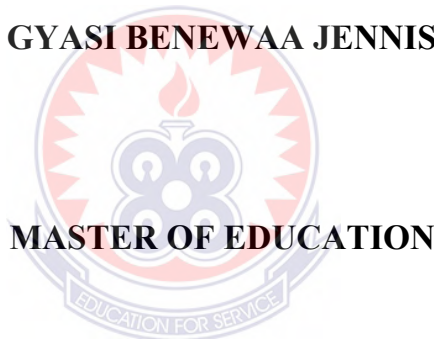


UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

**IMPLICATIONS OF VOTE SELLING ON GHANA'S DEMOCRACY IN
BANTAMA CONSTITUENCY**

GYASI BENEWAA JENNIS



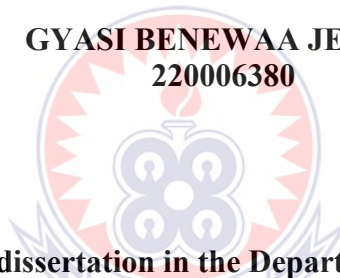
MASTER OF EDUCATION

2022

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**IMPLICATIONS OF VOTE SELLING ON GHANA'S DEMOCRACY
IN BANTAMA CONSTITUENCY**

**GYASI BENEWAA JENNIS
220006380**



**A dissertation in the Department of Social Studies
Education, Faculty of Social Sciences Education,
submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in partial
fulfillment
of the requirements for the award of the degree of
Master of Education
(Social Studies Education)
in the University of Education, Winneba**

DECEMBER 2022

DECLARATION

Student's declaration

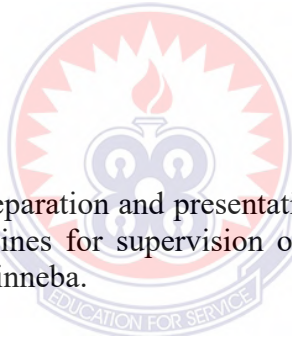
I, Gyasi Benewaa Jennis do hereby declare that this dissertation, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my own original work, and it has not been submitted either in part or whole, for another degree elsewhere.

Signature.....

Date.....

Supervisor's Declaration

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this work were supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of dissertation as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.



Name of Supervisor: Prof. Vincent Adzahlie-Mensah

Signature.....

Date.....

DEDICATION

This piece of work dedicated to my son, Nana Yaw Sarfo.



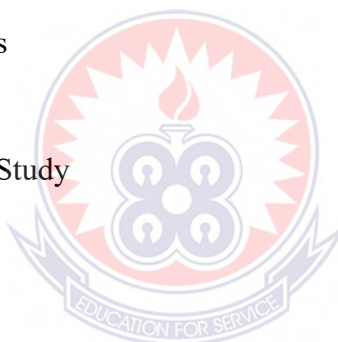
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to examine the implications of vote selling on Ghana's democracy. The qualitative approach and case study design were adopted for the study. The convenience sampling technique was used to select ten participants for the study. Data was analysed using thematic analysis. The analysis show, voters sell their votes because of unfulfilled campaign promises, readiness of politicians to spend on campaigns and the willingness of voters to use the elections as means of getting their share of national cake. Vote selling transactions start with convincing voters, followed by the process of channeling incentive, conveying voters to voting station and ends with proof of voting. Also, the findings show, inability to select competent leaders, corruption, tyranny, inability to initiate good policies and the inability to hold politicians accountable are the implications of vote selling on Ghana's democracy. The study concludes that, vote buying and selling are a contract where both politicians and voters, that is sellers and buyers profit while ignoring the aftermath consequences of such an action. The study also concludes that, vote selling has detrimental consequences for Ghana's democracy. The study recommends that, NGOs, electoral commissions, civil societies, and non-state actors should spearhead and strengthen democracy by mounting vigorous campaigns to educate the electorates not to accept financial or material benefit before they vote for a particular candidate. The study also recommends that, the consequences of vote selling and buying should be included in high school curricula to alert and conscientize Ghanaians about the threats.



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Elections have been a critical component in shaping both democratic and rising democratic regimes' political stability. Boafo-Arthur (2006) asserts that, “elections are important to nation building and the electorates” because, “they perform the role of a litmus test for democratic institutions”. The democratic pillars of rule of law, ballot secrecy, separation of powers, and judicial independence are all appropriately employed and enhanced through elections. Elections therefore allow citizens to take part in governance. Thus, elections give the citizens the opportunity to select their leaders. Electorates use elections to evaluate how leadership or governments have excelled in all facets of national life such as education, economy, agriculture, corruption, standard of living and others. It is therefore a cardinal process through which power is allocated, and representative democracy is actualized (Baidoo et al., 2018). Elections and more specifically voting are important mechanisms for selecting leaders for political offices in every democracy. They aggregate preferences, help select better public officials, and provide incentives for politicians to act in the interest of the voters they represent (Persson & Tabellini, 2000) since it is through elections that candidates are able to appeal and explain their intended policies to electorates before they are voted into power. However, Uwa and Emeka (2022) contend that if power and money influence take the centre stage of determining the elector choices, the very essence of constitutional rights of the citizens to freely exercise their freedom of choice and equality in the democratic society may be called to question good governance and development will remain a mirage.

In a path-breaking study on elections in emerging democracies with Ghana as a case study, Nugent et al. (2009) establish that the view that Ghana's elections have been successful is "a convenient myth". They go ahead to identify "ethnic block voting" and electoral fraud as playing significant, though far from exclusive responsibility. Some studies on African democratic election processes have also focused on vote buying and cash hand outs (Guardado & Wantchekon, 2018; Agomor & Adams, 2014; Bratton, 2008; Baidoo et al, 2018; Paolo & Gyampo, 2019). However, the incidence of vote selling by citizens which also plays pivotal role during elections has not received much scholarly attention. Various scholars (Adejumobi, 2000; Bratton, 2008; Persson & Tabellini, 2000) have provided different explanations for voting behaviour on the African continent resulting in the notion that some individuals have the ability to take control of the democratic electoral procedures of a nation.

Some researchers have argued that elections are mere ethnic roll calls or gatherings (Harding, 2015). Again, while some see ethnicity as a major determinant of voting behaviour (Erdman, 2007; Bossuroy, 2009), others think that it does form part of the determinants but not the biggest (Arthur, 2009; Whitfield, 2009). Others posit that elections in Africa are hugely characterized by clientelism and neo patrimonialism (Lindberg, 2003; Young 2009). However, the selling of votes as the exchange of money or other material benefits for voters' support in up coming elections has in its interpretation some overt commercial underpinnings (Vicente, 2007). In effect, vote selling in this study is defined as voters or citizens offering their vote in a form of pledges to politicians or their agents as individuals or in small groups for money and or other material goods in exchange for electoral support (Vicente & Wantchekon, 2009). Ferree et al. (2009) note that the dominant approaches in explaining voting

behaviour in most African countries are either identity voting (Ferree & Horowitz, 2007) or policy voting (Hetcher, 2003). This trend towards the strengthening of democracy on the African continent provides a unique occasion to stimulate a comprehensive study on the demand side of elections which is vote selling as a precursor to voter behaviour.

Vote buying practice is an indication of a vibrant violation of electoral impartiality that every election should exhibit (Carreras & Irepoglu, 2013). While there are certain arguments concerning the problems associated with the vote buying and selling of votes, there is some agreement that transactional electoral politics leads to a whole lot of challenges. For instance, buying of votes together with other kinds of clientelism undermines the typical answerability connection that is fundamental to democracy (Hicken, 2011; Stokes, Dunning, Nazareno, & Brusco, 2013).

A study conducted Coalition for Accountable Political Financing during the 2007 election campaign in Kenya found that parliamentary candidates spent an average of 40 percent of their budget on the distribution of material benefits to voters before the day of election (CAPF, 2008). There has been a widespread of this canker in a sense that many African elections have not been centred on issues or policy accountability. This has possible marked consequences for economic development since it is normally done through the giving out of electoral incentives.

Since 1993, Ghana's Fourth republic, she has made significant strides in institutionalizing multiparty system of democratic governance found within the structure and form of the 1992 Constitution. Undoubtedly, these noteworthy

improvements in Ghana's democratization have been advertised as one of the political success stories on the whole of the African continent (Gyimah-Boadi, 2008). However, while the party system is relatively institutionalized, Ghanaian elections are competitive and reports of vote buying (the issuing of electoral incentives to voters) surface in every election including internal party elections. Kramon and Posner (2013) recount that cash and other types of handouts, which are often referred to as "chop money", are common to political campaigns in Ghana. There are ample evidences that vote buying is real and not imagined in Ghana. The phenomenon is so widespread in Ghanaian politics that from schools, universities to local internal party elections the practice is very common to the extent that some voters sometimes receive gifts from multiple parties. Hicken (2011) opines that the greater the extent to which voters receive multiple gifts, the lower the expectations of political support in return might be.

Civil institutions and stakeholders of elections in Ghana such as the Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDD, Ghana), Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) and Coalition of Domestic Observers (CODEO) through workshops and reports from pre-election surveys towards the 2012 and 2016 general elections have provided evidence on vote buying. These institutions have warned of the threat the phenomena pose to Ghana's democratic process since each election year, politicians and political parties are accused of distributing electoral incentives to voters (Baidoo et al, 2018).

Mensah (2007) is of the view that the democratic improvement of Ghana is still very much a work in progress since some democratic discrepancies still persevere at all levels of governance. Issues of national importance must be the basis on which

electorates vote to decide election results in order for an election to be regarded credible. What this study therefore sought to do is find out why voters in the Bantama constituency sell their vote, how the selling is done and its implications for Ghana's democracy. Because there is no buyer without a seller and vice versa, vote buying features in the study. In other words, there cannot be any productive discussion about vote selling without talking about vote buying.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Ghana in the past two decades has made significant successes in democratic elections in Sub-Saharan Africa. A eighth of such elections were held in 2020 since the beginning of the fourth republic culminating with a return to civilian rule in 1993. Elections in Ghana over the years, has earned her widespread commendation thereby creating a sort of standard that should be maintained if not improved upon (Gyimah – Boadi & Prempeh, 2012). This may imply that the Africa of today is almost completely different from the one of thirty years ago, as Horltz 1985 cited in Agormor & Adams, 2015 described African elections as nothing more than ethic roll calls. The movement towards democratization in Ghana and Africa offers a fine opportunity to engage in a detailed study of what informs voter choices and it impact on democracy. Elections by universal adult suffrage have and continue to be the means by which countries choose various leaders to form a representative government. For an election to be considered as credible, issues of national concern form the basis on which electorates vote to determine results of the election. However, elections in Ghana have always brought about, among other things, discussions on issues of vote selling and buying and ethnic voting.

It is alleged that in Ghana, politicians sometimes attach conditions to the act of vote buying.

There have been reports that indicate voters who benefit from the electoral incentives are sometimes made to swear in the name of a deity in order to compel voters to honour their part of the agreement. It is also alleged that some voters are asked to disclose the candidate they voted for with evidence of taking a photo of their ballots before they are paid for compliance. These acts undermine ballot secrecy as enshrined in electoral laws and the constitution of Ghana. Over the years, the country's democracy has been under serious threats due to illegal activities by politicians to buy the votes of electorates. It is widely believed that politicians allocate public resources in ways to maximize political gains. Politicians face intense pressure to provide gifts in exchange for votes. Ghanaian politicians face pressure to allocate private benefits to voters, often at great personal expense. Nugent (2007) notes that voters expect to be showered with gifts as evidence that the candidate genuinely does have the interests of the local people at heart. However, failure to do so sends a negative signal to voters.

Political parties in the nation have one way or the other offered incentives to buy votes from electorates. Evidence from pre-election surveys conducted by CDD Ghana towards the 2016 presidential and parliamentary elections as well as other elections in Ghana suggest that a great deal of vote-buying occurs in the days and weeks leading up to the elections. Allegedly, the electoral incentives range from contracts, employment, community projects (such as roads and schools), vehicles, gas cylinders, cash, building materials, outboard motors, motor bikes, laptops and others. It is unclear where the funds for these incentives come from but it is perceived that governments use state resources to purchase these incentives and buy votes

hence, the high expenditure that exceeds government's planned budget for election years.

Baidoo et al. (2018) suggest that vote buying does not just occur; sometimes electorates demand for the incentives from politicians and sometimes politicians also give to the electorates from their own will. For instance, in Ghana, a group of people might be compelled to ask or request for "chop money" from a visitor (candidate) or someone who visits and declares his/her political ambition and asks for their help or support from the people.

Literature suggests that, there has been numerous researches done in Ghana about voting behaviour (Boafo-Arthur, 2006; Paalo & Gyampo, 2019; Gyimah-Boadi 2008; Kramon & Posner, 2013; Baidoo et al, 2018; Nugent, 2007). However, these earlier researches were interested in vote buying to the neglect of vote selling. This current study was therefore designed to bridge the existing gap by exploring the implication of vote selling on Ghana's democracy.

1.3 Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study was to examine the implication of vote selling on Ghana's democracy from the perspective of Bantama Constituents.

1.4 Research Objectives

The study was guided by the following objectives:

1. To examine the reasons why voters sell their votes
2. To explore how vote selling transactions are conducted
3. To analyse the implications of vote selling for Ghana's democracy.

1.5 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following questions:

1. Why do voters sell their vote?
2. How is the vote selling transaction conducted?
3. What is the implication of vote selling on Ghana's democracy?

1.6 Significance of the Study

The significance of well-organized and incident-free elections cannot be overstated. Political campaigns and the election process are the most commonly acknowledged methods of choosing parties and individuals to govern their nations and fill various public posts in democracies. Elections must, in fact, be arranged in a way that prevents electoral fraud.

This study aims to add to the existing research on vote selling and its consequences for Ghana's democracy. This study is useful to electoral administrators, particularly the Electoral Commission of Ghana (ECG) and other organisations or institutions involved in electoral issues, namely the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO), the Centre for Democratic Development (CDD) Ghana, and the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE). Such information will aid in the development of more effective methods for campaigning against and dealing with electoral process violators. This research will act as a guide to policymakers on the need to design methods to curtail the trend of vote selling and its future ramifications for electorates and politicians.

This study will also serve as a model for future academics who will undertake research on vote selling and its democratic implications for Ghana and even other countries. It will also provide political parties with a good picture of how people sell their votes.

1.7 Delimitation

The study was delimited to Bantama constituency because, there have been several claims of the existence of this act within the constituency even in parliamentary elections. By content, the study was delimited to vote selling and its implication on Ghana's democracy. By population, the study was delimited to 10 participants.

1.8 Limitations

The researcher encountered three main challenges which posed limitation to the outcomes of the study. Firstly, the respondents were unwilling to involve themselves in giving out data. This is due to the fact that these respondents were concerned about potential prosecution when audio recordings fall within the public domain. I had to convince them that the study was meant for academic purposes only.

Secondly, even though the study involved only 10 respondents, it was a bit time consuming. This was due to the fact that, it took time for some respondents to be convinced. Also, for some respondents, it took many reschedule dates before final interview with them.

Thirdly, some respondents were unwilling to participate in the study because, they felt the study would yield no benefit to them.

1.9 Operational Definition of Terms

Vote selling: A process whereby voters receive cash from vote buyers or intermediaries in exchange for their votes (Vincente & Wantchekon, 2009).

Vote buying: A process whereby individuals or political parties pay cash to voters to purchase their votes (Owen, 2013).

Vote sellers: Individuals who show a willingness to sell votes or receive cash from vote buyers or intermediaries in exchange for their votes (Vincente & Wantchekon, 2009).

Vote buyers: Individuals, mainly party agents and candidates for public office who offer and make cash payments to voters to purchase their votes (Owen, 2013).

Voting behaviour: The set of personal electoral activities, including participation in electoral campaigns, turnout at the polls, and choosing for whom to vote (Bratton, 2013).

1.10 Organization of the study

The study is organized into five (5) chapters. Chapter one contained the introduction which dilates on the background to the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, delimitation, limitations, definition of terms and organization of the study. Chapter two reviewed related literature which include theoretical framework and the major themes highlighted in the research questions.

Chapter three looked at the methodology of the study which comprises research approach, research design, population, sample and sampling technique and procedure for collection of data, transparency and transferability of instruments and the techniques used in analyzing the data. Chapter four presented the results and discussion of the findings. Chapter five focused on the summary of the study, conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter of the study reviewed relevant literature regarding the topic under study. Scholarly works, research journals, books and other authorities have been consulted to unearth relevant information about vote buying and selling on democracy. The review first covered the theoretical framework that underpins the study followed by review of key themes raised in the research questions. The review was as follows:

- Theoretical framework - Economic Theory of Democracy
- Theories of Vote Buying/Selling
- Concept of Vote Buying and Vote Selling
- Democracy and Elections in Ghana
- Policy Voting
- Political Parties and Vote Buying in Ghana
- Mechanisms for Checking Vote Buying
- Reasons why voters sell their votes
- How vote transactions are done
- Implications of vote buying and selling on Democracy
- Empirical evidence associated with Vote selling

2.2 Theoretical framework

The Economic Theory of Democracy was used as the theoretical underpinning for this research. This is Anthony Downs' (1957) work, which emphasizes factors like rationality, choice, uncertainty, and information. The rational choice theory is a popular name for this idea. The concept is straightforward: if rational choice

assumptions can explain market behavior, they can also explain political behavior. It draws a parallel between consumers and voters, as well as between businesses and political parties. If businesses strive to maximize profits and customers seek to maximize utility, we may postulate that voters seek to maximize the utility of their vote while political parties seek to maximize electoral gains from their policies.

The central argument is that political parties are similar to profit-seeking enterprises in a profit-seeking market. They design whatever policies they feel would garner the most votes in order to achieve their own goals, just as businesses produce whatever items they believe will garner the greatest money for the same purpose (Downs, 1957).

Downs suggested three basic assumptions:

(1) All decisions made by voters and political parties are rationally guided by self-interest and implemented in accordance with the maximization of action utility principle; (2) the democratic political system implies a level of consistency that supports predictions about the consequences of decisions made by voters and political parties, and the government is responsible and trustworthy, which makes it possible to make predictions about the consequences that result from different choices, and (3) the democratic system assumes despite the consistency stated in the previous point a level of uncertainty, sufficiently important to allow different options.

The issue to emphasize is that the inherent values and the expected punishment if detected are the essential drivers of vote choice, not the magnitude of the reward supplied by the party. The rationale for this is that payments are made regardless of the action done for one-time contacts. According to the rational choice model of voting behavior (Downs, 1957), they (voters) would be better off accepting the bribe

or gift but staying at home on election day in the context of secret ballot and voluntary voting.

The majority of regular people oppose attempts by political elites to sway voter behavior unlawfully. However, certain people, particularly the poorest and most vulnerable members of society, have little option but to comply. When faced with erratic carrots or sticks during an election campaign, their only other choice is to seem to comply while actually rejecting. This approach, known as defection, is a frequent weapon used by the weak (Scott, 1969).

2.3 Theories of Vote Selling/Buying

According to Bratton (2013), voting behavior is a set of personal electoral behaviors that include participating in political campaigns, voting at the polls, and choosing who to vote for. Due to the complexity of voting behavior, Roth (2006) claims that a single model cannot describe it. As a result, the literature has used three main theoretical approaches to explain voting behavior, including but not limited to sociological theory (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944), psychosocial theory (Campbell et al., 1960), and the Rational Choice perspective (Downs, 1957; Fiorina, 2002).

The sociological model known as School of Columbia is based on the work of Columbia University's Applied Bureau of Social Research, which began with the publishing of the book *The People's Choice* (Lazarsfeld et al, 1944) and focuses on the effects of social factors. The psychosocial model, also known as the School of Michigan model, is based on the work of Campbell et al. (1960) which assumes that voter behavior is primarily influenced by party affiliation. The rational choice theory, commonly known as a model of economic voting or the School of Rochester, is named after Anthony Downs' seminal work (1957).

The People's Choice (Lazarsfeld et al, 1944), Voting (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954), and Personal Influence (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954) are three key publications that define the theoretical assumptions of the sociological model of voting behavior (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955). Lazarsfeld et al. (1944) at Ohio State (Erie County) used a questionnaire as a method of investigation for the first time in the study of a United States (U.S.) Presidential election in 1940, which pitted Franklin Roosevelt against Wendell Willkie (Barnes & Kaase, 1979). Paul Lazarsfeld, whose previous research had focused on the psychological mechanisms involved in decision-making processes and the effects of publicity, advertising, and mass media on consumer behavior, had two main goals: to investigate the effects of media exposure, that is, to learn how voters make decisions and the role of media in this process; and to test a new methodology of multiple interviews with a panel of subjects and a control group (Rossi, 1964). The study, whose findings were published under the title "The People's Choice" (Lazarsfeld et al 1944), begins by characterizing supporters of the two major political parties in the United States, using a panel of 600 subjects who were interviewed seven times over the course of the campaign, to then identify voters who changed their minds during the campaign, comparing three groups: those who decided their vote before the campaign, those who decided their vote during the campaign, and those who changed their minds during the campaign.

The primary theory of Lazarsfeld et al (1944) was that voting is an individual act influenced primarily by the voter's personality and media exposure. The findings, however, contradict the basic theory, implying that the media had a minor impact on electoral decisions and that the social groupings to which they belonged had the most influence. The focus of his book's final two chapters – "The Political Homogeneity of Social Groups" and "The Nature of Personal Influence" – is on the theoretical

elaboration of these conclusions, which are presented as revealed by new research; the study highlighted the importance of this area of political behavior, but more research is needed to establish it more firmly (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944).

The psychosocial model, according to Appiah (2018), has its roots in studies conducted by the Survey Research Centre at the University of Michigan during the 1948 U.S. presidential elections, the results of which were analysed by Campbell and Kahn (1952) in "The People Elect a President"; the elections of 1952, whose report was presented by Campbell, Gurin, and Miller (1954) in "The Voter Decides"; and the elections of 1956, where the results, combined with those obtained in previous investigations (1960). These works mark the start of a long series of studies by the Survey Research Centre and, more recently, the University of Michigan's Centre of Political Studies, which have continued to the present day, though now falling under the American National Electoral Studies (ANES), investigations that involve a wider range of institutions while maintaining the initial theoretical foundation. Most election studies in the United States of America use these investigations' questionnaires and databases as references (Appiah, 2018).

2.4 Concept of Vote Buying and Vote Selling

The practice of vote-buying is currently the most visible and prevalent electoral method used by political parties and politicians to win elections (Adojutelegan, 2018). At all stages of the election process, vote-selling is nuanced and inextricably tied to political party electoral success. Vote-buying is common in many emerging democracies, according to Jensen and Justesen (2014) and Kramon (2013). Vote-buying and vote-selling are defined in a variety of ways by academics. The lack of consistency in academic definitions of these phenomena has resulted in definitional

uncertainty when it comes to vote-buying and vote-selling. Apart from the definitional uncertainty, there is no agreement on whether vote-buying should be considered fraud or excused because of election promises (Wong, 2016). Scholars have paid attention to defining vote buying than vote selling apparently because vote buying elicit vote selling.

Vote buying is typically characterized as the exchange of money or other valuable items for votes (Kramon, 2016). Accepting this deal and committing to vote for the candidate associated with it is known as vote selling. In the strictest sense, vote selling occurs when a voter switches from being unsure or changing their mind about another candidate to voting for the one associated with the offer (Canare & Mendoza, 2021).

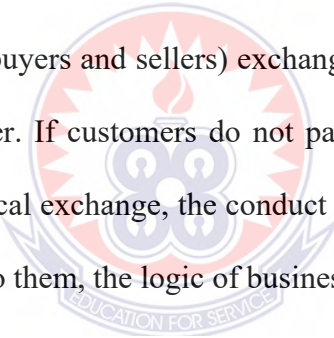
According to Brusco et al. (2004), buying votes is defined as political parties, whether incumbent or opposition, giving money or petty consumable products to people in exchange for their vote. It is defined by Kramon (2009) as the sharing of particularistic or personal material benefits in exchange for political support from voters. Finan and Schechter (2012) describe purchasing votes as the distribution of gifts to particular persons prior to an election in exchange for their votes. It is also a type of political clientelism in which politicians stall walks and or their agents trade cash and material things at the individual and personal level in exchange for electoral support from people (Robinson & Verdier, 2013).

Vote-buying is described by Gonzalez Ocantos, Jonge, and Nickerson (2014) as the trade of private goods for votes during election campaigns. Vote-buying, according to Lahoucq (2007), is exchanging valued commodities for votes on election day. Vote-buying, according to Owen (2013), is a procedure that involves making an offer to

buy the vote of a person of voting age, who accepts the offer, gets pay, shows up at the polling station, and then votes as paid.

Vote-buying, according to Mares and Young (2016), is a type of positive enticement that comprises offers of money, commodities, or favors in exchange for votes. According to Kennedy (2010), vote-buying is a simple economic exchange. Lucky (2013) described vote-buying as the use of cash as an inducement on behalf of candidates to persuade voters to vote by the terms of the vote-buyer.

The above definitions see vote buying and selling as a transaction (where there is a bargain and an agreement) or a trade. As a result, Mohammed (2020) argued that the logic of this transaction requires:

- 
- (a) The participants (buyers and sellers) exchange money for goods or services in an efficient manner. If customers do not pay or sellers do not deliver in the absence of reciprocal exchange, the conduct is deemed fraud or robbery rather than commerce. To them, the logic of business transactions necessitates it even more.
 - (b) Both buyers and sellers are aware of what they are doing: they are entering a reciprocal trade relationship. In other words, if people receive the money but still vote the way they meant to vote, they are not engaging in an act of trade. They are not selling their votes; rather, they are gaining unilaterally.

Schaffer and Schedler (2006), on the other hand, suggest that vote buying and selling are more than just basic market transactions in which a service is exchanged for a charge. For starters, because it is illegal, the 'contract' between the candidate and the voter for vote buying and selling cannot be enforced through traditional legal channels. Completing the vote buying and selling transaction, which involves the

voter accepting the offer and voting for the politician who made the offer, is therefore subject to normative and cultural subtexts (Schaffer & Schedler, 2006). Furthermore, in a secret ballot election, a candidate's ability to appropriately target vote sellers is critical to the success of a vote buying and selling transaction (Cruz, 2019).

According to Hwang and Kurzman (2007), transactional dependent exchange, occurrence during an election, and the use of cash, are all characteristics of vote-buying. Cash, immediate material incentives, and promises of future state advantages are all characteristics of vote-buying (Kennedy, 2010). Contingent exchange; occurrence during an election; payment of cash; provision of goods and services, distribution of food and drink; offer of employment; promises of future benefits and public programs; and the incentive for turnout (Nichter, 2014). In any study of the phenomena, it is critical for researchers to define vote-buying or vote-selling explicitly and to select features to include in these definitions (Nichter, 2014).

2.5 Democracy and Elections in Ghana

Without a question, democracy is a powerful cornerstone of successful administration. Many regimes in Africa and elsewhere have acquired the peace and tranquillity required for growth through democracy. Separating the performance and metrics of democracy from good governance, according to Towah (2019), is unrealistic. The two notions are linked, and for democracy to be effective in reality, it must be regarded in the same way as good governance, with a focus on improving society and the welfare of citizens.

Formal democracy, according to Huber, Rueschemeyer, and Stephens (1997), is a political system with significant characteristics such as universal adult suffrage and regular, free, and fair elections. Thus, guaranteeing free and fair elections is one pillar

or job of democracy in effective government. In contrast to manipulating elections, which often bring unpopular leaders to office, free and fair elections allow voters to pick a leader of their choosing. Elections are the primary means for all citizens to exert power by selecting their leaders and voting for the candidate they believe will best represent them. Elections are an important method for increasing public engagement in governance and providing legitimacy to a government chosen by the people (Amankwaah, 2013).

Free and fair elections also strengthen the legitimacy of holding leaders accountable, and in the event of abuse of authority, voters vote them out during the next election cycle (Amankwaah, 2013). However, there have been various incidents of electoral disputes in Ghana. For example, in the 2012 elections, incumbent President John Mahama received 50.7 percent of votes, barely a few thousand votes more than the margin for avoiding a run-off election. Nana Akufo-Addo earned 47.74 percent of the vote. The opposition accused the Electoral Commission (EC) of tampering with results and petitioned the Ghanaian Supreme Court to examine the election results (BBC news, December 10, 2012).

Despite this, efforts were made to resolve this electoral misunderstanding. Ghanaians are strongly in favor of upholding the practice of electing representatives. Armah-Attoh and Robertson (2014) opine that an absolute majority of Ghanaians (93 percent) want the selection of leaders to be done through regular, open and honest elections. Only 7 percent think elections sometimes produce bad results and therefore other methods of choosing leaders should be adopted. Also, a large majority (80 percent) believe the 2008 national election was “completely free and fair” or “free and fair with minor problems”. Indeed, since 2002, on average eight in every ten Ghanaians have supported the selection of leaders through the ballot box while a majority (77

percent in 2005; and 83 percent in 2008) have expressed faith in the efficacy previous national elections (Armah-Attoh, & Robertson, 2014).

2.6 Policy Voting

A voter has the option of abstaining or if he votes, he chooses among candidates. Policy voting means the extent to which the above is caused by the voter acting in accord with his policy preferences (Brody & Page, 1972). Campaign indiscretions are focused at the rural poor, according to Bratton (2004), and the consequences are severe. The following are the effects: violence reduces voter turnout, while vote buying increases partisan allegiance. However, conformity with politicians' objectives is not guaranteed, probably because most public view campaign manipulation as unethical. Especially where people are pressured from both sides of the partisan divide, defection from intimidation and agreements is more common than compliance. Voters expect targeted commodities from co-ethnic politicians, according to the voting replication and straight test of voters' expectations about future commodities (Bratton, 2004).

The normative implications of these findings, according to Appiah (2018), are diverse. On the one hand, they suggest that assumptions about future performance, as distinct from actual performance, influence voting. On the other hand, it appears that these expectations are based on genuine patterns of provision: co-ethnicity does not confer any real benefit to a politician with no prior experience, and politicians who appear to have never learnt (or unlearned) to link ethnicity to development. In the long run, it appears that co-ethnicity may not provide any benefit to a politician unless it also provides a benefit to voters.

According to Bratton and Kimenyi (2008), Kenyans who are most loyal to their ethnic identity are the ones who are most likely to vote along ethnic lines. Ugandans vote retrospectively, putting their support behind candidates who have done well throughout their terms in office. Retrospective voting has been confirmed in countries all over the world. Although each has flaws, there are a number of results that point to evidence of retrospective voting across the African continent (Ferree, 2004; Ferree & Horowitz, 2007; Ferree & Long, 2016; Bratton et al., 2004; Lindberg & Morrison, 2008). These studies reveal that African voters, regardless of ethnicity, base their voting decisions on the candidate's performance. Blaydes (2006) contends in a related study that Egyptian voters go to the polls or turn out only because they expect tangible reward. Chen and Zhong (2008) posited that, individuals who identify most closely with the present government or party in power are most likely to vote in China, and Shi (1999) found that voters in China's elections vote because they want to punish corrupt politicians. According to Bratton (1999), political participation in Zambia is determined by institutional ties between individuals and the state. Kuenzi and Lambright (2005) support this notion, claiming that those with stronger links to political parties are more inclined to vote.

Voting behavior refers to a range of personal electoral behaviors such as campaign engagement, voting turnout, and choosing who to vote for (Bratton 2013). Participation in popular collective action and involvement with political leaders and institutions, especially between elections and within a rule of law, are all examples of democratic citizenship (Bratton, 2013). The formal features of legal citizenship, such as birth, marriage, or naturalization, that permit an individual to have a passport or national identity card, fall well short of this comprehensive definition of citizenship. Rather, it refers to a political understanding of citizenship based on civic participation

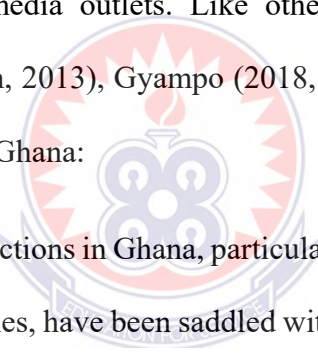
and engagement. Clients, on the other hand, are defined as individuals who merely desire patronage rather than a say in political decision-making (Bratton 2008).

If survey respondents refuse to state a clear ethnic preference, analysis will understate the role of co-ethnicity in determining voter choice. Recent findings indicating presidential performance is a better predictor of vote choice than ethnicity (Bratton & Kimenyi, 2008) could simply reflect the fact that retroactive voting is a more socially acceptable reason to prefer a candidate than ethnicity. Furthermore, the common finding that ethnicity is unrelated to electoral outcomes in some African countries, such as Senegal and Burkina Faso (Bratton et al, 2004; Posner, 2004; Huber, 2012), could be a result of the sensitivity of reporting ethnic votes, rather than true voter preferences (Bratton et al, 2004; Posner, 2004; Huber, 2012; Appiah, 2018).

2.7 Political Parties and Vote Buying in Ghana

Cheeseman, Lynch and Willis (2016) argue that democracy seems to be consolidating in Ghana relative to other African states. This is largely because Ghana has witnessed, at least, three peaceful power alternations since 1992, and in particular, the 2016 elections which resulted in a historic loss of power by a sitting president (John Mahama of the NDC) who had not served his second term as had happened in all the previous cases in the country's Fourth Republic. However, Cheeseman and his colleagues also observe that an apparent increase in voter education, plus a burgeoning middle class in Ghana, does not have a significant effect on the reduction or eradication of vote buying, as the practice remains a main characteristic of Ghana's electoral democracy. This view is shared by other scholars (Linberg, 2003; Frempong, 2008; Cheeseman et al., 2016; Gadjanova, 2017).

Ichino and Nathan (2013) stress that pervasive clientelism and patronage, rather than policy centered competition, characterises in party elections in Ghana. Election of political party executives is amongst the topics that create enormous controversies across the country. In the early days of Ghana's Fourth Republic (from 1992), the choice of party executives and aspirants was characterised by hand picking of some contestants ahead of others by political „godfathers“, ethnicity and tribalism, ballot snatching, physical violence and vote rigging, amongst others (Carbone, 2003). While most of these issues remain relevant as they still influence interparty and intra party leadership elections to various degrees (Osei, 2012), the phenomenon of vote buying has rather gained more attention from stakeholders and political commentators who protest through various media outlets. Like other multi party contexts in Africa (Lindberg, 2003; Robinson, 2013), Gyampo (2018, para 11) notes that vote buying is not a new phenomenon in Ghana:



Since 1992, elections in Ghana, particularly internal party elections and national ones, have been saddled with vote buying in a manner that confers legitimacy on corrupt practices after elections, undermines the sovereign will of the people, and hinders the selection of competent people to lead political parties.

One of the several measures to tackle in party electoral frauds in Ghana was to expand the Electoral College to increase the scope of the electorate (from national executives to include constituency and zonal or community level executives), who partake in the elections of national, regional and constituency party executives. This decision was made largely to minimise the influence of powerful party individuals who could, as it were, easily „buy“ delegates“ votes or dictate the choice of a particular candidate to the few privileged party members who took part in party elections (Carbone, 2003).

Thus, expanding the Electoral College was to tackle issues such as in party electoral clientelism (Apreku-Danquah, 2017). A survey conducted by Africa Elections Project (AEP) shows that all political parties in Ghana are guilty of vote buying – the majority of party supporters and, by extension, Ghanaians engage in the act either directly or indirectly, which depicts the perverse nature of the phenomenon in society (AEP, 2016).

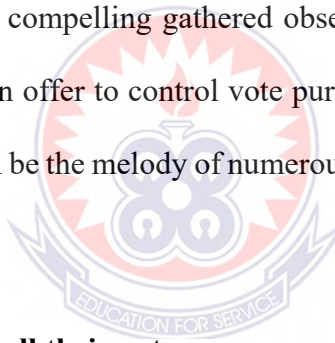
2.8 Mechanisms for Checking Vote Buying

There are many instances or solutions that can be applied to regulate vote purchasing in elections. As per Becker (1983), there should be a rearrangement of national police and other security agencies in our local areas or cities to keep the latter away from responding to this canker. To him, such arrangement ought to be completed a week before Election Day so as to allow the security agencies assigned to those areas have ample time to familiarize themselves in the area. He also suggests that, other voluntary groups like churches, Muslim communities, CODEO, NGO'S, Peace Council etc. could be used to help curb the situation.

In another study directed by Vicente (2009), to take a glimpse at African decisions, he discovered that in Africa, the incidence of vote buying is on the rise and the main thing that these African nations can do to stop the impacts of vote purchasing is to institute a dynamic control instrument keeping in mind the end goal to maintain a strategic distance from political pioneers from pitching voters to electorates. As indicated by him, there ought to be a biometric structure that can identify different candidates or voters and they ought to be some mystery code of vote firing, that includes suspicious assistants, overlay marks, votes with marks obviously made more than once by similar hand and a survey station having essentially a greater number of

polls than in a similar focus. He additionally urged that, the arrangement ought to be done independently by two sections assistants where non knows who the other is, there ought to be a likewise preparation of staff and an exclusion of the applicants“ families is fundamental, also open data should express that trick will be identified and punished and furthermore, political gatherings ought to have, at least, two operators at each station.

Magaloni (2006) postulates that, the best way to check vote purchasing is to enhance straight forwardness. He believed that the most ideal method for putting a conclusion to vote purchasing is to enhance straight forwardness. He said this may require legitimate or procedural change and can likewise require for reaching arrangement of non-divided onlookers or compelling gathered observation. He inferred that, if these means are well taken in an offer to control vote purchasing and thus anticipating vote forcing, improvement will be the melody of numerous nations and most particularly the developing ones.



2.9 Reasons why voters sell their votes

Citizens may demand anything in the shape of money or any other personal advantage before voting for the candidate or party in issue for a variety of reasons. Three prominent reasons have been established in the literature and theoretical views to explain the foundations of vote buying in elections. First, it is suggested that socioeconomic circumstances, particularly poverty, unemployment, and illiteracy, have a significant influence in encouraging the vote market in democracies. Second, it is believed that the voting mechanisms used in a given electoral system may also ensure that vote buying is prevalent throughout elections. The third theory is based on

the assumption that vote buying is a result of partisanship and party organization in a certain state (Onapajo, & Okeke-Uzodike, 2015).

According to Ashraf (2018), voters who sell their vote in Indian state elections are individuals who feel their votes would neither empower them nor improve their living situations. In consequence, their sole real benefit from democracy is the ability to monetize their voting rights, which is likely the most reasonable option given their dire economic circumstances. She goes on to say that selling votes is simple because all that is necessary is a walk to the polling station.

Poor wages and widespread unemployment, particularly among unskilled people, appear to be fuelling vote-buying (Ashraf, 2018). According to a study, those living in or near poverty are mostly jobless people who offer their votes in exchange for money because: first, they need it; second, it is an opportunity to reclaim money stolen from the people by politicians; and third, the dignity and pride gained by not selling their vote cannot provide them with food and money (Essays, UK, 2013).

Canare and Mendoza's study (2021) discovered evidence that when money is used for vote buying, it appears to be aimed towards people with larger needs, corroborating the literature that vote purchasing operations are disproportionately focused at poor and low-income groups. Vote buying offers are more common in locations where elections are fiercely contested, as well as in socially homogeneous groups.

Agomor and Adams (2014) investigated the factors that influence voting behavior in Ghana. Their research was motivated by a variety of viewpoints on what voters consider when casting their vote for one candidate over another. Their study sought to determine what influences Ghanaian voters' decisions. They came to the conclusion

that in Ghana, evaluative elements such as health, education, and political party employment policies drive voting behavior.

Vote buying has become a competitive electoral system, and politicians, as patrons, have developed a clientelism-based incentive structure to ensure good electoral outcomes (Agyepong et al, 2021). As Kitschelt and Wilkinson (2007) point out

“In many political systems citizen-politician linkages are based on direct material inducements targeted to individuals and small groups of citizens whom politicians know to be highly responsive to such side-payments and willing to surrender their vote for the right price...clientelistic accountability represents a transaction, the direct exchange of a citizen’s vote in return for direct payments or continuing access to employment, goods and services” (p.2).

These phenomena explain that clientelism elevates material benefit over political ideology and group or community interest (Agyepong et al, 2021).

Notwithstanding the clientelist cost of such a transaction, political clientelism is more concerned with the result of the action than with the procedure. As a result, political players, particularly those pursuing political power perceive clientelism as a successful "vote-getting" approach (Weitz-Shapiro, 2012). Income and poverty levels (Weitz-Shapiro, 2012), awareness and acceptance of democratic standards (Gans-Morse & Nichter, 2021), power dynamics within the political sphere over resource distribution, and the political patronage system are all factors to consider when analyzing clientelism (Hopkin, 2006). These elements are frequently present in voter decisions to commodify their votes in a contested election.

According to Mohaamed (2020), political groups and electoral candidates have created a sinister scheme of hook or crook to purchase and sell votes during elections, either surreptitiously or publicly. And because of its nature and location, as well as the impact and outcomes it guarantees, this method has shown to be effective. Due to political pressure to disregard these venal activities, which then impose pressure on the electoral mechanism, with the continual threat of backlash hovering in the background if pursued or examined, ensuring a clean and fair electoral process is challenging.

Vote buying and selling have become a typical aspect of elections in a varied democratic democracy, almost as if they were a logo or symbol to represent elections. However, closer examination reveals that electoral vote buying and selling have reached unprecedented levels of complexity and sophistication. They suffocate entities that examine and probe to ensure that electoral vote buying and selling are outlawed (Mohammed, 2020).

2.10 How vote transactions are done

Elections are one of the cornerstones that any democracy is built on. Elections appear to have been a crucial component in emerging democracies' stability and democratization (Baidoo et al, 2018). It is a crucial component that vests the power of governance in the people. Elections are vital to a nation's formation and electorates, according to Boafo-Arthur (2006), since they serve as a litmus test for democratic institutions. It strengthens democratic cornerstones such as the rule of law, ballot secrecy, separation of powers, judicial independence, and many more. As a result, elections enable citizens to participate in governance and provide citizens with the option to choose their leaders.

Electorates use elections to assess how well leaders or governments have performed in various aspects of national life, including education, the economy, agriculture, corruption, and living standards, among other things. As a result, it is a crucial procedure for allocating power and realizing representative democracy (Baidoo et al, 2018). In any democracy, elections and, more especially, voting are crucial methods for selecting leaders for political posts. They aggregate preferences, assist in the selection of better public officials, and provide incentives for politicians to act in the best interests of the voters they represent (Persson & Tabellini, 2000), because candidates are able to appeal to and explain their intended policies to electorates prior to being voted into power through elections.

Baidoo et al. (2018) distinguish two fundamental purposes of elections in the globe, particularly in Africa: changing a government and its leadership or seeking electorate acceptance to strengthen democratic and constitutional transition. Currently, multi-party elections are used to elect national leaders in a number of nations throughout the world. However, in some developing countries, particularly in Africa, election quality varies widely, with issues such as ballot fraud, intimidation, multiple voting, low voter education, snatching of ballot boxes, violence, and the distribution of electoral incentives or the purchase of votes among others (Vicente, 2008; Kramon, 2009).

Since the early 1970s, electoral incentives and vote buying have proliferated over the world, just as democratic elections have (Bratton, 2008). Many countries that have progressed down the path to democracy have seen extensive vote buying. Vote buying is common in many regions of the world, according to Vicente (2008). Indeed, vote buying, often known as clientelism in some circles, has a long history. Using electoral incentives to purchase votes has been a common practice in numerous developing and developed nations during political campaigns and elections.

Scholars have documented vote buying in African countries like Sao Tome and Principe, Nigeria (Bratton, 2008; Vicente, 2008), Kenya and Ghana (Kramon & Posner, 2013; Baidoo et al, 2018). For example, Hicken et al (2017, p. 9) account from their paper “Temptation in vote-selling: Evidence from a field experiment in the Philippines” that:

“Typically, each voter in a household will be offered a packet with their name on it, and campaigns track who accepted and who did not. Candidates may also engage in a second round of vote buying if they learn that a challenger is offering more money than they are. Campaigns seek to ensure that voters clearly associate the gift with their candidate. For example, the candidate's flyer may be stapled to packages of food handed out to voters or cash may be attached to flyer or letter from the candidate. Most commonly, candidates distribute money attached to a sample ballot, and encourage voters to take the ballots with them to the polls as a guide. The sample ballot includes not just the candidate's name, but also allied candidates from other races up and down the ticket.”

Every community has many sorts of vote buying. It might be in the form of cash payments to voters. According to Schaffer and Schedler (2005), vote buying is a straightforward economic transaction. Candidates “purchase” votes, just as people buy and sell apples, shoes, and television sets. Vote purchasing, he continues, is a contract, or maybe an auction, in which voters sell their ballots to the highest bidder. Parties and politicians that provide tangible advantages to voters may aim to buy political support at the ballot box, based on the market exchange concept. Other forms may include offering of employment before elections, giving out of gifts, provision of

social infrastructure to communities on the “last minute” and conditional promises to individuals upon the election of a candidate.

Kramon (2009) is of the view that political parties employ certain strategies to buy the votes of electorates. The strategies may focus on demobilizing active opponents or on mobilizing passive supporters. The former is often described as “negative” vote buying or “abstention buying”, while the latter may be considered as “participation buying.” These strategies may be intended to refrain electorates from casting their votes or ensure a high turnout but how the parties choose amongst the strategies when offering electoral incentives or buying votes remain a great question.

Incentives to purchase votes from electorates have been presented by political parties across the country in one form or another. According to evidence from CDD Ghana's pre-election polls for the 2016 presidential and parliamentary elections, as well as past elections in Ghana, a significant amount of vote-buying occurs in the days and weeks leading up to the elections. Contracts, jobs, community projects (such as roads and schools), automobiles, gas cylinders, cash, building supplies, outboard motors, motorcycles, computers, and other items are allegedly among the electoral rewards (Baidoo, et al, 2018). It's unclear where the money for these incentives comes from, but it's often assumed that governments use public monies to buy them and buy votes.

In his study "Vote buying and violence in Nigerian election campaigns," Bratton (2008) claims that vote buying boosts party allegiance. To maintain electoral coalitions, parties may give incentives or perks to key supporters during elections. This can be explained by the fact that giving rewards to party supporters is a way of recognizing and affirming their commitment to the party. As Gans-Morse et al (2009) put it, "unless operatives deliver particularistic incentives, supporters may become

swing or opposition voters at the following election," this stabilizes the party's support base by guaranteeing that party supporters do not defect to or vote for the opposition. In other words, it eliminates apathy among supporters. This means that it motivates people to vote for the party on election day. Nugent (2007) notes that voters expect to be showered with gifts as evidence that the candidate genuinely does have the interests of the local people at heart. However, failure to do so sends a negative signal to voters. This implies that politicians are likely to face intense pressure to provide gifts in exchange for votes at great personal expense.

2.11 Implications of vote buying and selling on Democracy

Vote-buying and vote-selling are pervasive phenomena in many developing democracies. Paalo and Gyampo (2019) in their analysis of recent intra-party elections in Ghana, they argue that vote buying has become more complex and more pronounced – and the proliferation of the phenomenon is aided by student campus politics (particularly at the various tertiary institutions), which directly feed into national politics.

While there is some debate about the consequences of the buying and selling of votes, there is a consensus that transactional electoral politics brings with it a host of costs. For example, vote-buying and other forms of clientelism can undermine or even reverse the standard accountability relationship that is central to democracy (Hicken, 2011; Stokes et al., 2013).

Vote-buying also hampers the development of and trust in the political institutions necessary for democratic development and consolidation (Kitschelt et al., 2010). Paalo and Gyampo (2019) agree when they opined that, elections in fledgling democracies are punctuated by perceived and observed cases of vote buying

otherwise also called electoral clientelism – regarded as a major threat to democratic consolidation. Finally, vote-buying and other forms of clientelism are associated with larger public deficits and public sector inefficiencies and higher levels of corruption (Hicken & Simmons, 2008).

The negative consequences of vote-selling are not apparent because they attack the heart of democratic governance and unnoticeably erode its essence (Lucky, 2013). Jenson and Justesen (2014) noted that the consequential impact of vote-selling has been to cast doubt on the value of the practice of democracy because of its paradoxical disposition. On the one hand, democratic election enables voters to choose freely the candidates that they want to govern or rule over their affairs, while it equally allowed the use of vote-buying as an electoral strategy that influences the outcome of elections thereby corroding the essential character of democratic governance (Jenson & Justesen, 2014).

Vote-buying impacts policy outcomes from the source because policies emanate from an adverse selection of unsuitable politicians with lower qualities who are the products of vote-buying (Leight et al., 2015). Vote-buying has been found to diminish and corrode democratic essence of elections and governmental accountability (Gonzalez-Ocantos et al., 2014).

Vicente (2014) stated that worse public policies and public services were a consequence of vote-buying. Jenson and Justesen (2014) argued that vote-buying results in the reduction of supply of public goods. Gomez and Hansford (2012) maintained that vote-buying amounts to silencing the voice of the voters, and that it is destructive mainly because it adversely impacts on public services. Hicken et al., (2014) associated vote-buying with inefficiencies in the public sector. Vote-buying as

an electoral strategy leads to governmental and economic inefficiencies (Jensen & Justesen, 2014). Vicente (2013) noted that vote-buying occurs where there is high political competition, and it invariably results to poor public welfare. Hanusch and Keefer (2013) observed that when vote-buying decreases public welfare increases.

Because it exposes the institutions' failure to control the democratic system, vote-buying erodes public trust (Hicken et al., 2014). Vote-buying, according to Carreras and Irepoglu (2013), is inextricably tied to voters' perceptions of election trustworthiness, to the point that when voters voice concerns about the election, they do not anticipate political institutions to provide citizens' requests for good public services (Carreras & Irepoglu, 2013).

Because of the method in which policymakers are elected, vote-buying, according to Vicente (2014), undermines policy accountability. Vote-buying undermines the accountability that democratic elections should provide (Jensen & Justesen, 2014). Leight et al. (2015) pointed out that vote-buying may stifle electoral accountability by the failure of voters to hold incumbent politicians accountable by trading their votes for money during elections.

Vote buying enables poor governance and undercuts citizens' ability to hold their elected officials accountable. If a candidate believes all they need to do to be elected is pay off voters and government officials, they will have no incentive to be responsive to issues their constituents care about issues like water and sanitation, education and unemployment (Mohammed, 2020).

Vote-buying, according to Leight et al. (2015), can stifle democratic accountability by preventing people from holding incumbent politicians responsible by exchanging their votes for cash. This is because once a nation becomes user-friendly to vote buying

and vote selling; it ceases to be in the best books of foreign multinational companies seeking to invest in developing countries (Baidoo, et al, 2018).

The occurrence of vote-buying, understood as incentives or gifts given to voters before elections in exchange for their votes is a corrupt electoral practice. The phenomenon seems to obstruct democratic processes, yet remains pervasive in many developing democracies. Vote buying is a threat to the conduct of quality elections. According to Akwetey (2016), electoral fraud, corruption and unfair practices bring the reliability of the electoral process into question. It affects the legitimacy of the elected officials. He adds that the practice often leads to mistrust, violence and conflicts, while robbing citizens of their need for expected peace and development.

Because of the negative effects of these practices, several studies attempted to determine what interventions may mitigate them, including campaigns to convince voters to promise not to sell votes (Hicken et al., 2017), voter education campaigns, including those focused on improving information on the costs of vote buying and selling and disseminating information on the performance of incumbent officials (Banerjee et al., 2011). Often, the central theme of most of these interventions is providing the voters with more information. Access to good quality information has been shown to, not only affect voting behaviour and political decisions, but also produce better decisions (Bassi et al., 2011). However, the effect of information on voting behaviour depends largely on the quality of this information, particularly in the contemporary context of widespread disinformation (Alcott & Gentzkow, 2017).

2.12 Empirical Evidence Associated with Vote Selling

A recent study by Agyepong et al. (2021) sought to investigate whether the incentives given to voters affect voters' decisions at the polls. It also looks at whether Ghanaians

are conversant with the laws and legislations on elections and for that matter vote buying. The mixed method approach with explanatory sequential design was employed for the study. The population for the study comprised the entire group of potential voters in the Shama District in the Western Region who are 18 years and above. It was concluded that the economic status or the income level of electorates has no effects on decisions about the person to vote for. According to the study, there is a relationship between vote buying incentives and voters' decisions. This makes incentives effective in winning votes.

A study by Appiah (2018) was to analyze vote selling and its impact on voting behaviour in the Ashaiman constituency. Specifically, it sought to examine the reasons why voters sell their votes, explore how vote selling transactions are conducted and analyze the implications of vote selling for Ghana's democracy. The study adopted the qualitative approach within which the case study design was used. Forty-five respondents were interviewed. It was found that voters sell their votes because after elections politicians fail to fulfill their campaign promises, low level of incomes and readiness of politicians to spend money on their campaign and their strong support for the party. It was also discovered that voters approach politicians through agents (local champions) who profit from the process. It was also discovered that vote-buying leads to bigger public deficits, inefficiencies in the public sector, and government corruption.

Paalo and Gyampo (2019) found that partisan relations and transactions between campus student unions and national political parties promote vote buying mostly in intra-party elections, which then manifests in national elections, based on qualitative data from existing literature, personal observations, and print and electronic media discourses. Mugume and Luescher (2015, 2017) claim that resource transfers from

parties to student leaders foster clientelistic politics on African university campuses, whereas Ichino and Nathan (2013) claim that intra-party elections in Ghana are marked by perverse vote buying.

Cheeseman and his colleagues also point out that an apparent rise in voter education, along with a growing middle class in Ghana, has had little impact on the reduction or eradication of vote buying, which remains a defining feature of the country's political process. Other academics agree with this viewpoint (Frempong, 2008; Cheeseman et al., 2016; Gadjanova, 2017).

Agomor and Adams (2014) examined the factors affecting voting behavior in Ghana. This research was motivated by a variety of viewpoints on what voters consider when casting their vote for one candidate over another. These researchers wanted to know what influences Ghanaian voters' decisions. Is it evaluative rationales like candidate attributes and accomplishments, government performance, and party policy platforms, or non-evaluative variables like political affiliation, ethnicity, and familial ties? The topic of whether voters vote retrospectively to "throw the rascals out," or vote prospectively on the basis of promises," is a basic distinction in voting behavior studies.

According to Agomor and Adams (2014), the non-evaluative criteria such as gender, ethnicity, religious affiliation, and gifts from candidates or parties, still exist but do not constitute the basis for voter selections in upcoming democratic dispensations. As a result, they came to the conclusion that in Ghana, evaluative factors such as health, education, and political party employment policies drive voting behavior. What the study's findings show is that voting is not always rational; occasionally sociological considerations, and in other cases psychosocial issues, predominate. The study's

findings show that Ghanaian voters employ various clues as part of their own complex social and ideological identities when determining who to vote for, supporting the instrumentalist perspective that both performance assessments and ethnicity play a role in voter decision-making.

Kramon (2009) published an intriguing study on vote-buying and political behavior: calculating and explaining the effect of vote-buying on turnout. It's an afrobarometer study that took place in Kenya. The study sought to determine "why does vote-buying occur in many democracies around the world" (Kramon, 2009, p. 2), as well as the relationship between vote-buying and voter behavior, "if the privacy of the vote is protected and politicians cannot ensure that targeted citizens vote for them" (Kramon, 2009, p. 2). To put it another way, the study aimed to shed additional light on the impact of vote buying on individual voter turnout in Kenya. The quantitative approach to research was used, and the survey method was used. A nationally representative sample was used in this study, as is done in afrobarometer surveys, resulting in 1,278 people being asked to respond to many questions about the subjects under investigation. According to Kramon (2009), "pre-election material benefits, in the form of vote-buying, are central to understanding why people vote in Kenya," and there is "strong statistical support for the notion that vote-buying influences an individual's decision to vote, and that Kenyans who have been approached by a vote buyer are about 14 percentage points more likely to vote than those who have not" (Kramon, 2009, p. 24). A nationally representative sample was used in this study, as is done in Afrobarometer surveys, resulting in 1,278 people being asked to respond to many questions about the subjects under investigation. According to Kramon (2009), "pre-election material benefits, in the form of vote-buying, are central to understanding why people vote in Kenya," and there is "strong statistical support for

the notion that vote-buying influences an individual's decision to vote, and that Kenyans who have been approached by a vote buyer are about 14 percentage points more likely to vote than those who have not" (Kramon, 2009, p. 24).

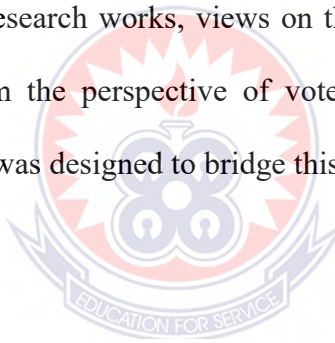
Jensen and Justesen (2014) used survey-based evidence from Africa in their study on poverty and vote buying. They undertook this research in order to better understand the origins of vote purchasing in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), with a particular focus on the impact of poverty on vote buying at the individual and national levels. They wanted to know who parties buy votes from and why during their vote-buying campaigns. Jensen and Justesen (2014) used data from the Afrombarometer poll, which is a reliable source of information on African voters' attitudes and experiences with democracy. The information was gathered using a stratified random sampling approach, which resulted in a sample of adults from all nations that was largely representative (Bratton et al., 2005). According to Jensen and Justesen (2014), there are clear links between poverty and vote buying. They also determined that vote buying is one of the more popular political methods used by politicians during elections due to poverty.

2.13 Summary of literature and the study gap

Literature revealed that many studies have examined voting buying and its implications to democratic values. It was shown that vote-buying is linked intrinsically with voters' perception of the trustworthiness of elections. It was also pointed out that vote-buying may hinder electoral accountability by the failure of voters to hold incumbent politicians accountable. The phenomenon was pointed to obstruct democratic processes, diminish and corrode democratic essence of elections and governmental accountability, results in the reduction of supply of public goods,

and promote inefficiency, yet remains pervasive in many developing democracies. Because of the negative effects of these practices, several studies attempted to determine what interventions may mitigate them, including campaigns to convince voters to promise not to sell votes. Literature has shown that the central theme of most of these interventions is providing the voters with more information. Access to good quality information was seen to not only affect voting behaviour and political decisions, but also produce better decisions and probably restoring democratic values.

In recent years, a significant number of research on vote buying in Ghana have been done. Some of these include works of Agomor and Adams (2014), Akwetey (2016), Baidoo et al., (2018), Paalo and Gyampo (2019), Agyepong et al., (2021). Despite the importance of previous research works, views on the implications of vote selling on Ghana's democracy from the perspective of vote sellers, receives little attention. Consequently, this study was designed to bridge this gap.



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methodology and procedure that were employed to study vote selling in Bantama and its implications on Ghana's democracy. The following were looked at under this chapter; the philosophical paradigm, research approach, research design, population, sample and sampling procedure, instrumentation, methods of data collection as well as method of data analysis and ethical considerations.

3.2 Philosophical Paradigm

The study was conducted from the lenses of interpretivism. Interpretive researchers believe that reality consist of people's subjective experiences of the external world; thus, they may adopt an inter-subjective epistemology and the ontological belief that reality is socially constructed. Myers (2009) argues that the premise of interpretive researchers is that access to reality (whether given or socially constructed) is only through social constructions such as language, consciousness and shared meanings. Interpretive paradigm is underpinned by observation and interpretation, thus, to observe is to collect information about events, while to interpret is to make meaning of that information by drawing inferences or by judging the match between the information and some abstract pattern (Aikenhead, 1997). Reeves and Hedberg (2003, p. 32) note that the "interpretivist" paradigm stresses the need to put analysis in context. The interpretive paradigm is concerned with understanding the world as it is from subjective experiences of individuals. They use meaning (versus measurement) oriented methodologies, such as interviewing or participant observation, that rely on a subjective relationship between the researcher and subjects. Interpretive research does

not predefine dependent and independent variables, but focuses on the full complexity of human sense making as the situation emerges (Kaplan & Maxwell, 1994).

3.3 Research Approach

This study adopted the qualitative approach. According to Cropley (2019), the task of qualitative research is to gain insights into constructions of reality, i.e., to tease out the nature of the world as it is experienced, structured and interpreted by people in the course of their everyday lives. Kombo and Tromp (2006) clarify that qualitative research is a form of research that involves description to the data obtained. It seeks to describe and analyse the behaviour of groups from the point of view of those being studied. Also, this approach enables a researcher to relate particular aspects of behaviour to the wider context.

Qualitative research is interpretive (Mason, 2002). The interpretivist advocates maintain that the researcher has profound influence on the research, and due to the complex nature of the social world, scientific laws do not adequately explain the nature of the social world (Bryman, 2001). Thus, research cannot possibly be independent and free of the influence of the researcher, the time or the context. Qualitative study maintains that knowledge or reality is subject to interpretations to better understand social phenomena; the ontology of this paradigm indicates that there is no single reality, but multiple one's subject to interpretations and experiences of humans; and the methodological position of this paradigm is mainly qualitative by means of interviews, and observations, among others (Saunders et al., 2012).

Qualitative research connotes an approach which seeks to explore understanding, meaning and conception of individuals or groups to a particular social phenomenon (Creswell, 2012). Similarly, qualitative research is conducted to understand better the

specific happenings in an organisation rather than shallow explanation of a large sample population. Qualitative research provides a clear interpretation of the structure, position, nature and views of phenomena held by members of a particular group.

In this study, qualitative approach was used to enable the researcher to get direct explanations and views of respondents. Since qualitative approach allows the researcher to ask questions that comes in textual form to understand human experience, it was needful employing this approach for the study.

3.4 Research Design

Research design, according to Cooper and Schindler (2000), refers to simply as “the plan and structure of investigation so conceived as to obtain answers to research questions” (p.134). Research design is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure. In fact, the research design is the conceptual structure within which research is conducted; it constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data (Kothari, 2007). It is the “glue” that hold all of the elements in a research project together. A design is used to structure the research to show how all of the major parts of the research project work together to try to address the central research questions (Kombo & Tromp, 2006).

In this study, case study design was used. Case study is an attempt to examine a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, especially when boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin, 1984). This design was used because it aims to understand the in-depth of the case involve, and in its natural setting, recognizing its complexity and its context as well as having a holistic

focus aimed to preserve and understand the wholeness and unity of the case (Punch, 2005). Since case study design explores a phenomenon in its natural setting holistically, it was needful employing it to unearth the issue of vote selling from the subjective experiences of voters.

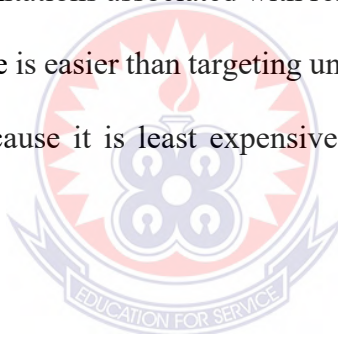
3.5 Population

According to Kombo and Tromp (2006), population is a group of individuals, objects or items from which samples are taken for measurement. Population refers to an entire group of persons or elements that have, at least, one thing in common (Kombo & Tromp, 2006). In other words, population means the total group of people out of which researchers have interest in. More formally, population is the theoretically specified aggregation of study elements (Rubin & Babbie, 2005). The targeted population for this study constituted all eligible voters in Bantama Constituency who engage in vote selling.

3.6 Sample and Sampling Technique

Sidhu (2003) defines sampling as the process of selecting a representative unit from a population. Kwabia (2006) describes a good sample as one that is representative of the population from which it was selected. Sample size determination for qualitative research has varied approaches. However, some scholars on the determination of appropriate sample size for qualitative study have proposed varied approaches. For example, Glaser and Strauss (1971) proposes the concept of saturation as very relevant in determining sample size for qualitative study. Saturation here implies a situation where data obtained from any additional respondent or sample will not provide any new information to what has already been obtained from research participants. Other scholars, such as Creswell (2018) have also suggested between 25

and 30 respondents for phenomenological and ethnographic studies while Mason (2010) and Charmaz (2006) recommend the need for researchers to consider availability of resources, time and study objectives in determining the appropriate sample size for qualitative study. To this end, it was prudent that the researcher used an appropriate sample size. The researcher sampled ten (10) eligible voters who sold their vote through convenience sampling technique. This number was reached as a result of data saturation. Convenience sampling is selecting participants because they are often readily and easily available. Typically, convenience sampling tends to be a favored sampling technique among students as it is inexpensive and an easy option compared to other sampling techniques (Taherdoost, 2016). Convenience sampling often helps to overcome many of the limitations associated with research. For example, using friends or family as part of sample is easier than targeting unknown individuals. This sampling strategy was adopted because it is least expensive, least time consuming and most convenient.



3.7 Instrumentation

The main instrument for data collection was interview guide. The kind of interview done on the field was the face-to-face interview. Interviewing is typically done in a face-to-face encounter (Marvasti, 2004, Rubin & Babbie, 2005). Interview as a method of collecting data involves presentation of oral or verbal stimuli and reply in terms of oral-verbal responses. This method can be used through personal interviews and if possible, through telephone interview (Prakashan, 2003). An interview involves the oral or vocal questioning technique or discussion. Through this interaction the required data are taken for the aim of fulfilling the study objectives.

3.8 Procedure for Data Collection

The task of data collection begins after a research problem has been defined and research design/plan checked out. Data collection is a systemic way of gathering information, which is relevant to the research purpose or questions (Burns & Grove 1997). The researcher first made a familiarization visit to participants. This method helped the researcher to establish a warm atmosphere between her and the respondents in facilitating smooth and trustworthy data collection. After familiarization visit with participants, the researcher scheduled date for data collection with each participant. During the day of data collection, the researcher briefed them about the purpose of the research. A total of 10 interviews were conducted with each interview lasting between 20 to 25 minutes. The data collection process took almost two weeks multiple schedules since some participants in the study had busy schedules. In line with ethical issues, the research sought permission for the interviews to be recorded. The interviews were recorded using voice recorder on a mobile phone. These were later transcribed for analysis.

3.9 Trustworthiness

The researcher ensured the trustworthiness of the qualitative field data collected. In this sense, the idea of confirmability in trustworthiness was instituted by ensuring that the researcher's prejudice did not affect the ideas provided by the participants who were interviewed as a created story during the transcribing phase. As a result, the viewpoints expressed by research participants were presented accurately and represented in the data analysis, conclusions, and discussions. Furthermore, by connecting the interview guide items with the research questions that drove the study, the credibility of the interview data collected from the study was reinforced. This enabled the researcher to get valuable information from the interviewees for analysis.

3.10 Method of Data Analysis

Data from this study was analysed using thematic analysis using themes developed from the data collected based on the research questions. Thematic analysis is a type of qualitative analysis. It is used to analyse classifications and present themes (patterns) that relate to the data. It illustrates the data in great detail and deals with diverse subjects via interpretations (Boyatzis, 1998). Thematic Analysis is considered the most appropriate for any study that seeks to discover using interpretations. It provides a systematic element to data analysis. It allows the researcher to associate an analysis of the frequency of a theme with one of the whole content. The analysis involved the process of listening, reading, re-reading, inductive reasoning, reflection and coding the interview transcripts and drawing out major themes from data collected.

3.11 Access and Ethical Consideration

Halai (2006) opines that there are laid down principles and guidelines for conducting studies in an ethically appropriate manner which require researchers to obtain approval from gatekeepers and from the participants. Ethics refers to questions of right and wrong. A researcher must ask if it is right or wrong to conduct a certain study or investigate a certain question. Ethical matters are important in carrying out a research work. In this study, the researcher considered all research directives, which included maintaining confidentiality, honesty, openness, responsibility, as well as seeking permission from the required offices and officers. This helped to avoid unnecessary pain or distress, fear and harm among respondents and enabled the researcher build trust among the respondents on the field.

I made sure that all identifying personal information gathered from voter respondents in the study was erased from the final report to ensure the ethics of confidentiality

throughout the field data collecting. In addition, when audio recordings were collected from the persons questioned, the audio files were kept on the researcher's laptop as password-protected files, preventing outsiders from reading or editing the transcribed data.

Furthermore, pseudo names were used in the study to safeguard their anonymity of informants.

In order to avoid plagiarism, secondary information from books, journals, newspapers, and online theses that supplied significant literature on the topic was properly credited.



CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study. Data from the field is presented and discussed in this chapter. It has two sections. Section A presents the demographic characteristics of respondents. This comprised data on the sex, age and occupation of the respondents, as per section A of the questionnaire. Background data is presented to provide readers a general view of the participants of the study. Section B also presented the findings based on the research questions raised.

Section A: Demographic Data of Respondents

4.2 Background Information of Respondent

This section of the chapter focused on the background of respondents who were in the constituency used for the study. The background information collected includes; gender and age, occupation, range of income and number of times voted. These background data are represented in table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Background of Respondents

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Male	7	70
Female	3	30
Total	10	100
Age		
20-30	2	20
31-40	4	40
41-50	3	30
51-60	1	10
Total	10	100
Occupation		
Banker	2	20
Business	3	30
Professional Teacher	2	20
Estate Manager	1	10
Student	2	20
Total	10	100
Range of Income of voters		
500-1000	1	10
1000-1500	1	10
1501-2000	1	10
2001-2500	2	20
2501-3000	1	10
3000 and above	2	20
None	2	20
Total	10	100
Number of Times Voted		
1	0	0
2	1	10
3	2	20
4	2	20
5	3	30
6	1	10
7	1	10
Total	10	100

Source: Authors' Field Data, 2022

From the Table 4.1, majority (7) of respondents representing 70% were males while 3 representing 30% were females. Although majority of the respondents were males with females being minority, it did not have any negative influence on the findings of this study since this research did not focus on gender dimensions of vote selling and its implications on Ghana's democracy thus, the gender information provided were only to give general information of respondents involved in the study.

Again, the Table 4.1 showed the age of respondents involved in the study. The results show that, 2 respondents representing 20 % were of the age range of 20-30 years, 4 respondents representing 40 % were of the age range of 31-40 years, 3 respondents representing 30 % were of the age range of 41-50 years, while 1 respondent representing 10 % was of the age range of 51-60 years. The age results indicate that majority of respondents are matured. This explains that they probably have engaged or witnessed national elections several times and are aware of the resultant effects aftermath.

Moreover, the Table 4.1 showed the occupation of the various respondents involved in the study, the results revealed that, 2 respondents representing 20% were bankers, 3 respondents representing 30% were involved in business, 2 respondents representing 20% were professional teachers, 1 respondent representing 10% engaged in real estate development while 2 respondents representing 20% were students. The data on the occupation of respondent was very essential to the study since it indicate their level of education. The data indicate that majority of the respondents were literate which indicates that these people are deemed enlightened on their consequences of their electoral behaviours and decisions.

The table also revealed the range of income of voter respondents, the Table indicates that, one each of the respondents interviewed representing 10% had income ranging between GHC500-1000, GHC1000-1500, GHC1501-2000, GHC2501-3000 each. The table also indicate that, 2 of the respondents representing 20% had income ranging between GHC2001-2500, 2 respondents representing 20% had income ranging from GhC3000 and above while 2 respondents representing 20% had no substantive income. This is due to the fact that these respondents were students and do not engage in any economic activity. The range of income was relevant to the study because, most of the participants earned above GHC2000. Thus, it will be surprising if these voters are influenced by the manipulation of politicians prior to elections regarding their level of education.

Furthermore, the table showed that no respondent has voted once in all eight national elections since 1992, 1 respondent representing 10% have voted twice, six and seven times in national elections, 2 respondents representing 20% have voted three and four times respectively, 3 respondents representing 30% have voted five times. Majority of the respondents have voted in most national elections since the beginning of the fourth republic (1992) from the findings. This finding has an influence on the study in the sense that persons who have voted several times in national elections have adequate knowledge about issues relating to elections or voting before, during and after.

Section B: Main Data

The purpose of this study was to examine vote selling and its implications on Ghana's democracy. It sought to examine the reasons why voters sell their votes, how vote

selling transactions are done, and its implications for Ghana's democratic dispensation.

4.3. Research Question One: Why do voters sell their vote?

Interview with respondents indicates that, they do engage in vote selling for many reasons. Broadly, these reasons that based on the aftermath behaviours of politicians who sought their vote prior to elections. Below are the major themes and what participants had to say from the data collected:

To engage in business

One of the main points that emerged as the reason for some voters selling their votes was the need for business capital. One voter explained this by noting that:

Yeah, because they will promise you heaven on earth, even, uh, assembly man will promise you an interchange. He can even promise market and factories, even assembly member oo. Immediately they won elections, you hear them saying an assembly member does not do this. MP does not do this. MP does not do that. So, I think all they do is to trick us. Yeah, so, I collect that money from them to start a small business [Emmanuel]

This finding indicates that voters see elections as bait used by politicians to gain power. Thus, they have conditioned themselves to use the electoral system as business to their advantage. Appiah (2018) concluded that vote selling influences voting behaviour. It motivates voters to go to polling stations and vote for candidates they sold their vote to as a way of honouring the contract.

Unfulfilled campaign promises

A second theme that emerged doing the data analysis was the matter of unfulfilled campaigning promises by politicians. This emerged in several comments.

Just that here in Ghana, the politicians cannot be trusted. So, you have to collect your share and eat before they come to power. Because after the vote and they come to power, you do not see them again. [Serwaa]

Oh, thank you. Frankly speaking, the very first time I took money from a politician was 2020 lessons. And the reason is that these politicians come with sugar coated words to convince you. But uh, when they won elections, they would do absolutely nothing. So, I think the best for me is to collect money as supply from them. Cause at the end of their four years, when they take their ex-gratia, mine will be the money I collected from them. The only option for us is to collect something. I have to collect the money. Then I go my way, because the moment that I collected the money, I know, I know say they won't do nothing. Cause all that they will come and say is there was a debt. Uh, uh, we are owing this. [Emmanuel]

Oh, you see, this politicians after voting for them we don't see them again until next election and as a leader in our community, I have boys. And so, if they come, they channel things through me and say kindly take this (money) and organize the people for me.

The boys too I cannot leave them like that. At least their T and T.

[Kojjo]

huh. Initially I used to try my best to be a good leader but I realized that all the politicians do not keep their words. They will promise you good hospitals, good roads. By the end of the day, we realize that things are still the same. We are still this poor. Nothing to write home about. If somebody will like give you like clothes or money for you to vote for a person. I think at least, you have something to benefit. I wouldn't go and join any queue without enjoying any benefit. We must have a reason to vote. If I will waste my time, wake up early in the morning with the hope that I'm going to choose a leader to bring some improvement in my life, that should have been the norm that a leader will come to help us. But you realize that, they will come and fail that. So, definitely we too, it is our own way of getting something from them. [Akosua]

I did that because they will promise us that when they come into power, uh, you'll be offered job opportunities, but at the end of the day, the story doesn't reflect that way. So, I have made up my mind to always sell my votes. [Frimpong].

The result indicates that the major reason why people sell their vote is to get all the money or items they can get from politicians before they (politicians) become unavailable; thus, refuse to honor their campaign promises as revealed in the findings of Appiah (2018).

Indeed, this result confirms the work of Baidoo et al., (2018) that major items used in buying votes includes money and cloths.

Readiness of Politicians to Spend on Campaigns

The third theme that emerged was the readiness of politicians to spend on campaigns.

A typical comment was that,

Um, I didn't really choose to sell my votes. I was in my house when they came mm-hmm and they talked and offer the gift - cloth. And the condition was that when you take it, you vote for them. Uh, um, I didn't really want it, somehow, I took it. But what should I say? They themselves are liars. If you don't take it after the vote, you'll not see them again. [Serwaa]

This explains the desperate nature of politicians ready to spend in order to win elections because of the wealth they will amass when they come to power. Appiah (2018) indicates that politicians come to beg voters for them to win power. Overall, the comments show that voters have varying reasons why they engage in vote selling. For politicians, they become vote buyers for several reasons.

4.4 Research Question Two

How Vote Selling Transactions Are Conducted

Overall data on Vote Selling Transactions indicate that the process starts with convincing voters via finding charismatic individuals who can influence and gather eligible voters for them. This is followed by the process of channeling incentive that is, distributing material benefit to voters, followed by conveying to voting station and ends with proof of voting.

Convincing through meetings

One of the forms vote buying takes is voter convincing. This appears to happen through meetings. This was highlighted in particular statements that:

When they came, the first thing they did was to convince me.

[Serwaa]

Oh, first of all, they tell lies to convince people when they organize their meetings. That is what they have doing. These politicians, you can't trust anything they do. But I give in because at the end of the day, I also know that I have something to enjoy. [Emmanuel]

This suggests that voters were made to have a change of decisions when it comes to voting for their preferred candidates. This confirms the findings of Bryan (2005) who stated that voters are given money and other items to influence their decisions or choices at the polls. But the findings do not resonate with Bryan (2005) when he again stated that voters are given these direct benefits and may be expected to abstain from voting.

Channeling incentives

Another form of vote buying that emerged was channeling incentives. The incentives appear to take various forms including given out particular items.

I am an agent. If they channel money for organization, I organise our sisters, the poor, give them something for business. So, they can also benefit. So, to channel for organization, well, I guess that's what I can say [Kojo]

oh ok. The vote selling process also involve distributing money or any item before the voting day. Some people I know take clothes. Myself, I do take money which includes the T and T to the place. Yh, that is my motivation to vote. But that doesn't mean I should vote for the person I took money from. I vote on policies, not money. [Frimpong]

This indicates that, political parties in the nation have one way or the other offered incentives to buy votes from electorates. Evidence from pre-election surveys conducted by CDD Ghana towards the 2016 presidential and parliamentary elections as well as other elections in Ghana suggest that a great deal of vote-buying occurs in the days and weeks leading up to the elections (Baidoo, et al, 2018).

Conveying to the voting place

One form of vote buying was the practice of transporting people to the voting place. Once there, the voters feel grateful to the candidate who transport them to the place.

The day the voting was supposed, they came and took me to the voting place . [Serwaa]

Sometimes, they organize buses for those who are willing to sell their vote to the voting center. They do it to make the turnout very high. Sometimes too, you are paid T and T. [Kojo]

This explains that vote selling is a transaction whereby candidates distribute private goods such as cash and gifts in exchange for electoral support or higher turnout. The focus here is for voters, especially party supporters and swing voters to turn out in their numbers and vote for the party (Brusco et al., 2004)

Proof of Voting

Another form of vote buying involved voters showing proof of voting. They (voters) must show evidence they voted for the candidate. The proof of voting then qualifies the individual for financial or capital item.

Oh, uh, sometimes they'll make sure say, uh, when you are going to vote, you can just take a picture of it for then you know that, uh, you voted for him or, Hey, that's a credibility. That, that would be the assurance for them to know that they, when you, you took the money, you did the job. So that's what I did. So, for me, I collected the money. Then we did see that I did it for, for the person. I just took a picture of it and show it to me. So that's what I did
[Emmanuel]

Okay. The first one has to do with, um, taking picture of your vote and then the second one also comes in a form of, um, announcement of cases that is when you fail to have to vote on their behalf. So those are the things that they will make sure that before you be given the money you do before and after hours. So, in a nutshell, you have to make sure you do that. If you don't do that, then they will come after you. Or if you don't take a picture of it, then that means you did not vote for them. So those two things are always from their end to ensure that you-the voter will do justice to that. Yeah [Kwame]

These findings suggest that voters conduct vote selling transactions through agents of candidates, organized groups and personal meetings. Again, the findings agree with

Lindberg (2003) because the impression created by respondents in the study suggest that they are entitled to goodies from politicians thus confirming the caption, “its our time to chop”. The discussion shows that, there are four main forms of vote buying. These include convincing through meetings, channeling incentives, conveying to the voting place and proof of voting.

4.5 Research Question Three

What is the implication of vote selling on Ghana’s democracy?

Interview with respondents indicates that they are aware of the implications of selling their votes however, they have no choice than to yield to the demands of politicians. Inability to select competent leaders, corruption, tyranny, inability to initiate good policies and the inability to hold politicians accountable came out as the implications of vote selling on Ghana’s democracy.

Inability to select competent leaders

The themes that emerged include inability to select competent leaders. Typical comments illustrating this include

Engaging in selling your vote is not good. That is why we don't have good people to rule the country. since it's not a good practice, I would not encourage the younger generation to do that. You want someone who is trustworthy, who can rule the country. [Serwaa]

I think democracy is to seek someone who has the capacity and ability to deliver when it comes to governance. But selling vote makes us to select incompetent leaders over competent ones. When it happens like that, the person will get to a position he or

she cannot deliver. So, at end the day, citizens will suffer.

[Kwaku]

This implies that vote selling leads to inability of elected politicians as a result of vote buying to use public office to the benefit of a community. Jensen and Justesen (2014) noted that vote selling leads to governmental and economic inefficiencies. Vicente (2013) also noted that vote-buying occurs where there is high political competition, and it invariably results to poor public welfare.

Corruption

A second theme that emerged from the analysis included corruption. The argument is that corruption makes individuals vulnerable to financial inducement. Also, leaders who get elected through vote buying and selling seek to look state money to replace their loss. Some typical comments include:

Vote selling is not good because it leads to corruption. That's why from the top, national, uh, region, uh, branch level, you see now that even in our tertiary, the school level, everywhere is corrupt. Meanwhile, we want the intellectuals. We want the people who are capable of doing the work, but nowadays without money, everything is tough [Emmanuel]

Yes. Regardless of how the person is, capable of delivering or not, he or she will end up making sure that you pay back what he has spent. So instead of channelling the resources in development, he or she will channel it to restore what he or she has lost before they even think of what they will do. I think it's wrong [James]

The results confirm the findings of Baidoo et al., (2018) that one of the major implications of vote buying is that it can trigger corruption by politicians after they are voted into power. This is because they would want to get return on money invested during election campaigns. They stated that it can lead to the abuse of state resources.

It leads to tyranny

Another point that emerged was that vote buying leads to tyranny-suppression of freedoms, arrest of journalist etc. Typical comments include:

Well, it's not good. That's why we are in this mess. Because if the person becomes tyrant, you can't challenge his abuse. You can't challenge his ideas, whatever he does, but if you have to follow reality, it is a good thing. Look, some people don't come to you. We vote on whatever we hear at times. So, you vote for the one who entice you. [Kojo]

This suggests that even though vote selling leads to tyranny, eligible voters vote in exchange for material benefits. This is in line with findings of Nugent (2007) that failure to distribute material resources while on the campaign trail is perceived that the candidate (whose wealth and lifestyle are often different than his constituents) is out-of-touch and does not understand the needs of the poor constituents.

Inability to initiate good policies

A third theme that emerged from the analysis was that vote selling leads to inability to initiate good policies. This includes:

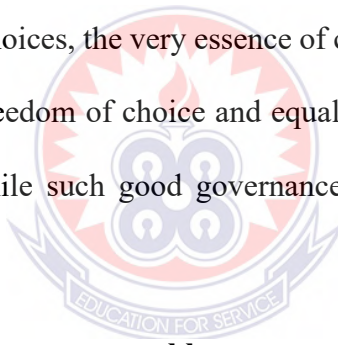
I think vote selling is bad because it makes the people we voted for unable to initiate good policies for our community's

development. We want somebody who is competent. So, if you end up selling your vote to someone incompetent, the person cannot bring policies and the development you need. It is as simple as that.

[Eric]

Uhhh, I believe vote selling is bad because it doesn't make us choose the right person. You rather disallow the right person who has good plans for your community in coming to power [Akosua]

The results resonate with the findings of Vicente (2014) who stated that worse public policies and public services were a consequence of vote-buying and selling. Uwa and Emeka (2022) note that if power and money influence take the centre stage of determining the electoral choices, the very essence of constitutional rights of the citizens to freely exercise their freedom of choice and equality in the democratic society may be called to question while such good governance and development will remain a mirage.



Inability to hold politicians accountable

A particular comment highlighted that, inability to hold politicians accountable was a consequence of vote buying. The comment was that:

Oh sure. Selling your vote means you cannot hold the person you sold your vote for accountable. There is no way you can hold them responsible if they fail to deliver what they promise you. To me, that is what I think is affecting the democracy we have as a country

[Frimpong]

The findings are in line with Leight et al. (2015) who pointed out that vote-buying may stifle electoral accountability by the failure of voters to hold incumbent 63

politicians accountable by trading their votes for money during elections. Mohammed (2020) also pointed out that vote buying enables poor governance and undercuts citizens' ability to hold their elected officials accountable. If a candidate believes all they need to do to be elected is pay off voters and government officials, they will have no incentive to be responsive to issues their constituents care about issues like water and sanitation, education and unemployment. Therefore, it can be argued that, vote buying has different dimensions with attendant consequences that threaten to erode democratic development.



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the findings of the study and presents conclusions and recommendations. It explains the extent to which the researcher's objectives have been achieved. The study focused on the reasons why voters sell their votes, how vote selling transactions are conducted and the implications of vote selling for Ghana's democracy. Below are the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

5.2 Summary of findings

The purpose of the study was to examine the implication of vote selling on Ghana's democracy from the perspective of Bantama Constituency. The following objectives guided the study; examine the reasons why voters sell their votes, to explore how vote selling transactions are conducted, to analyse the implications of vote selling for Ghana's democracy. The Economic Theory of Democracy was used as the theoretical underpin the study. Within the interpretivists paradigm and qualitative approach, the thematic method was used to analysis data.

5.2.1 Reasons why voters sell their vote

They study revealed that voters sell their votes because of unfulfilled campaign promises, readiness of politicians to spend on campaigns and the willingness of voters to use the elections to engage in business.

5.2.2 How vote selling transactions are conducted

Overall data on vote selling transactions indicate that the process starts with convincing voters via finding charismatic individuals who serve as agents to influence and gather eligible voters for them. This is followed by the process of channeling incentive that is, distributing money and material benefit to voters, followed by conveying to voting station and ends with proof of voting.

5.2.3 Implications of vote buying on Ghana's democracy

The study indicates that though respondents are aware of the dangers of vote selling such as inability to select competent leaders, corruption, tyranny, inability to initiate good policies and the inability to hold politicians accountable, they have no option than to indulge in it to also maximize their profit.

5.3 Conclusion

Based on the findings, the following conclusions have been drawn:

The study concludes that vote buying and selling is a contract where both politicians and voters, that is sellers and buyers profit while ignoring the aftermath consequences of such a conduct. In addition, the study concludes that vote selling undergoes process to guarantee that both parties are completely satisfied with the contract process. Furthermore, this study therefore concludes that vote selling has detrimental consequences for Ghana's democracy. The major ones are corrupt leadership, unfulfilled campaign promises, and political unaccountability.

5.4 Recommendations

Based on the findings and conclusions drawn from the study, the following recommendations were made:

- (i) NCCE and EC should conduct more voter education and sensitization awareness of the consequences of vote buying. NGOs, civil societies, and non-state actors such as teacher unions should spearhead and strengthen democracy by mounting vigorous campaigns to educate electorates not to embrace financial or material inducements before voting for a specific candidate or party, as this amounts to selling one's conscience.
- (ii) The consequences of vote buying and selling should be included in high school curricula to alert and conscientize Ghanaians about the threat.
- (iii) An effort should be made to inform constituents/voters that the primary function of MPs is to legislate rather than to undertake development projects in their communities. This would help take off the burden of making campaign promises that aspirants know not how to fulfill in the run up to elections.
- (iv) Religious organisations can re-instill morality in their congregations, which include the voting populace.

5.5 Suggestion for Further Research

Further research should look at the implications of vote selling on Ghana's democracy from regional perspective and from the mixed methodology. This will provide more details on vote selling in Ghana by overcoming the loopholes of the qualitative methodology as used in this study. Also, a long-term effects of vote selling on Ghana's democracy should be studied. A longitudinal study that tracks the effects of

vote selling on Ghana's political landscape over an extended period could provide valuable insights into the lasting impacts of this practice.



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