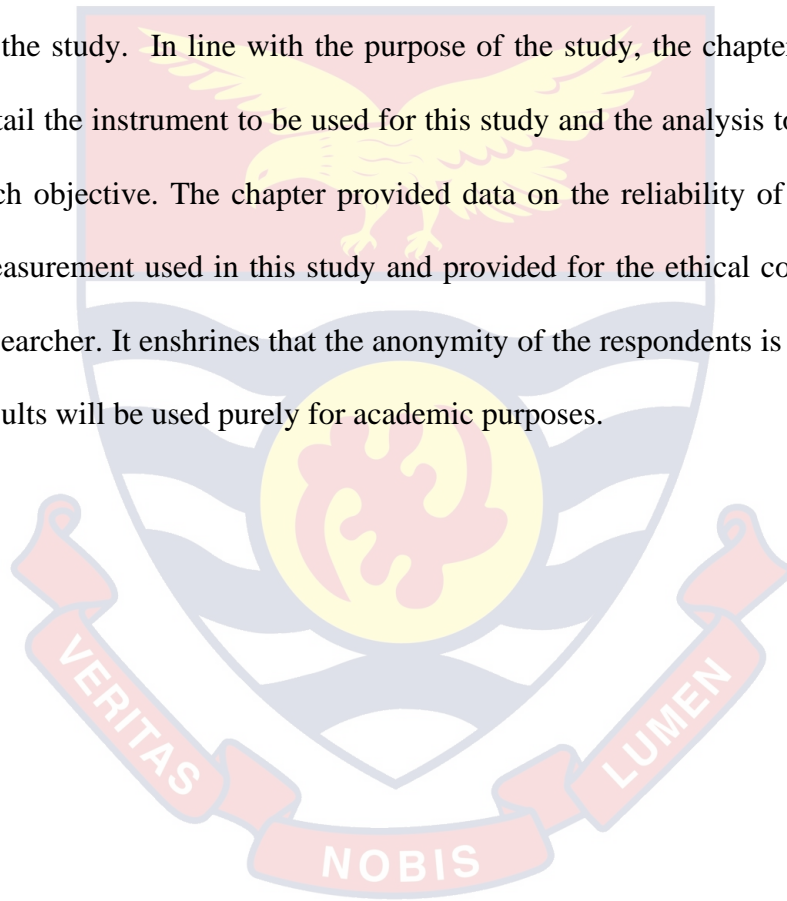
Harman's single factor test (Podsakoff & Organ, 1986) and VIF scores can also be used to assess common method bias (CMB) (Kock & Lynn, 2012). If CMB was a severe problem, Podsakoff and Organ (1986) predicted that a single factor would arise from a factor analysis or that one general factor would account for most of the covariance in the independent and criterion variables. All four variables used the exploratory factor analysis with a principal axis factoring analysis, which yielded eleven factors, with factor 1 accounting for just 30.32 percent of the variance (see Appendix C). According to the findings, no single factor appeared, and no single general factor accounted for most of the covariance among the latent factors. As a result, CMB was unlikely to be a significant problem in this analysis.

### **Ethical Consideration**

Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill (2007) indicated that any social researcher should seek permission from the respondents, stating their intentions and being guided by research ethics. The respondents were, therefore, informed of anonymity and confidentiality. The researcher assured the respondents of total secrecy. All information received from them (respondents) was treated with the highest degree of privacy. The researcher also informed the respondents they were free to cease to give any response if they so wished. Finally, the researcher did not withhold any information about the study's possible risks, discomfort, or benefits of the study subjects on these matters.

## Chapter Summary

The methodology used for the study was discussed in-depth and systematically in this chapter, which included the research environment, research design, study population, sampling and sampling procedures used for the study, instruments used, and methods followed in data collection and analysis. The discussion has provided a basis for choosing the study's population and the sample of the study. In line with the purpose of the study, the chapter has described in detail the instrument to be used for this study and the analysis to be conducted on each objective. The chapter provided data on the reliability of the instrument of measurement used in this study and provided for the ethical consideration of the researcher. It enshrines that the anonymity of the respondents is protected, and the results will be used purely for academic purposes.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

#### Introduction

This chapter presents the research findings from the study. This study sought to examine the parliamentary candidate appraisive attitudes, considering how candidates' policy responsiveness, candidates' performance, and candidates' integrity determine citizens' participation behaviour in Cape Coast Metropolis, Ghana. In line with the purpose of the study, the chapter was divided into two main parts: the first part presented and discussed the profile of the respondents used for the study, the second part assessed the measurement and structural models for the study, and tested hypotheses. Specifically, the study considered issues about indicator loadings, CR (Composite reliability), AVE (Average variance extracted), and DV (Discriminant validity) for the measurement models. The direct effect and the indirect effect were also tested.

#### Demographic Profile of Respondents

This segment contains details on the respondents' context characteristics, which are summarised in Table 4. This knowledge assisted the reader in better understanding the electorate's collective reactions to the critical attitudes that affect citizen engagement in voting decisions. Gender, age, educational level, the constituency to which one belonged, and the number of years one had spent in the party were all factors considered in this report. Supporting tables and figures were given in the parts that followed to supplement the study, as shown in Table 4 below:

**Table 4: Demographic Characteristics of Respondents**

Background Characteristics	Frequency	Percentage
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	148	55.8
Female	117	44.2
Total	265	100
<b>Age</b>		
18-24	46	17.4
25-35	3	1.1
36-44	103	38.9
45-54	63	23.8
55 and above	50	18.9
Total	265	100
<b>Educational Level</b>		
No formal education	30	11.3
Primary/Basic	18	6.8
Secondary	89	33.6
College/University	128	48.3
Total	265	100
<b>Constituency</b>		
Cape Coast North	119	44.9
Cape Coast South	146	55.1
Total	265	100

Table 4 continues

Background characteristics	Frequency	Percentage
<b>Number of Years as a Party Member</b>		
1 – 5	56	21.1
6 – 10	111	41.8
11 – 15	48	18.5
15 – 20	30	11.3
21 and above	20	7.5
Total	265	100

Source: Field survey (2021)

In terms of gender, as shown in Table 4, both males and females were relatively evenly distributed in both constituencies. The proportion of men in the study (55.8%) was higher than that of women (44.2 percent). One explanation for the male respondents' superiority may be their greater willingness to engage in the survey than their female counterparts. The majority of men were more inclined than the women to discuss politics with the male investigator. This social characteristic may have contributed to women's lower participation in this study.

In recent polls, age was one of the predictors of voting decisions. As members of various generational groups, such as the millennium generation, they may have had different perspectives on issues, and as a result, they may have voted differently. Adults between the ages of 36 and 54 made up the most significant proportion of the survey participants, accounting for 62.7 percent of all respondents (see Table 4). The youth or young adults between the ages of 18 and 35 were the

least represented in the study, accounting for 18.5 percent, while the elderly, aged 55 and up, accounted for 18.9 percent. Overall, most respondents were between the ages of 36 and 54, indicating that most of them were adults and matured enough and therefore were able to understand and respond to the issues raised in the survey.

In terms of individual respondent education, respondents' educational attainment can influence their electoral choice. As a result, formal education could have affected people's thinking, perceptions, and perception of any given phenomenon. Table 4 shows that most respondents (81.9%) had some education, including high school and college/university. 6.8% of those polled had received only primary or basic education, while 11.3 percent had received no formal education at all. The table shows that 18.1 percent of all respondents had only a primary or no formal education. This indicates that a significant proportion of the study participants had at least a high school education. As a result, they were more likely to have informed decisions about their appraisive behaviours, which affected voting decisions. As a result, the sample's composition was sufficient, as it included individuals from all significant educational levels.

Cape Coast North and Cape Coast South constituencies were the two primary constituencies of respondents in the Cape Coast metropolis, as seen in Table 4. Out of the 265 respondents, 119 (44.9%) resided in the Cape Coast North constituency, while the remaining (146) lived in the Cape Coast South constituency (55.1%). Finally, when it came to the number of years respondents had been members of the New Patriotic Party (NPP), the highest proportion (41.8%) had been a member for 6-10 years, followed by 21.1 percent who had been a member



for 1 – 5 years. 18.5 percent of respondents said they had been members of the party for 11 to 15 years, while 11.3 percent said they had been a member for 15 to 20 years. The lowest percentage (7.5%) had been members for more than 20 years. More extended periods of party membership reflected a concentration of people who knew more about the party's parliamentary candidates.

### **The Findings of the Main Study Objectives**

This section presents the study's findings and analysis based on the study's three main research objectives. The Smart PLS was used to analyse the data and structural equation modelling based on the hypotheses of this research. The findings and interpretations were organised chronologically according to the study's specified objectives which are to determine the effects of candidates' policy responsiveness on citizens' participation behaviour, establish the impact of candidates' performance on citizens' participation behaviour, and examine candidates' integrity on citizens' participation behaviour of delegates.

### **Assessment of Measurement Models for the Study**

This section focuses on the measurement models for the study. The section began with the assessment of the indicator loadings. The measurement model assessments included indicator loadings, Internal consistency reliability (Composite reliability), Convergent validity (AVE-Average variance extracted), and Discriminant validity (Fornell-Lacker and HTMT). A consistent PLS algorithm was run to generate indicators for the assessment of the measurement model. The results are presented in the following tables (5 – 9).

### Assessing Indicator Loadings

Table 5 shows the loadings of the indicators used for the study, as seen in Figure 3, pg. 98. All the indicators loaded above the threshold of 0.6 as recommended by Hair, Risher, Sarstedt, and Ringle (2019) proved the reliability of the overall model. All the 34 indicators measuring the various latent variables met the indicator reliability criteria. Thus, all the scales measuring policy responsiveness (CPR), performance (CP), integrity (CI), and citizens' participation behaviour (CPB) were maintained. The indicator loadings of the items are shown in Table 5.

**Table 5: Indicator Loadings**

	CPB	CI	CP	CPR
CI1		0.759		
CI2		0.739		
CI3		0.656		
CI4		0.668		
CI5		0.766		
CI6		0.682		
CI7		0.801		
CI8		0.766		
CP1			0.612	
CP2			0.881	
CP3			0.869	
CP4			0.867	
CP5			0.867	
CP6			0.856	
CP7			0.669	
CP8			0.648	
CPB1	0.670			
CPB10	0.667			
CPB2	0.736			
CPB3	0.734			
CPB4	0.713			
CPB5	0.765			

CPB6	0.788	
CPB7	0.703	
CPB8	0.772	
CPB9	0.709	
CPR1		0.701
CPR2		0.705
CPR3		0.674
CPR4		0.670
CPR5		0.761
CPR6		0.678
CPR7		0.813
CPR8		0.766

Source: Field survey (2021)

From Table 5, the eight indicators of policy responsiveness loaded above 0.6. The least was (0.670), and the highest (.813), indicating that the retained indicators were reliable. The minimum indicator loading on performance was (0.612) and the highest (0.881), while integrity indicators loaded between 0.656 and 0.801. All the scale items under the appraisive attitudes as the independent variables loaded well above the 0.6 thresholds. Correspondingly, all the indicators under the dependent variable, citizens' participation behaviour, loaded well above 0.6. The minimum indicator loading was (0.667), and the highest (0.788). Overall, the indicators used to measure latent variables in this study were reliable, well above the threshold of 0.6.

### **Assessing Internal Consistency Reliability**

In this study, the internal consistency reliability of the constructs was measured using composite reliability. The composite reliability was a more appropriate measure of internal consistency than Cronbach's alpha. Specifically, Cronbach's alpha was a less precise measure of reliability, as the items were

unweighted. In contrast, with composite reliability, the items were weighted based on the construct indicators' loadings, and hence, reliability was higher than Cronbach's alpha (Dijkstra & Henseler, 2015). The results in Table 6 indicate that all latent variables in this study are reliable, as they all loaded above the 0.7 thresholds by (Hair et al., 2019). The performance had the highest score of composite reliability (0.929), followed by Citizens' Participation Behaviour (0.918), Integrity (0.902), and lastly, Policy Responsiveness (0.897). The results indicate that the model had internal consistency reliability. Table 6 also includes results on convergence validity.

**Table 6: Validity and Reliability**

	<b>Cronbach's Alpha</b>	<b>rho_A</b>	<b>Composite Reliability</b>	<b>Average Variance Extracted (AVE)</b>
CPB	0.900	0.902	0.918	0.528
CI	0.876	0.885	0.902	0.535
CP	0.921	0.971	0.929	0.626
CPR	0.869	0.875	0.897	0.522

Source: Field Survey (2021)

**Assessing Convergent Validity**

The average variance extracted was used in assessing convergent validity. Convergent validity is the extent to which a measure correlates positively with alternative measures of the same construct (Hair et al., 2019). An AVE value of 0.50 or higher indicates that, on average, the construct explains more than half of the variance of its indicators. Conversely, an AVE of less than 0.50 means that, on average, more variance remains in the error of the items than in the variance explained by the construct. Table 6 indicates that all constructs had an AVE of more

than 0.5, with the highest being Performance and the lowest being Policy Responsiveness. This means the constructs in this model could account for more than half of the variance in their indicators. As part of assessing the measurement model, discriminant validity was also evaluated.

### Assessing Discriminant Validity

Establishing discriminant validity implies that a construct is unique and captures phenomena not represented by other constructs in the model (Dijkstra & Henseler, 2015). In this study, both the Fornell-Lacker criterion and the HTMT were used to establish discriminant validity. The Fornell-Larcker criterion compared the square root of the AVE values with the latent variable correlations (Fornell & Larcker, 1981; Hair et al., 2019). Specifically, the square root of each construct's AVE should be greater than its highest correlation with any other construct (Hair et al., 2019). The results from Table 7 indicate that the square root of each variable was well above their correlations with other constructs in the study. This means that each construct was unique, and no two constructs captured the same phenomenon.

**Table 7: Fornell-Lacker Criterion**

	<b>CPB</b>	<b>CI</b>	<b>CP</b>	<b>CPR</b>
<b>CPB</b>	<b>0.727</b>			
<b>CI</b>	0.731	<b>0.900</b>		
<b>CP</b>	0.141	0.149	<b>0.791</b>	
<b>CPR</b>	0.879	0.723	0.124	<b>0.960</b>

*Bold values are the square root of each construct's AVE, which is higher than their correlation with other constructs.*

Source: Field survey (2021)

When indicator loadings of the constructs under consideration differ just marginally, the Fornell-Larcker criterion performs poorly (e.g., all indicator loadings vary between 0.60 and 0.80). The Fornell-Larcker criterion increases its success in detecting discriminant validity issues as indicator loadings differ more widely, but it still performs poorly in determining overall discriminant validity (Voorhees, Brady, Calantone, & Ramirez, 2016). As a remedy, Sinkovics, Henseler, Ringle, and Sarstedt (2016) proposed assessing the Heterotrait Monotrait ratio (HTMT). According to Henseler et al. (2016), a latent construct has discriminant validity when its HTMT ratio is below 0.850. The results presented in Table 8 show HTMT values well below 0.850.

**Table 8: Heterotrait - Monotrait Ratio (HTMT)**

	<b>CPB</b>	<b>CI</b>	<b>CP</b>	<b>CPR</b>
<b>CPB</b>				
<b>CI</b>	<b>0.654</b>			
<b>CP</b>	0.134	<b>0.146</b>		
<b>CPR</b>	0.532	1.111	<b>0.125</b>	

Source: Field survey (2021)

### **Assessing the Structural Model**

This section provides an assessment of the hypotheses of the study. Evaluation of the structural model entailed assessing collinearity among constructs, coefficient of determination, predictive relevance, effect size, path coefficient, and significance. In this study, both the direct and indirect models were run together based on the recommendations of Nitzl, Roldan & Cepeda (2016). The assessment of multicollinearity among the indicators for this analysis is shown in Table 9. A tolerance value of 0.20 or lower and a VIF value of 5 or higher in the sense of PLS-

SEM indicate a possible collinearity problem, respectively (Hair et al., 2016). More precisely, a VIF level of 5 means that the remaining formative variables associated with the same construct account for 80% of the variance in the indicator. Concerning the endogenous variable (citizens' participation behaviour), the results from Table 9 show a minimum and highest VIF of 1.027 and 2.903, respectively, and a minimum and highest tolerance value of 0.344 and 0.974, respectively. The values obtained from this analysis indicated the absence of multicollinearity between the indicators.

**Table 9: Collinearity Amongst Constructs**

	CPB (VIF)	CPB (Tolerance)
<b>Policy Responsiveness</b>	2.363	0.423
<b>Performance</b>	1.027	0.974
<b>Integrity</b>	2.903	0.344

Source: Field survey (2021)

The VIF findings in Table 9 further confirm the absence of common method bias. The presence of a VIF value greater than 3.3 was suggested by Kock and Lynn (2012) as an indicator of pathological collinearity and an indication that a model may be corrupted by traditional method bias. Suppose all VIFs from a complete collinearity test were equal to or less than 3.3. In that case, the model could be considered free of vertical or lateral collinearity, as well as common method bias (Kock, 2015).

### **Assessing Coefficient of Determination and Predictive Relevance**

The  $R^2$  is a metric for how well a model predicts the future.  $R^2$  can also be considered the exogenous variable's combined effect on the endogenous variable

(s). Hair et al. (2019) proposed that structural models with coefficients of determination ( $R^2$ ) of 0.25, 0.5, and 0.75 are considered mild, moderate, and substantial, respectively. The authors went on to say that for structural models, predictive relevance ( $Q^2$ ) of “0.02, 0.15, and 0.35” and effect size ( $f^2$ ) of “0.02, 0.15, and 0.35” are considered “small, medium, and large,” respectively. With regards to Table 10, it can be concluded that the appraisive attitudes (policy responsiveness, performance, and integrity) had a substantial (0.813) coefficient of determination on citizens’ participation behaviour, accounting for 81.3% of the variation in citizens’ participation behaviour.

Concerning predictive relevance, the results showed a large predictive relevance of the model on the endogenous variable (0.418). This indicates that the exogenous variables did well in predicting the endogenous variable. The effect size results showed that all variables had a small effect size on the endogenous variable.

### **Assessing the Paths Model of the Study**

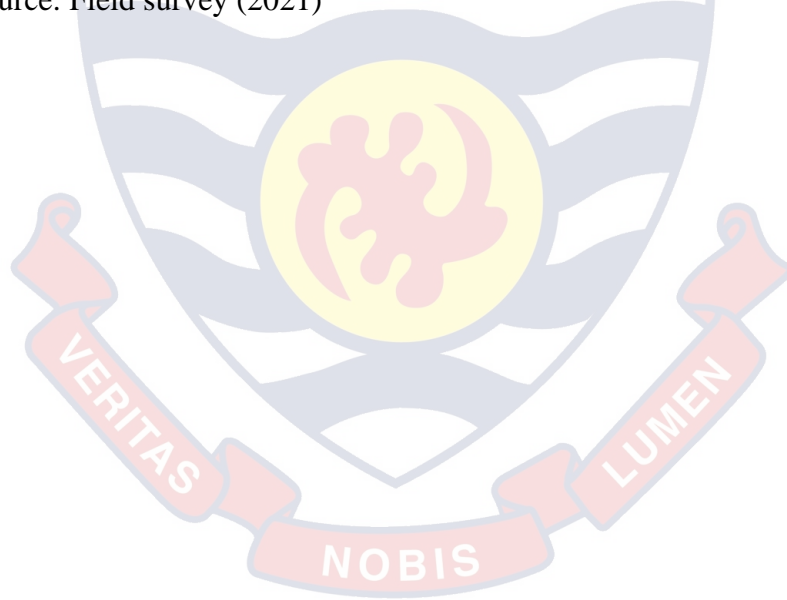
The purpose of the study was to determine the effect of appraisive attitudes on citizens’ participation behaviour at the sub-national electoral levels in Ghana using the Cape Coast metropolis as a case. The appraisive attitudes were measured in terms of policy responsiveness, performance, and integrity. The path model in Figure 3 shows three direct paths from policy responsiveness, performance, and integrity to citizens’ participation behaviour. These paths represent hypotheses 1, 2, and 3. The direct effect showed that policy responsiveness, performance, and integrity accounted for 81.3% of citizens’ participation behaviour variation. Again, Table 10 displays the structural model results for hypotheses 1, 2, and 3.



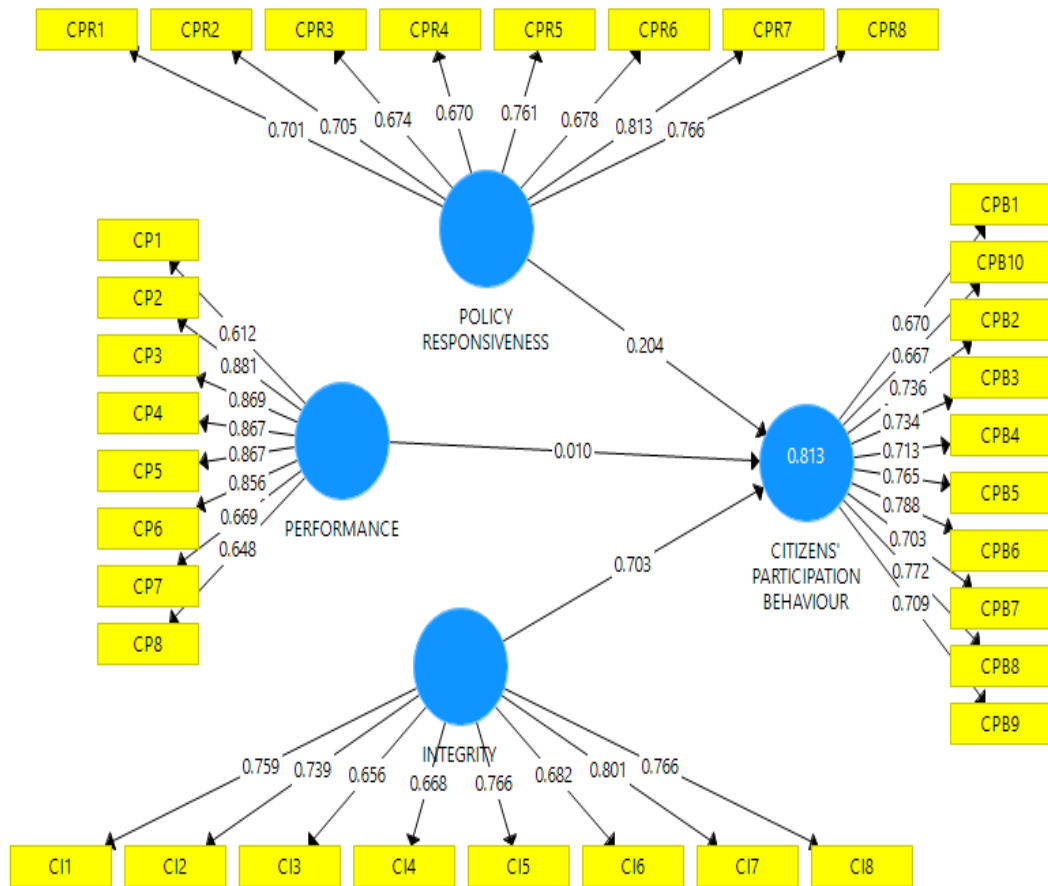
**Table 10: Structural Model Results for Hypotheses 1, 2 and 3**

	Path	T	R <sup>2</sup>	Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	Q <sup>2</sup>	P-Value	F <sup>2</sup>
<b>CPB</b>			0.813	0.811	0.418		
<b>CPR</b>	0.204	2.229				0.026	0.017
<b>CP</b>	0.010	2.145				0.032	0.001
<b>CI</b>	0.703	3.432				0.001	0.207

Source: Field survey (2021)



The structural model results for the findings are found in Figure 3 below:



**Figure 3: Outer and Inner Model Results**

Source: Field survey (2021)

**Research Objective One**

The first objective of this study sought to determine the effects of candidates' policy responsiveness on citizens' participation behaviour within the Cape Coast metropolis. The objective was tested as part of the entire model, representing the direct path from policy responsiveness to citizens' participation behaviour. Thus, it was hypothesised that;

*H1: Evaluations of candidates’ policy responsiveness has a positive effect on citizens’ participation behaviour*

**Table 11: Structural Model Results for Hypothesis 1**

	Path	T	R <sup>2</sup>	Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	Q <sup>2</sup>	P-Value	F <sup>2</sup>
<b>CPB</b>			0.813	0.811	0.418		
<b>CPR</b>	0.204	2.229				0.026	0.017

Source: Field survey (2021)

Based on the path estimation, the results of the PLS-SEM showed that policy responsiveness had a significant positive effect on citizens’ participation behaviour ( $\beta = 0.204$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ; Table 11, Figure 3). The results showed that the degree of congruence between the candidates’ policy and the voters’ needs within the Cape Coast metropolis was a key determinant of citizens’ participation behaviour. Comparatively, policy responsiveness (0.204) showed the second larger effect on citizens’ participation behaviour among the three appraisive attitudes. The results also showed that policy responsiveness had a small effect (0.017) on citizens’ participation behaviour (Hair et al., 2019). As a result, the research supports the assertion that policy responsiveness positively impacts citizens' participation behaviour based on the direction and importance of the path between policy responsiveness and citizens' participation behaviour.

Based on the fact that the p-value is  $< 0.05$ , the study supports the hypothesis that

*H1: Evaluations of candidates’ policy responsiveness has a positive effect on citizens’ participation behaviour*

The results showed that the policy responsiveness of the candidate has an impact on the voters (delegates) in the Cape Coast metropolis. A summary of the decision concerning objective one is presented in Table 12.

**Table 12: Summary of Objective 1**

Hypothesis	Beta	t-value	Decision
CPR-CPB	0.204	2.229	<b>Supported</b>

Source: Field survey (2021)

The rational choice theory backs up the conclusions of this objective. Voters prefer to evaluate the aspirations of the potential success of both incumbent candidates and challengers by proposed policies based on their self-interest and need to meet their needs, based on the concept of rationality (Hansford & Gomez, 2015). This is in line with the findings of Ordeshook and Zeng (2017). They concluded a positive effect of policy responsiveness on citizens' participation behaviour regarding voting decisions. Similarly, Tomz and Van Houweling (2018) found that voters voted for candidates whose policy positions were the most similar to their policy priorities. They concentrated on the policies that they believed a candidate could deliver rather than the policy positions that the candidates advocated.

Thus, voters were rational and hence, evaluated the policy promises made by candidates and aligned themselves with politicians whose issue frames were of the closest proximity to theirs (Yalley, 2018; Lindberg & Morrison, 2019). In protecting their interest and their locality, this explained that voters voted for the candidate(s) who promised radical reforms, especially favouring those who were having pressing problems in their community, like the Cape Coast metropolis

(Kameri-Mbote, 2016). This study showed that much credence should be given to the argument that policy issues determine and influence voters' decisions in their citizen engagements. The idea was that voters listened to the policy propositions of the candidates and measured these questions against the problems they and the metropolis were facing. Accordingly, a candidate whose policy proposals indicated they understood the voters' problems was elected over a candidate who proposed policy solutions for non-existing or non-pressing issues. Therefore, voters in the Cape Coast Metropolis identified the prevalent problems in the metropolis and measured the candidates' ability to deliver on the proposed policies to solve those problems before voting.

### Research Objective Two

The second objective of this study sought to establish the effects of candidates' performance on citizens' participation behaviour within the Cape Coast metropolis. The objective was tested as part of the entire model, representing the direct path from performance to citizens' participation behaviour. Thus, it was hypothesised that;

*H2: Appraisal of candidates' performance has a positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour*

**Table 13: Structural Model Results for Hypothesis 2**

Path	T	R <sup>2</sup>	Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	Q <sup>2</sup>	P-Value	F <sup>2</sup>
Statistics						
<b>CPB</b>		0.813	0.811	0.418		
<b>CP</b>	0.010	2.145			0.032	0.001

Source: Field survey (2021)

Based on the path estimation, the results of the PLS-SEM showed that performance had a significant positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour ( $\beta = 0.010$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ; Table 13, Figure 3). The results indicated that a candidate's performance (that is, the perceived ability to initiate and complete projects on time) within the Cape Coast metropolis was a key determinant of citizens' participation behaviour. Comparatively, performance (0.010) showed the least large effect on citizens' participation behaviour among the three appraisive attitudes. The results also showed that performance had a negligible effect (0.001) on citizens' participation behaviour (Hair et al., 2019). Therefore, based on the direction and significance of the path between performance and citizens' participation behaviour, the study supports the assertion that performance positively affects citizens' participation behaviour.

Because the p-value is  $< 0.05$ , the study supports the hypothesis that *H2: Appraisal of candidates' performance has a positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour*

The results showed that the performance appraisal of the candidate had an impact on the voters (delegates) in the Cape Coast metropolis. A summary of the decision concerning objective two is presented in Table 14.

**Table 14: Summary of Objective 2**

Hypothesis	Beta	t-value	Decision
CP-CPB	0.010	2.145	<b>Supported</b>

Source: Field survey (2021)

This decision is supported by the findings of Hansford & Gomez (2015), who concluded that voters, based on the principle of rationality, evaluated the past

performance of incumbents, thus, giving them a reason to either punish them by electing competitors or reward them by giving them their votes. This report implies that voters tended to punish incumbents who performed poorly and continued rewarding those that served well. Thus, voters tended to evaluate candidates based on what they had achieved in their past occupations and hoped they would bring the same good performance when serving in electoral offices (Fiorina, 2015). Likewise, Hoffman and Long (2015) concluded that there was a strong positive significant influence of candidates' performance on the voting decisions in the African and Ghanaian context. This explains why Ghanaian voters were looking backward. As a result, as public perceptions of the government's overall performance or handling of specific social and economic problems improved, incumbent support increased, and vice versa (Bartels, 2016). Long and Gibson (2019) concluded that performance assessment had a major positive impact on citizens' voting decisions in another study.

This notwithstanding, Barkan (2017), in a study, found that low evaluations of incumbents' performance by voters led to an increase in the election of Members of Parliament from the opposition party who were well versed in the sentiments of the voters. Barkan then recommended that since these voters had a robust conceptualisation of their Members of Parliament (MP) roles, that should form the basis for evaluating their MPs' performance when making political decisions. In a study by Vanden Eynde, Kuhn and Moradi (2018), it was found that the main opposition party and candidate drew a lot of the attention of the public to the incumbent party's poor performance in the parliamentary elections, and this led to

the defeat of 65% of the incumbent MPs. This showed the judgements the voters in the Cape Coast metropolis had about the performance evaluations of any political parties candidate had a significant influence on their voting choice.

### Research Objective Three

The last objective of this study sought to examine the effects of candidates' integrity on citizens' participation behaviour within the Cape Coast metropolis. The objective was tested as part of the entire model, representing the direct path from integrity to citizens' participation behaviour. Thus, it was hypothesised that;

*H3: Examination of candidates' candidates' integrity has a positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour*

**Table 15: Structural Model Results for Hypothesis 3**

	Path	T Statistics	R <sup>2</sup>	Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	Q <sup>2</sup>	P-Value	F <sup>2</sup>
<b>CPB</b>			0.813	0.811	0.418		
<b>CI</b>	0.703	3.432				0.001	0.207

Source: Field survey (2021)

Based on the path estimation, the results of the PLS-SEM showed that integrity had a significant positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour ( $\beta = 0.703$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ; Table 15, Figure 3). The results showed that the perception of honesty and trustworthiness of the parliamentary candidate within the Cape Coast metropolis was a key determinant of citizens' participation behaviour. Comparatively, integrity (0.703) showed the largest effect on citizens' participation behaviour among the three appraisive attitudes. The results also showed that integrity has a moderate impact (0.207) on citizens' participation behaviour (Hair et al., 2019). Therefore, based on the direction and significance of the path between



integrity and citizens' participation behaviour, the study supports the assertion that integrity positively affects citizens' participation behaviour.

With the p-value being  $<0.05$ , the study supports the hypothesis that

*H3: Examination of candidates' candidates' integrity has a positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour*

The results showed that the candidate's integrity impacted the voters (delegates) in the Cape Coast metropolis. A summary of the decision for objective three is presented in Table 16.

**Table 16: Summary of Objective 3**

Hypothesis	Beta	t-value	Decision
CI-CPB	0.703	3.432	<b>Supported</b>

Source: Field survey (2021)

The findings of this are supported by the results of Bittner (2011), who saw that in the context of partisanship, the political party of the candidate might have predisposed the voter to evaluate the character of the party leader and candidate favourably. Strong (2013) backed the rational choice viewpoint on voting conduct. He said that if incumbent parties and candidates lacked credibility in honesty and trustworthiness, most people would vote them out. Also, Hardy (2014) concluded that in citizen participation, especially voting, evaluations of candidates' traits were functional because voters used these traits to predict the future quality of leadership by the candidates when they got elected.

Similarly, Koppensteiner, Stephen and Jäschke (2016) discovered that participants appeared to vote for candidates with personality characteristics that were considered similar to those of the electorate. It was also found that their first

experiences influenced the participants' electoral choices. Voters favoured lawmakers who had a specific personality trait, according to the report. Other researchers, such as Caprara, Schwartz, Capanna, Vecchio and Barbaranelli (2017) and Fridkin and Kenney (2017), found candidate characteristics or perceived attributes influenced voters' electoral choices. Candidates' personality dimensions such as integrity, credibility, and authenticity were qualities that affected voters' choice of a political candidate before and during the election cycle, according to Bossuoy (2019), Dendere (2020), and Debrah (2021).

As a result, these findings show that voters were reasonable individuals who deliberately assessed the state of the metropolis and the incumbents' legitimacy before casting their vote. In essence, rationality, self-interestedness, and utility maximisation often guided the voters in the Cape Coast metropolis to vote for a candidate who had a reputation for integrity. The assumption here is that a person of integrity would deliver on the policies they promised in their manifestos and manage public resources with integrity so that resources went to intended purposes. A person evaluated as lacking integrity would be detrimental to the self-interest of voters, and therefore there was no rationality in voting for them.

### **Policy Implications of the Findings**

This study has explored the most significant factors that influence voters' choices in the Cape Coast Metropolis, Ghana. All the three dimensions of appraisive attitudes (policy responsiveness, performance, and integrity) used in this study have positive effects on citizen participation behaviour in the study area of Cape Coast Metropolis in Ghana. The idea here is that the days when politicians

can take their people for granted and assume that based on their religion, clan, or cultural identity, they would be voted to power are over. Currently, it can be said that most Ghanaians have become astute voters who consciously evaluate the conditions of their environment and the incumbents' integrity before and when making their vote choice.

The idea here is that voters consider candidates of honesty who can deliver on the policies they promised in their manifestos and manage public resources with veracity to go to intended purposes. A person evaluated as lacking integrity would be detrimental to the common societal interest and lose citizens' votes. What needs to be remembered is that these days, the voters are primarily independent, devoid of characteristics that are likely to be strong predictors of voting behaviour other than the general interest of the community, like economic performance.

Following this study's findings, it can be argued that much of what we know about electoral and democratic political processes in established democracies may also apply to new democracies in Africa. This means voting for policymakers may no longer be based on socio-cultural identities, particularly in regions like Central Region, which is considered a swing electoral area. Accordingly, swing voters are characterized by a conscious evaluation of government and candidate performance, a sign of relatively 'mature' democratic voting behaviour. Unlike the core voters, the swing voters do not have electoral loyalty to any candidate or political party. They are rational voters whose votes are not influenced by stable sociological factors, partisan affiliation, ethnicity, or non-evaluative factors but are largely dependent on their evaluations and judgements.

In conclusion, it can be argued that Ghanaian voters are becoming aware of the need to vote based on good deals. In essence, voters in Ghana are beginning to engage in economic voting. This means that every voter considers the prosperity or the excellent state of the economy and how the economy is managed. Consequently, the voters then reward the incumbent if the economy is flourishing and punish it when it is not. Overall, it is fair to say that Africans are coming of age, and the days of choosing Africa policymakers based on socio-cultural and ethnic reasoning appear to be over. This assertion can be deduced from the evidence provided in this study, where people now vote not based on ethnicity but more on the incumbent's performance, the policy response to their needs, and integrity.

### **Chapter Summary**

This chapter began with a description of the respondents to the study. The chapter included an assessment of the influence of policy responsiveness on voters' decisions. The study concluded that voters were rational, hence evaluating the policy promises made by candidates, and aligned themselves with politicians whose issue frames were closest to theirs. The second objective established the effects of candidates' performance on citizens' participation behaviour. The study results concluded that the judgements that voters in Cape Coast metropolis had about the performance evaluations of any political candidate had a significant influence on their voting choice. The study also showed a positive relationship between candidates' integrity and the behaviour of citizens in public participation in terms of voting. The study concluded that candidates' appraisive attitudes dimensions such as policy responsiveness, performance evaluations, and honesty affected

citizens' participation behaviour regarding voters' choice of a political candidate before and during the election cycle, based on the rational choice principle. The next chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations of the study.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Introduction

The current chapter is the final chapter for this study. As a concluding chapter, it will capture information about a summary of the study, conclusions on the significant findings of the study, recommendations to the findings, limitations of the study, and suggestions for future research. The presentations of the results and the recommendations will align with the three specific objectives discussed in chapter four.

#### Summary of the Study

This study aimed to assess the effect of appraisive attitudes on citizens' participation behaviour at the sub-national electoral levels in Ghana using the Cape Coast metropolis as a case. Specifically, the study sought to; determine the effects of candidates' policy responsiveness on citizens' participation behaviour, establish the impact of candidates' performance on citizens' participation behaviour, and examine candidates' integrity on citizens' participation behaviour of delegates. To help achieve these objectives, three supporting hypotheses were formulated and tested accordingly. The study employed partial least squares structural equation modelling as the main statistical technique for the hypotheses testing.

From 1145 delegates from the two constituencies in the Cape Coast metropolis in Ghana, 291 were sampled using the stratified sampling technique. The Microsoft Excel random number generation was used to select respondents for the study randomly. In total, 265 valid responses were obtained from the

constituencies. The study began with a pre-test with 50 delegates who participated in the New Patriotic Party 2020 primaries in the Ablekuma Central Constituency in the Greater-Accra Region. Following the success, a self-administered questionnaire based on scales from reliable and extensive literature was administered to the respondents. This was done to avoid common method bias. The instrument centred on the characteristics of the respondents as well as the variables considered in this study.

Descriptive statistics were used to examine the demographic data of respondents (frequencies and percentages). With the SMART PLS version 3.3, the three main objectives of this analysis were analysed using partial least squares structural equation modelling techniques. At the same time, the descriptive statistics were processed with the SPSS Version 26. For all significance checks, a 0.05 alpha level was used. One primary hypothesis was created for the first objective, one for the second objective, and one for the third objective. The main findings of the study's fundamental goals and hypotheses are summarised below.

### **Key Findings**

The major findings related to the study's specific objectives have been summarized below: Evidence from this study indicated from the objective one that the study was in support of the assertions that evaluations of candidates' policy responsiveness had a positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour. Among the many determinants of citizens' voting behaviour changes was an indicator to consider how the candidate tended to respond to policy-related issues in their office. It was found that voters tended to appraise the expectations of future performance

of both incumbent candidates and their challengers through the proposed policies based on their self-interestedness and needed to satisfy their needs.

Given the second study objective, on the relationship between candidates' performance and citizens' participation behaviour, appraisal of candidates' performance positively affected citizens' participation behaviour. Citizens, therefore, tended to evaluate the past performance of incumbents, thus, giving them a reason to either punish them by electing competitors or reward them by giving them their votes. Thus, voters tended to evaluate candidates based on what they had achieved in their past occupations and hoped that they would bring the same good performance when serving in electoral offices

The third objective also proved examination of candidates' integrity had a positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour. The study showed that the parliamentary candidate's perception of honesty and trustworthiness was a key determinant of citizens' participation behaviour. The study found that voters favoured candidates who had a particular ideal personality trait and had a more significant impact on the candidate they chose to elect.

### **Conclusion**

The purpose of the study was to assess the effect of appraisive attitudes on citizens' participation behaviour at the sub-national electoral levels in Ghana using the Cape Coast metropolis as a case. The specific focus of the study was to determine how responsiveness evaluation, performance, and integrity evaluation determined the citizens' participation behaviour. The study concluded that the voters voted for the candidates who could come up with policy interventions that



could solve different challenges they were facing, those who could initiate and implement other projects aimed at responding to the problems the voters were facing, and those who could identify various issues that required policy interventions.

Regarding responsiveness evaluations, the study concluded that the ability of the candidates to respond to the different problems the voters were facing increased the chances of being elected. Generally, the study concluded that the voters did not tolerate the candidates who could not identify the voters' challenges and those who could not initiate projects to solve the voters' problems, as per the voters' expectations. When it came to performance evaluation, the study concluded that the voters considered the candidates' ability to implement various projects to solve the voters' needs and the power of the incumbents to complete the various projects initiated to solve the different problems the voters were facing.

The voters also considered the candidates' welfare initiatives to benefit the voters and whether the candidates had any known legislative bills sponsored to address pressing problems facing the voters. As far as the influence of evaluations of candidates' integrity was concerned, the study concluded that the voters deemed corruptible, dishonest, and lacking reliability were found unfit to serve as a party candidate. The study also found that people did not depend on social cues such as clanship and religion as shortcuts to determining candidates' integrity.

### **Recommendations of the Study**

Based on the study, the following recommendations were made. In light of evaluating candidates' policy responsiveness, the study recommends expanding the

role of candidates beyond the current legislative and oversight roles and focusing on their primary roles proposed during their campaigns. Voters held candidates directly accountable for development in their various constituencies. Candidates' policy responsiveness to voters' problems was evaluated not so much on their contributions in the constituency. In line with the above, the study recommends that, there should be mechanisms that will evaluate the policies of candidates and ensure that those policies are in line with the communities' problems and can be achieved within the specified time frames based on the available public resources.

Secondly, the study has confirmed a higher degree of rationality among voters at the subnational level in a homogeneous constituency. Such voters chose their leaders based on rational evaluations instead of ethnic, clan, or other primordial loyalties. The study, therefore, recommends that the role of rationally elected candidates should be expanded to that of delegates to elect higher executive seats such as the ministers and other appointees. Again, the study recommends that, there should be clear indicators that are well known by policy makers and citizens in measuring the performance of the candidates. These indicators would help enhance the political careers of policy makers and also improve upon the wellbeing of citizens.

Thirdly, the study recommends that policy actors should build their reputation for integrity by delivering on the policies promised in their manifestos and manage public resources by ensuring that resources went into intended purposes. Also, the New Patriotic Party should at all times ensure free and fair primaries to ensure that only those candidates that are rationally evaluated and

endorsed by voters get to represent the party. As observed in electoral units characterized by one dominant political party, winning the primary is synonymous with winning the General elections. Therefore, political parties that adhere to free and fair primaries will be guaranteed to win the seat and maintain loyal majorities in the General elections.

### **Suggestions for Future Research**

This research focused on quantitative analysis, but qualitative and quantitative approaches could be used shortly, allowing citizens to describe the situation better and clarify the reasons for the quantitative answers. Also, potential studies should be done to overcome one of the study's limitations. For example, this study only concentrated on Cape Coast North and South constituencies in the Cape Coast metropolis, Central Region, Ghana. This implies that the candidates' opinions should not be generalised. As a result, future studies could broaden the scope of the inquiry to include various constituencies in Ghana, allowing for a more generalisation of the findings. Since this study is limited to the citizens' participation behaviour in the New Patriotic Party's recent primaries, further studies should consider other local level elections in other political parties.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INTRODUCTORY LETTER

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

SCHOOL OF BUSINESS

DEPARTMENT OF MANAGEMENT

*Telephone:* 03321 32440/32444 Ext. 219/220 UNIVERSITY POST OFFICE  
*Direct:* 03321 37870 CAPE COAST, GHANA  
*Telegrams:* University, Cape Coast  
*Telex:* 2552, UCC, GH.

Dear Sir/Madam,

**INTRODUCTORY LETTER FOR DOUGLAS OKAI AKUFFO**

The bearer of this letter, Douglas Okai AKUFFO, is an MPhil (Public Policy and Management) student of the Department of Management, School of Business, College of Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast. He is writing his thesis on “Appraisive Attitudes and Citizens’ Participation Behaviour at the Sub-National Electoral Levels: A Study of Cape Coast Metropolis.”

We would be grateful if you could assist him with filling the questionnaires and any other information that he may need to complete his work.

We appreciate your co-operation.

Yours faithfully,

*Signed*

N. O. O.

HEAD

**APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE**  
**UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST**  
**SCHOOL OF BUSINESS**  
**DEPARTMENT OF MANAGEMENT**

Dear Respondent,

I am a student at the University of Cape Coast, offering a Master of Philosophy degree in Public Policy and Management programme at the Department of Management of the School of Business, College of Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast. This questionnaire is designed to ascertain information for my research work on the topic: **“APPRAISIVE ATTITUDES AND CITIZENS’ PARTICIPATION BEHAVIOUR AT THE SUB-NATIONAL ELECTORAL LEVELS: A STUDY OF CAPE COAST METROPOLIS.”** This research is in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of a Master of Philosophy degree in Public Policy and Management at the University of Cape Coast.

All the answers you provide will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and for academic purposes only. Please feel free to answer the questions as candidly as possible.

Thank you

Douglas Okai Akuffo

## SECTION A

### SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DATA OF RESPONDENTS

To answer a question, either tick [] or write short notes on the space provided where necessary.

#### 1. Gender:

- a. Male []
- b. Female []

#### 2. Age:

- a. 18-24 years []
- b. 25-35 years []
- c. 36-44 years []
- d. 45 – 54 years []
- e. 55 years and above []

#### 3. Educational Level:

- a. No Formal Education []
- b. Primary/Basic []
- c. Secondary []
- d. College/university []

#### 4. Constituency

- a. Cape Coast North []
- b. Cape Coast South []

#### 5. Number of Years as a Party Member

- a. 1-5 years []
- b. 6-10 years []
- c. 11-15years []
- d. 15 – 20 years []
- e. 21 years and above []



**SECTION B: APPRAISIVE ATTITUDES OF CANDIDATES**

Please indicate your agreement level concerning the underlying statements of appraisive attitudes of your candidate by ticking (√) the most appropriate column:

Where 1 represents the lowest agreement while 7 represents the highest agreement.

<i>My Candidate</i>							
<b>Policy Responsiveness Evaluation</b>							
CPR1... Projects initiated to address problems	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CPR2... Projects completed to solve problems	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CPR3...Legislative bills sponsored to solve problems	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CPR4...Bill promised to sponsor or support in the Metropolitan Assembly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CPR5... Perceived concern for residents' wellbeing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CPR6... Projects promised to solve pressing issues of residents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CPR7... Policies formulated were geared towards addressing the issues in the metropolis	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CPR8... Promises formulated were executed at the time residents needed them the most	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>Performance Evaluation</b>							
CP1...Projects initiated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CP2...Projects completed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CP3...Welfare initiatives	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CP4... Known legislative Bills sponsored	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

CP5... Performance record in previous occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CP6... Participation in welfare initiatives	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CP7...Projects were completed within the time promised	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CP8...Participation in welfare initiatives	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>Integrity Evaluation</b>							
CI1...Significance of honesty in the choice of a candidate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CI2...Reputation of Candidate Reliability in defining voter's choice	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CI3...Legacy of Candidate Trustworthiness in defining voter's choice	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CI4...Public image of Candidate Religiosity in defining voter's choice	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CI5...Relevance of Candidate Wealth in defining voter's choice	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CI6...The perception of corruption shapes voting decisions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CI7...Candidate's to keep promises even if it takes extra effort determines the voting choice	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CI8... Candidates taking responsibility for their actions influence vote choice	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**SECTION C: CITIZENS’ PARTICIPATION BEHAVIOUR**

Please rate the following concerning citizens’ participation behaviour regarding your voting decisions in the primaries by ticking (√) the most appropriate column:

Where 1 represents the lowest agreement while 7 represents the highest agreement.

Statements	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CPB1...I often take part in all kinds of election campaigns in my constituency	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CPB2...There is adequate information at my disposal about the candidates’ image before the election	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CPB3...My enthusiasm about elections made me pay attention to candidates during election campaigns	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CPB4...More information is acquired to support my existing voting intention about a candidate.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CPB5...The voting choices I mostly take are based on the candidate’s issue stances and policies	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CPB6...I believe the candidate’s known qualities in good representation and leadership could help meet the needs of the society	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CPB7...I vote for a candidate because I believe that he/she fully understands how ordinary people live	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CPB8...Every candidate offers good policies and not bad policies. So, I pay attention to the candidate’s personality	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

CPB9...I cast a ballot based on candidate evaluation. Only a competent candidate can offer good policies and realise them	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CPB10... Often in elections, I go to the voting booth only with a sense of duty that I have to cast my ballot	1	2	3	4	5	6	7



**APPENDIX C: COMMON METHOD BIAS EXTRACTION**

Total Variance Explained						
Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	14.554	30.321	30.321	14.554	30.321	30.321
2	5.531	11.523	41.843	5.531	11.523	41.843
3	3.490	7.271	49.114	3.490	7.271	49.114
4	2.697	5.618	54.732	2.697	5.618	54.732
5	2.514	5.237	59.969	2.514	5.237	59.969
6	1.571	3.273	63.242	1.571	3.273	63.242
7	1.526	3.179	66.421	1.526	3.179	66.421
8	1.303	2.715	69.136	1.303	2.715	69.136
9	1.216	2.533	71.670	1.216	2.533	71.670
10	1.144	2.382	74.052	1.144	2.382	74.052
11	1.014	2.113	76.166	1.014	2.113	76.166
12	.878	1.829	77.994			
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.						

**APPENDIX D:**

**KREJCIE AND MORGAN'S SAMPLE SIZE DETERMINATION TABLE**

N	S	N	S	N	S
10	10	220	140	1200	291
15	14	230	144	1300	297
20	19	240	148	1400	302
25	24	250	152	1500	306
30	28	260	155	1600	310
35	32	270	159	1700	313
40	36	280	162	1800	317
45	40	290	165	1900	320
50	44	300	169	2000	322
55	48	320	175	2200	327
60	52	340	181	2400	331
65	56	360	186	2600	335
70	59	380	191	2800	338
75	63	400	196	3000	341
80	66	420	201	3500	346
85	70	440	205	4000	351
90	73	460	210	4500	354
95	76	480	214	5000	357
100	80	500	217	6000	361
110	86	550	226	7000	364
120	92	600	234	8000	367
130	97	650	242	9000	368
140	103	700	248	10000	370
150	108	750	254	15000	375
160	113	800	260	20000	377
170	118	850	265	30000	379
180	123	900	269	40000	380
190	127	950	274	50000	381
200	132	1000	278	75000	382
210	136	1100	285	1000000	384

Krejcie, R. V., & Morgan, D. W. (1970).