

**UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA
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**VOTE BUYING IN GHANAIAN ELECTIONS IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC:
A CASE STUDY OF THE ABLEKUMA CENTRAL CONSTITUENCY IN THE
GREATER ACCRA REGION**

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DECLARATION

Candidates Declaration

I, Appiah Kofi Desmond, declare that this project work is the result of my own effort that except for references made to other people's work which have duly been cited and that no part of it has been presented for another certificate in this university or elsewhere

Candidates Name: Appiah Kofi Desmond

Candidates Signature:

Date:



Supervisor's Declaration

I declare that the preparation and presentation of this work was supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

Supervisors Name: Dr. Mathew Lobnibe Arah

Supervisors Signature:

Date:

DEDICATION

This project work is dedicated to the God Almighty, general overseer of this universe through whom the wisdom, knowledge, courage and self-control to produce this project. I also dedicate this work to my parents, Mr. Joseph Appiah and Mrs. Cecilia Appiah for their financial and moral support. I finally dedicate this work to my lovely children, Celia Maame Efua Appiah, Darius Agya Kwabena Appiah and George Martin Appiah Junior for their support.



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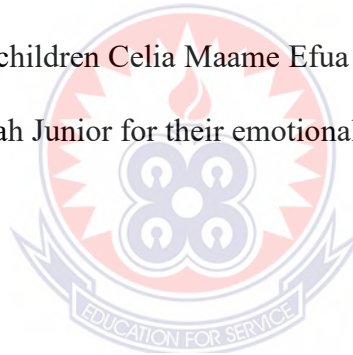
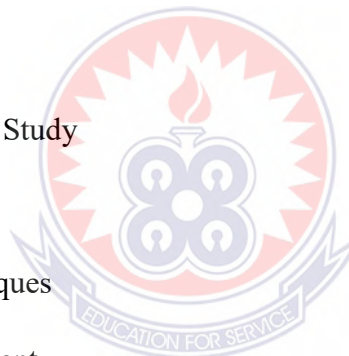


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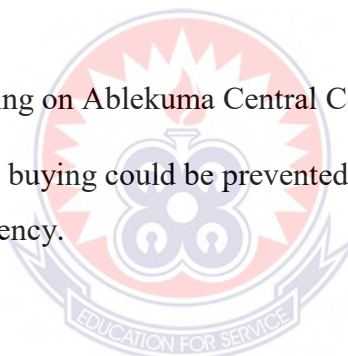


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ABSTRACT

Vote-buying is a contentious issue in contemporary discourse on the sustainability of democratic development in Ghana. This practice is gradually crippling electoral processes and undermining the efforts of the electoral umpire in conducting competitive, free, fair, and credible elections for the sustenance of democratic development in Ghana. The main purpose of the study was to investigate the causes, impact, and the prevention of vote buying in the Ablekuma Central Constituency elections. To achieve the set objective, the study adopted the mixed method research approach for gathering and analyzing data. In all 322 questionnaires were distributed to respondents and six interviewees were interviewed for the study. The researcher discovered that, the poorer a voter, the more likely he or she is to experience vote buying, the perception voters have about politics and politicians is closely linked to vote buying, voters sell their votes to politicians due to the perception they have about them, vote buying is seen as a business. Politicians use monetary exchange, making of huge promises, sod cutting and gifts to persuade voters to vote in a particular way. The study also revealed that vote buying is a threat to democracy, hinders the honesty of the electoral process, prevents development and promotes corruption. The researcher therefore recommended that candidates caught for offences of vote buying should be disqualified to be voted for and should also be treated as criminals as this will help prevent vote buying.



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Vote-buying is the transactional process through which voters offer their votes for sale and political parties or public office aspirants or their agents“ bargain to buy the votes from the sellers (Ayittey, 2019). It is synonymous with selling and buying goods and services in an open market on agreed prices. Where competition is very high, the practice seems to be auction sales whereby the voters sell to the highest bidder. Modern scholars of social sciences and humanities trace the historical origin of election and electoral processes in Ghana with emphasis on its fraught with vote-buying (cash- and-carry democracy), and other electoral malfeasances, ethnic superiority, religious extremism, and politically motivated violence and killings (Bratton, 2018).

Kwofie (2018) stressed that Ghana’s electoral process has always been known for its chaotic nature and at the heart of this difficult and dangerous situation, is the predominance of vote buying, a phenomenon which arguably reflects the nature of politics and election. Frempong (2018) corroborates this assertion as he stresses that the electoral process in Ghana has frequently been identified for its corrupt, violent, and chaotic tendencies characterized by the utilization of thugs, maiming of political opponents by those seeking electoral positions through electoral fraud.

It is therefore not astonishing that virtually all the elections organized in Ghana were marred by controversies, with their processes and outcomes facing crisis of integrity, credibility, and legitimacy. According to Frempong (2018), vote-buying, in recent

time, has risen in proportion, scope and sophistication as videos and images uncover the illegal practice of distributing money, materials, and other incentives among the electorates by political aspirants, party agents in order to lure voters to vote for their candidates. Bofo-Arthur (2018) opines that while Africa's largest democracy prepares for the polls, serious questions remain about Ghana's capacity and political will to conduct free, fair and peaceful elections. Since Ghana's Fourth Republic, violence and myriad irregularities have persistently marred the process of electing the country's leaders, Ghanaian politicians have become habituated to fraud, corruption, intimidation and violence, as if they consider these the necessary weapons of political winners.

Gyampo (2017) argues that money is considered a crucial factor for political parties to run their affairs during and between elections. Unregulated utilization of resources, private or public, for political activities is capable of reversing the ethics, practices; it confers undue advantages and improperly changes choice to electorates. The 2020 general election was one of the most heavily monetized election which saw the two leading parties of NDC and NPP tried to outspend each other. Vote buying was carried out in 2016 and 2020 elections with brazenness and audacity, in some cases with electoral officials and security agents (Finlay, 2021).

The research examined the impact of vote buying on democratic elections in Ghana, particularly Ablekuma Central constituency with specific focus on the 2020 general election in Ablekuma constituency of Greater Accra Region of Ghana. Ghana's style of democracy can be linked to that of America which advocates that the absolute and supreme power remains with the people (Ephson, 2020). This style of democracy in

which Ghana adopts is largely hinged on the premise that the will of the majority is done and the voice of the minority is heard. For democracy to thrive as a political system the basic features of democracy must be implemented which include periodic elections; the provision of fundamental human rights; multiply party system with candidates to choose from, amongst others (Ephson, 2020).

Periodic election, a feature of democracy can be said to be an indispensable characteristic of any democratic transition and the hallmark of representative democracy (Frempong, 2018). This is because, it is during elections that the voices of the people are well heard and it is also recorded as an event with the highest rate of political participation by the people. Today elections are seen as the most acceptable medium by which citizens choose their leaders in an orderly, serene and peaceful exercise (Frempong, 2018). Elections could be regarded as a coin with two sides; On one side, elections give citizen's an avenue to indicate their choice amongst candidates, manifestoes, policies, ideas and programmes presented to them by individuals vying for leadership positions while on the other side, it is also an instrument for removing unpopular and ineffective leaders as well as forcing elected officials to hearken to the plight of the people (Ephson, 2020). This is because the electorates hold the power to renew or cancel the tenure of every elected official.

These functions of election are made possible because of the provision of the electoral process; which spells out the method to be used in selecting individuals for political offices (Ephson, 2020)

The electoral process can be said to be the sum total of the entire operation in relations to carrying out an election (Hellmann, 2017). It is also said to be the pre- and

post-election duties including guidelines put in place by the electoral officials in order for the election to run smoothly as well as for the electorates to choose representative towards catering for their interest because without such activities the election is more or less void. Activities of the electoral process include registering political parties, registering and reviewing of voters' records, scheduling times for electoral campaigns, electoral disputes resolution, swearing elected representatives to mention a few (Hicken, 2018). One of the activities as part of the electoral process is campaigning where candidates race to captivate the heart of the electorate with the hope of becoming the electorate's choice.

A democratic campaign is supposed to be peaceful and serene interaction. On one hand the candidates are involved in various discourse of persuasion as they vie for the most support from the electorates by presenting arguments as to why they deserve the votes of the people and on the other hand the electorates sieve through the arguments which are to become policies and select the candidate whose policy positions best or closely depicts their own set of beliefs, expectations or preferences (Bratton, 2018). In that vein, any action that violates the electoral process can be classified as electoral fraud or malpractice and is considered an impediment to free and fair elections. Thus, any government produced from such a marred electoral process can be termed undemocratic (Hicken, 2018).

Vote buying is the direct exchange of benefit and material goods by the political elites to propel electoral support (Birch, 2019). It also includes buying of the voting shares or payments made to voters to influence them to vote for a specific candidate (Birch, 2019). Election outcome in which vote buying is involved is slowly becoming normal

way in which politics is played in growing democracies like Ghana, having been transitioned from the military to the civilian era (Ayittey, 2019). This is because the civilian administration aims to present an appearance of free and fair election, implement universal adult suffrage and following the electoral processes and Nigerian politicians make use of such desires through campaigning to manipulate the electoral rules by inducing material benefit to the electorate so as to acquire mass support (Bratton, 2018).

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Vote-buying is a contentious issue in contemporary discourse on the sustainability of democratic development in Ghana. This practice is gradually crippling electoral processes and undermining the efforts of the electoral umpire in conducting competitive, free, fair, and credible elections for the sustenance of democratic development in Ghana.

Election is a medium for the voice of the people to be heard. This has been norm as far back as the democracy is concern. Today elections have become a significant pillar of democracy and a means of legitimizing the decisions of government (Ayittey, 2019)). In light of this, anything that is an impediment to elections, infringes on the ability of citizens to have their voice heard which affects an essential pillar of democracy (Ayittey, 2019). Ghana, the giant of Africa whose democracy and elections are closely watched by the international community; as a testimony of the growth of democracy and the possibility of free and fair elections in the region, is still challenged with vote buying in its elections (Ayittey, 2019).

The presence of vote buying in Ghana's elections especially that of Ablekuma Central Constituency general election as noised by EC has raised some critical questions

about the credibility of such election and her democracy (Frempong, 2018). These questions include how free or fair can elections between some candidates have bought the votes of the electorate even before the election? How can the principle of equality exist when vote buying gives more advantages to the wealthy over the poor? How responsible will the elected leaders be to the electorate when vote buying as an electoral transaction implies that the politicians have paid for the vote of the electorate? (Frempong, 2018). The presence of vote buying in Ghana's elections, gives room for concern about general election in Ablekuma Constituency and the future of elections in Ghana.

There are lots of scholarly works on vote buying such as, Boafo-Arthur (2018) who assessed voting for democracy in Ghana: The 2016 elections in perspective. Brusco (2004) also assessed vote buying in Argentina. Bratton (2008) explored vote buying and violence in Nigerian elections campaigns. Schechter (2022) also assessed vote buying and reciprocity in Africa. Stokes (2017) also assessed the causes and consequences of vote buying in Africa. Ephson (2020) assessed vote buying focusing on only the 2020 elections in Ghana. None of these scholars seem to address the issues of causes, manifestations, impact and prevention of vote buying in all the Fourth republican elections in Ghana. The researcher is therefore motivated to conduct the research on causes, manifestations, impact and prevention of vote buying in all the Fourth republican elections in Ghana.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of the study was to investigate the causes, manifestations, impact, and prevention of vote buying on Ablekuma Central Constituency elections.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The study sought to:

- i. Find out the causes of vote buying in the Ablekuma Central Constituency
- ii. Examine the manifestations of Vote buying in the Fourth Republic election Ablekuma Central constituency
- iii. Determine the impact of Vote Buying on the Fourth Republican elections in Ablekuma Central constituency
- iv. Ascertain the ways that vote buying could be prevented in the Ablekuma Central constituency

1.5 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following questions:

- i. What are the causes of vote buying in the Ablekuma Central Constituency?
- ii. What are the manifestations of Vote buying in the Fourth Republican elections in Ablekuma Central constituency?
- iii. What is the impact of Vote Buying in the Fourth Republic election in Ablekuma Central constituency?
- v. In what ways can vote buying could be prevented in the Ablekuma Central constituency?

1.6 Significance of the Study

This research had three points of significance theoretical, governmental and statistical. Theoretically, the research on vote buying and democratic election using Ablekuma Central constituency of Greater Accra Region as a case study, aids in expanding the already existing literature on vote buying and Democratic elections in Ghana. This

study will help remove impediment to democratic elections and her growing democracy through prevention of vote buying. This research also throws light to the victims of vote buying in Ghana with Ablekuma Central constituency of Greater Accra Region. The finding of the research offered valuable insight into how the government can tackle the issue of vote buying in future elections.

1.7 Scope of the Study

This study focused on five (5) electoral areas in Ablekuma constituency since 1992 general election to 2020 election. These electoral areas included Sukura, Larterbiokorshie, Mataheko, Abossey Okai, Kaneshie and Russia. The choice of these electoral areas in the Ablekuma constituency is significant as it possesses all the manifestations and the presence of vote buying

1.8 Organization of the Study

The study was organized into five chapters. Chapter one dealt with the background to the study, statement of problem, purpose of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, and significance of the study, the limitation of the study and organization of the study. The second chapter also focused on the review of related literature while the methodology is the subject of chapter three. The methodology described the research philosophy, pragmatism perspectives underpinned the study, research approach for the, study research design, the population, sample and sampling procedures, and data gathering instrument, data collection procedures of the study and the methods of data analysis. In chapter four, the results and discussions of the findings were, presented. Finally, the fifth and concluding chapter contained the summary of the findings, conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter described available literature on the topic. It also offered a critical analysis of previous studies that have been done by other scholars in the study area. It presents the research gap which the research intends to explore. It finally presents the conceptual framework of the study.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This study was based on Downs (2006) Rational Choice Theory. Rational Choice Theory posits that every individual has a rational side, which is capable of making consistent choices. The theory has increasingly become a growing theory in political science. It assumes that individuals use their self-interest to make choices that will provide them with the greatest benefit. People are rational at least to the extent that they make choices that will maximise their utility (Green & Vasudevan, 2018).

2.2.1 Assumptions of the Rational Choice Theory

According to Green and Vasudevan (2018), the assumptions of the Rational Choice Theory include:

Individualism is one key assumption of the Rational Choice theory. The Rational Choice Theory assumes that it is individuals who ultimately take actions. They are actors in the society and organizations. They behave and act always as rational beings, self-calculating, self-interested and self-maximizing. These individual social/political actions are the ultimate source of larger societal outcomes. Politically, this assumption implies that individual voters are rational and they chose to vote for a candidate if

their expected utility from voting is higher than their expected utility from not voting and this action impacts on the larger society.

Optimality is another assumption of the rational choice theory. The Rational Choice Theory assumes that individuals choose their actions optimally, knowing their preferences as well as the opportunities or hindrances with which they face. Arriola (2019) defines optimality as a situation when no other course of social/political action would be preferred by an individual over the course of action he/she has chosen. This does not suggest that the course of action an individual adopts is the best in terms of some objective, and outside judgment. The rational choice theory, therefore, assumes, according to Arriola (2019), that individuals do the best they can depending on the circumstances they find themselves as they see them. In voting decision, it is assumed that citizens optimize their choice of candidate after becoming aware of the opportunities and constraints they face.

Another assumption of the Rational Choice theory is Self-Regarding Interest.

This assumption states that the actions of an individual bother entirely on his or her own welfare. According to Arriola (2019), in as much as Self-Regarding Interest is a key assumption in the Rational Choice Theory, it is not as essential to the approach as the assumption on optimality. He also noted that various types of group sentiments could exist, such as cooperation, unselfishness, charity, which initially may seem to be contrary to individual optimality. However, proponents of Rational Choice Theorist argue that these sentiments can be incorporated into the Rational Choice Model by observing that such sentiments may ultimately be aimed at pursuing some form of self-interest. For instance, efforts of charity organizations according to

Arriola (2019) could ultimately be aimed at making an individual feel good or could be a means of raising one's social esteem in the eyes of others.

Rationality is another assumption of the Rational Choice theory. This seems the most predominant assumption of the rational choice theory. All individuals, according to this assumption act in ways that would benefit them more; every individual is most likely to undertake courses of actions that they perceive to be the best possible option and one that would immensely be to their own advantage.

The study placed the Rational Choice Theory postulated by Downs (2006) within the wider context of voter behavior to explain how its in-built characteristics reveal the extent to which voters have moved to become more like consumers in the political market place in Ghana. The presumption is that political marketers working for political parties take inferences from this theory and employ marketing strategies in their campaigns through the use of marketing tactics that appeal to the personal interest of voters. They also take into consideration why and when they should target electorates just as marketers target prospects by identifying their needs and proposing policies and programmes to satisfy them.

In addition, political marketers working for political parties communicate when there is a situation that bears individual interest during electoral campaigns. Finally, marketers working in political establishments undertake segmentation or targeting. This helps them to formulate tailored messages that appeal to the personal interest of voters through the use of appropriate medium (Stokes & Thad, 2018).

2.3 Theoretical Voting Model

This study was also grounded in Andrew Heywood's four explanatory models for the way people make their voting decisions. Heywood (2016) listed party identification,

sociological identity, rational choice and dominant ideology as the main factors that shape voter behavior in any election. These are explained below and form the bases for analyzing the empirical data or findings of the study.

2.3.1 Party Identification Model

In this model, attitude towards policies and leaders as well as perceptions about group and personal interests, tend to develop on the basis of party identification (Heywood, 2016). This partisan alignment creates stability and continuity, especially in terms of the habitual patterns of voting behavior. One weakness of this model is the growing evidence of partisan de-alignment (Green & Schickler, 2017). In other words, people now prefer to vote not merely for the party but they also consider the quality of the candidates contesting an election on the party's ticket.

In Ghana this has led to a phenomenon popularly referred to as „skirt and blouse voting“, which takes place when voters choose their party's presidential candidate but prefer a parliamentary candidate from a different political party. This is because the parliamentary candidate presented by their preferred party cannot serve their interests, and vice versa, and indicates a decline in party identification and habitual voting patterns, particularly among voters in developed democracies (Green & Schickler, 2017).

2.3.2 Sociological Model

Rather than developing a psychological attachment to a party on the basis of family influence, the sociological model highlights the importance of social alignment, reflecting the various divisions and tensions within society (Heywood, 2016). The most significant of these divisions is ethnicity. Other important considerations may include class, religion, gender and race. In simple terms, the theory states that people

may vote for an aspirant if he or she belongs to their class, comes from their ethnic group, shares the same religious beliefs, etc. (Heywood, 2016).

This model has, however, been attacked on the grounds that voting to simply protect ethnic or religious interest may not necessarily advance the interests of voters in terms of ensuring the selection of the right caliber of people to lead them. There is also growing empirical evidence that the link between sociological factors and party support has weakened in modern societies. The sociological model of voting has some shortcomings. In the first place, it is deficient in expounding the variations that take place in voting as a result of economic factors specific to each election.

Although social factors may attempt to explain the long-term constancy of voting behavior, they do not explicate the disparities in the behavior of voters in different elections. In similar vein they do not explain why persons with an affinity to certain social groups vote in a manner expected of people belonging to different social groups (Antunes 2017). The model also fails to acknowledge the importance of individual policy preferences and the appraisal of government performance on voting.

2.3.3 Rational Choice Model

In this model, voting is seen as a rational act, in the sense that voters are believed to decide their party preference on the basis of personal interest (Heywood 2016). Rather than being habitual and a manifestation of broader attachments and allegiances, voting is seen as essentially instrumental: that is, as a means to an end (Popkin, 2019). The rational choice model, which is usually associated with highly educated people, stresses the importance of „issue voting“, and suggests that parties can significantly influence their electoral performance by reshaping their policies. Erdmann (2019) is of the view that there is a considerable connection between the level of education and

the quality of voter choice in elections. By implication, societies with high literacy rates are more likely to take into deeper consideration the consequences of their motive for the choice of a candidate than societies with lower literacy levels. It is generally accepted that one of the consequences of partisan and class dealignment has been the spread of issue voting. The weakness of this theory is that it removes the individual voter from his or her social and cultural context (Erdmann, 2019).

2.3.4 Dominant Ideology Model

This model stresses the importance of political ideology in influencing the behavior of voters. The basic premise of the dominant ideology model is that there is in most class societies a pervasive set of beliefs that broadly serves the interest of the dominant class. This dominant ideology is then adopted by subordinate classes which are thereby prevented from formulating any effective opposition (Abercrombie & Turner, 2018).

This model simply states that the dominant ideology influences voters (Heywood, 2016). Consequently, if voters' attitudes conform to the tenets of a dominant ideology, parties would develop their policies in line with that ideology so as to gain voter support. The weakness of this ideology is that it removes individual calculation and personal autonomy from the equation. It implies that people are not willing to weigh the merits and demerits of policy options being presented to them. Only once a candidate or a policy conforms to their ideological persuasion would they support it (Heywood, 2016)

2.4 Meanings Attached to the Concept of Vote Buying

Many scholars have given a variety of interpretations to vote-buying according to their perception and orientations (Brusco & Stokes, 2018). According to Heywood

(2016), scholars like Lutz and Marsh (2013) argued that the act of vote-buying is an economic exchange, a contract, or perhaps an auction in which the voter sells his or her vote to the highest bidder. For (Andrea, 2005), vote-buying is a situation where candidates buy and sell votes as they buy and sell apples, shoes or television sets. In this connection, parties and candidates buy votes by offering particularistic material benefits to voters (Lutz & Marsh, 2013).

Vote-buying, therefore, is an inducement offered to the electorate in an election situation to garner popular vote. In the context of this study, vote-buying can safely be seen as an act of exchanging one's vote for material gains.

Vote-buying propositions may target either electoral choices or electoral participation. They may be intended to persuade individuals to vote in certain ways or to vote or not to vote in the first place. They further argue that strategies to alter turnout may focus on demobilizing active opponents or on mobilizing passive supporters (Lutz & Marsh, 2013).

Instructively, it has been said that vote-buying is neither system-specific nor space-bound as it is common to all political systems, be it advanced or developing, medieval or contemporary. It, therefore, exists in all climes and differs in magnitude and manifestations from one polity to the other. The phenomenon of vote-buying therefore portends danger in a democratization process (Riker & Ordeshook, 2018).

According to Riker and Ordeshook (2018), an often-quoted definition of vote-buying as the exchange of private material benefits for political support. Riker and Ordeshook (2018) definition stresses on gaining private material benefits by voters in return for their political support. In other words, it is about giving voters some benefits in the form of gifts or incentives for them to reciprocate with their votes by

voting for the giver or the candidate. In effects, voters are given items for their private use and they are expected to return this gesture from candidates or political parties by voting for them. Riker and Ordeshook (2018), see this act as an exchange in the sense that the materials are given to the electorates in anticipation that the electorates would consider the gift received and vote for them. Invariably, vote-buying is a binding contract, or perhaps an auction in which the voter sells his or her vote to the highest bidder (Riker & Ordeshook, 2018).

Vote buying is defined here as any form of financial, material or promissory inducement or reward by a candidate, political party, agent or supporter to influence a voter to cast his or her vote or even abstain from doing so in order to enhance the chances of a particular contestant to in an election. Thus, any practice of immediate or promised reward to a person for voting or refraining from voting in a particular way can be regarded as vote-buying. (Anderson, 2016).

There are quite varying definitions of vote-buying, but with common ingredients. Brusco and Stokes (2017) present vote buying as one of the dimensions of political clientelism. They define vote buying as, the proffering to voters of cash or (more commonly) minor consumption goods by political parties, in office or in opposition, in exchange for the recipient's vote (Brusco &Stroke, 2018). This definition looks at vote buying as perpetuated by political parties.

In a very specific way, Stokes, (2017) conceive vote buying as exchange of private goods for votes during electoral campaigns. This definition is about exchange of private goods, meaning vote buying is considered unofficial. Equally, the same definition looks at vote buying during electoral campaigns, and not before campaigns, for instance. This definition is most relevant to this study because in Ablekuma

Central Constituency in the Greater Accra region, voter rewards are issued as private offers, not official. It is also relevant to the study because issuing of benefits to voters in Ablekuma Central Constituency mostly happens during campaign periods. Based on the above conceptions, vote buying can also be considered as a transaction where both parties get what they want.

Several attempts have been made by writers and researchers to define the concept of vote buying. This is because vote buying carries different notions in different countries depending on the country's historical, cultural, political aspects and its election models (Stokes, 2017). One of the most cited definitions on vote buying is from Stockton (2017) who defined vote buying as the exchange of private material benefits for political support. The definition stresses on gaining private material benefits by voters in return for their political support. In other words, it is about giving voters some benefits in the form of gifts or incentives for them to reciprocate with their votes by voting for the giver or the candidate. In effects, voters are given items for their private use and they are expected to return this gesture from candidates or political parties by voting for them. She sees this act as an exchange in the sense that the materials are given to the electorates in anticipation that the electorates would consider the gift received and vote for them (Stockton, 2017).

Similarly, Stockton (2017) sees vote buying as exchanging political rights for material gains. Stockton (2017) focus is on the right of a person to exercise his/her franchise. His definition, also stresses on an exchange which is also seen as a transaction. Thus, selling one's right by accepting a gift, incentive or benefit to vote for a candidate or a political party. To Stockton (2017), the aspect of exchange between the material benefit and the political support is more significant than the objective of the exchange.

Stokes (2019) also defines vote buying as the use of money and direct benefits to influence voters. While the first two definitions did not actually focus on the use of money, Bryan specifically includes money in his definition. His definition, unlike other existing literature does not restrict vote buying to only money but includes other materialistic items like food. In this instance, electorates are given money and other direct benefits to manipulate their decisions. Thus, they are given these items to influence their decisions or choices at the polls. Again, voters are also given these direct benefits and may be expected to abstain from voting. Thus, to vote in a particular way or not to vote (Stokes, 2019).

Brusco and Stokes (2018) also explain vote-buying as 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. In this case, they see vote buying as the giving out of cash and other material items such as building materials, food and liquor for electorates especially party supporters to go out in their numbers and vote for the party.

Brusco and Stokes (2018) demand that, the actors involved (buyers and sellers) engage in effective exchange of money for goods or services. In the absence of mutual exchange, if buyers do not pay or sellers do not deliver, the act is not considered as trade but instances of fraud or robbery. To them, the logic of commercial transactions further demands that, buyers and sellers understand what they are doing: that they enter a reciprocal relationship of exchange. In other words, if voters accept the money, but vote as they had planned to do anyway, they do not take part in an act of exchange. They are not selling their votes, but earning unilateral

gains. In their view, voter turnout gives the election management body an idea about the image of the authority in the eyes of the electorate. It can give it cause to assess its election processes to eliminate steps that hinder turnout and improve its organization of elections with the introduction of other workable measures to lure eligible voters to the polling centers during elections.

Again, Brusco and Stokes (2018) further posit that if we embrace a literal understanding of the term anchored in the world of economic exchange, we may define the purchase of votes in the electoral arena as a market transaction in which parties, candidates, or intermediaries pay (in cash or kind) for “electoral services” delivered by individual citizens. They see vote buying as a market exchange and in their view; the commodity that changes hands in the acts of vote trading carries a well-defined institutional meaning. To them, in the vote buying transaction, electorates can be engaged to offer electoral services. These services may require supporters and swing voters to go out in their numbers and vote for the party while they are rewarded for the services. The services may also target opposition supporters by paying them to refrain from voting. To them, votes are formalized expressions of preference by individual members of decision-making bodies.

Popkin (2019) shares a similar view when he explained vote buying as a situation in which small material goods such as money or food are distributed to voters, right before an election in the hopes of receiving their vote. To him, a vote buying incentive has a monetary value. Again, Popkin (2019) does not see vote buying to involve only money but other materialistic items. In this wise, electorates are enticed with or are given money, food or other items to vote for a particular party or

candidate. From his definition, one receives the incentive before the person performs his/ her part of the contract. This is given to the voter before going to the poll.

In the nutshell, while some cultures and literatures restrict vote buying to the handing out of cash for votes, others also extend vote buying to the distribution of materials for votes. As Popkin (2019) puts it, political operatives frequently hand out not just cash, but also a wide range of goods and services such as bags of rice, chickens, whisky, clothing, soccer balls, among others.

A vote buying incentive may or may not carry the same meaning for a giver or a recipient (Popkin (2019). Voters may have different interpretations for vote buying incentive. This is because some distributors may not directly tell a receiver the purpose of giving the gift or the incentive. In the light of the above, an incentive intended by an operative as binding payment may be understood by the voter as non-binding gift (Nattakron, 2016). Nugent (2017) asserts that voters' knowledge on vote-buying is based on their views or perceptions about vote buying practices

2.5 Voting and Voting Behavior

Voting is a method by which a group, such as a meeting or an electorate, convenes together for the purpose of making a collective decision or expressing an opinion usually following discussions, debates or election campaigns (Stokes & Thad, 2018).

Voting is a method by which a group, such as a meeting or an election, convenes together for the purpose of making a collective decision or expressing an opinion usually following discussions, debates or election campaigns. Democracies elect holders of high office by voting (Stokes & Thad, 2018).

Democracy is one of the concepts and values that humanity has thought about the most since the ancient Greek period when it emerged (Anderson, 2016). So much so

that thousands of books and articles have been written about democracy, and there have been long discussions about democracy directly or indirectly. In the simplest terms, democracy is the direct or indirect self-government of the people (Anderson, 2016). The point that needs to be emphasized in this definition is what the indirect self-government of the people is. This phrase means the people elect their representatives to govern themselves. There is an election and participation and these facts are seen as the basic principles of democracy. In this context, one of the most important approaches in which democracy is commemorated with elections belongs to Sides (2017). Sides (2017) defined democracy as the method by which people elected representatives in competitive elections to carry out their will. In addition, Schofield and Martin (2018) mentioned two important criteria such as “effective participation” and “voting equality” when counting the criteria of a democratic process in their book “On Democracy. Schofield and Martin (2018) further interpreted elections as the heart of democracy; Schofield and Martin (2018) have stated that voting is the most common act of citizenship in democracies. Schofield and Martin (2018) stated that the most important act of political participation by voters was voting behavior.

2.6 Political Parties and Vote Buying in Ghana

Gyampo (2018) argued 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, Gyampo (2018) further 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 (Frempong, 2018; Gyampo, 2018).

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 characterized by hand-picking of some contestants ahead of others by political „godfathers“, ethnicity and tribalism, ballot snatching, physical violence and vote rigging amongst others (Frempong, 2018). While most of these issues remain relevant as they still influence interparty and intra-party leadership elections to various degrees (Gyampo, 2018), the phenomenon of intra-party 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 (Frempong, 2018). Gyampo (2018) notes that vote buying is not a new phenomenon in Ghana.

According to Gyampo (2018), 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 (Gyampo, 2018). This decision was made largely to minimize 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 (Frempong, 2018). Thus, expanding the Electoral College was to tackle issues such as in-party electoral clientelism (Frempong, 2018).

The expansion of the Electoral College, however, appears not to address concerns of voter inducement in party delegates' elections. As Arthur (2019) notes, the expansion of the franchise comes with corresponding expansion and innovation in the dimension of vote buying. Asante indicates that during Rawlings' time (1993-2000), vote buying materials were mainly T-shirts and, in some cases, flat screen TVs. To Arthur (2019), even the expansion of the Electoral College, which can take up to 6 000 or more delegates at a single party leadership election, has not weakened the ability of contestants to distribute materials to all or target delegates to solicit their votes. As Finlay (2018) aptly contends that, democratization lies not in the expansion of the franchise but in its increasingly free exercise. Therefore, the expansion of party voters' register does not correlate with free and fair elections (Stroke, 2018).

According to Finlay (2018), 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. However, the study singles out the two largest political parties that have alternated power at least twice in Ghana's Fourth Republic – the ruling NPP and the largest opposition NDC – as being the guiltiest of perpetual electoral clientelism at their respective party delegates elections particularly when in power. This resonates with scholars such as Arthur (2019), who have argued that incumbent parties or parties that control state

coffers tend to display opulence in distributive politics, especially in Africa where state laws and constitutions, as well as party guidelines and structures could be, and in many cases have been, hijacked by some „big men“. As the NPP and NDC have had access to state resources in turns, politicians“ quest to control power or get their close associates to handle party positions for the continued flow of trusted networks, incentivizes active vote buying. The 2018 party executive elections in the NPP and the 2018-2019 executives and flagbearer elections in the NDC, revealed widespread vote buying as defined in the literature.

The NPP national delegates“ congress at Koforidua Technical University in the Eastern region of Ghana was not without copious cases of alleged vote buying (Amoah, 2021). The exercise, which was to elect party national executives to steer the party’s agenda for „victory 2020“, witnessed various kinds of voter inducement, including direct distribution of cash to delegate voters. Perhaps the biggest instance surrounded the action of an aspirant for the position of the party’s national chairman, who purchased and promised to distribute buses to all 275 constituencies supposedly for party business. Around the elections, Freddie Blay had displayed a queue of buses, promising to hand over one bus to each constituency after the delegates“ voting. Though this decision could aid party business, as Blay and his close networks had argued, the gesture raised concerns about the timing of the buses – re-echoing the views of Cheeseman (2015).

The timing of the buses suggests a clear move to materially induce constituency executives to vote for the then acting national chairman, against a four-time loser, Stephen Ntim. According to Gyampo (2018) the timing of such a gesture was meant to sway voters. Like many other political analysts and commentators, Gyampo (2018) stresses that if the buses had come in 2014, 2015, 2016 or any time before or after the

elections, or even had not been withheld from beneficiaries until after the delegates elections, one would have conceived Blay's gesture as a move in genuine support of the party's growth.

The main opposition NDC also exhibited an open display of vote buying during its constituency, regional and national executives' elections, as delegate voters were being given cash and other packages (e.g., parcels of food and handkerchiefs) branded with candidate's images just before or while voting was taking place. For instance, a candidate for the Greater Accra regional chairmanship, Emmanuel Ashie Moore, started his campaign with the distribution of free computers, scanners and printers to constituents. According to Ashie Moore, the move was to equip constituency offices for effective communications (Amoah, 2021). However, in line with the previous views, the timing of such items could qualify Ashie Moore's gesture as a vote buying attempt.

While there exists vote buying in each of the party's delegates congresses, the practice becomes more pronounced when one is in power (Amoah, 2021), largely for two reasons. First, incumbent parties in Africa mostly use normal government service delivery as conduits to seek voter support. Thus, government appointees, in their mandates to perform state sanctioned duties, appear to citizens as though it is out of the former's benevolence, and hence should be rewarded with votes (Lindberg & Morrison, 2018).

At the party level therefore, networks of party clienteles usually acquire wealth and cash, amongst others, through awards of contracts and committee allowances, with which they attempt to lure party delegates to vote for them or their favourites in party elections to ensure a continuation in their wealth acquisition. Thus, some party „big

men“ favor some candidates for party leadership and would usually pump in resources in support of such candidates“ campaign to retain them in office (Amoah, 2021). This support usually tilts the field of competition in favor of the preferred candidate, which usually generates conflicts and apathy, and sometimes leads to defection of losers and their support base.

Amoah (2021) blames the proliferation of intra-party and, by extension, national elections, on the non-regulation of party funding. Although Section 33 of the Representation of the People Law of the 1992 constitution of Ghana criminalizes vote buying and other instances of electoral misconduct, 2 political parties do not follow the directive in most cases. Part III of the Political Parties Law (Act 574 of 2000) also sought to control party funding but appears rather vague, as it does not put a ceiling on party spending but rather focuses on who has the right to sponsor party activities, in which case only citizens of Ghana do (Political Parties Law, Act 574, 2000). After all, if the law does not concretely hold one accountable in matters of vote buying in national elections, little change is expected concerning same or similar acts at party levels.

Amoah (2021) opines that unchecked party funding is the predominant channel for the pervasiveness of vote buying, as individuals and groups can spend any amount of resources without any restrictions. According to him, the constitution should put a ceiling on funds and the value of materials being donated for party activities, as is being done in some matured democracies. This, in his view, would cripple the upsurge of “political entrepreneurship” in the country.

2.7 Conceptions on Likely Triggers of Buying and Selling Votes

There are various conceptions on the reasons for vote buying and selling (Bratton, 2018). Brusco and Stokes (2018) advance that, people who “sell” their votes, or whom parties see as good prospects for doing so, are people who are particularly skeptical about future rewards. Those people may simply have a strong time preference for current over future consumption, or they may attribute a high level of uncertainty (skepticism) to programmatic appeals, believing that promised party programs are unlikely to take shape or to help them (Brusco & Stokes, 2018). In Ghana, particularly Ablekuma Central Constituency in the Greater Accra region, many political leaders have been blamed for not fulfilling their development promises, hence the voters’ disbelief in promised programmes could be a relevant cause.

Additionally, when voters see parties as ideologically close to one another, vote buying is more likely to occur (Stokes, 2017). This implies that people can decide to sell their votes in a situation where rival political parties do not have credible differences in their development principles and values. Equally important, as presented by Stokes (2017), can be that vote buyers target poor people, for whom the payoff of even a small reward outweighs the expressive value of voting for one’s preferred party. This means that poverty causes people to attach much value on vote rewards such as money, implying a high likelihood of poor people to give votes in return compared to well-off individuals.

In a similar version, Gonzalez Ocantos and Nickerson (2018) assert that people receiving gifts in exchange for votes tend to be poor and less educated, and exhibit high levels of reciprocity. This implies that poverty could be one cause of selling votes and at the same time a reason why campaigning political candidates find it

compelling to give gifts. Poverty, even in terms of basic needs such as food, is evident in many households of Ablekuma Central Constituency in the Greater Accra region.

Amoah (2021) argues that, political systems where power is initially disproportionately concentrated in the hands of the party in government, and where constraints on the discretion of government action - whether domestic or external in origin -are relatively weak, constitute fertile ground for excessive and blatant electoral manipulation. Vote buying is one way of electoral manipulation. Also, for Ghana's case, much power is concentrated in the hands of the ruling government. I wanted to confirm whether this argument can explain vote buying in the Ghana and particularly Ablekuma Central Constituency.

Brusco and Stokes (2018) emphasize this by arguing that people comply to vote buying because they feel a normative obligation to respond in kind to the campaign-handout-as-gift. This tells that even when voters are not planning to sell their votes, receiving rewards from political candidates during campaigns somehow obligates them to give their votes in return. If political candidates are aware of this power of gift, then they are most likely to use it to induce voter choices. Ablekuma Central Constituency is a local community where valuing of gifts is important, as the local culture treasures gifts.

2.8 Factors Responsible for Vote Buying

The ugly trend of vote-buying in Ghana's political setting did not start in a vacuum; it is attached to some predisposing factors. According to Gyampo (2019), the inability of the political parties and the contestants to put in place comprehensive and comprehensible manifestoes for scrutiny by the voters is aiding money politics and vote-buying in Nigeria. Instead of clear-cut manifestoes that would enable the

electorate to make a rational political choice, meaningless slogans, demagogic and rabble-rousing speeches are made.

On the other hand, Stokes (2019) affirms that candidates' ignorance of their political party's programme is embarrassing. As he has rightly observed; candidates spin the issues they think can attract votes, which may sometimes negate party positions. The picture painted above produces representative but not participatory democracy which consequently encourages money politics vis a vis vote-buying

Poverty and illiteracy also contribute to the unfortunate trend in the society. Poor people are vulnerable and due to the low level of political awareness in the country, intimidation and manipulation become easy tools amidst the people. Majority of the poor are ready to submit their mandate for monetary benefit. They become blindfolded with the token amount realized from the business of politics (selling of votes). Although this menace can as well be attributed to the economic depression in the country, education is the mechanism of political consciousness and rational political behaviour (Stokes, 2019).

Not only has that, but political cynicism among the electorates also supported the spread of money politics in Ghana. The impression that political office holders are incurably corrupt, self-centered and lack competency has made people view politics as a dishonorable enterprise. And that politics is synonymous to fraud and betrayal of public trust (Gyampo, 2019). The general perception of the voters that political office holders are corrupt is an excuse for accepting money as voting criteria and those funds realized before the election is what they can benefit from the politicians. The argument is that politicians hardly fulfil promises made during campaigns. Meanwhile, this notion derails Ghana's democracy. The nature of Ghanaian politics

also encourages money politics. The winner-takes-all syndrome deviates moral principle (Gyampo, 2019). Ghana's politicking gives room for mediocrity and discourages morality which poses threat to democratic sustainability in the country. Politics is viewed as a dirty game and allows a „do or die“ electoral contest, this tells on the level of the political culture in the country. In as much as the rulers could not lead by example, the ruled cannot be easily cautioned.

The factors as identified by Stokes (2019) are reproduced below as follows:

First of all, the inability of many political parties and the contestants to put in place comprehensive and comprehensible manifestoes for scrutiny by the voters. Instead of clear-cut manifestoes that would enable the electorate to make a rational political choice, meaningless slogans, demagogic and rabbler-rousing speeches are made.

Politics is a dirty and dishonorable enterprise, that the whole political process is a fraud and a betrayal of the public trust. This cynical view of politics is further accentuated by unfulfilled promises made by winners of past elections. Thus, asking for a pay-off, another way by which the people receive their share of the national cake.

Focusing on personalities rather than on issues. By the mode of their campaign, most candidates draw the attention of the electorate away from the political parties to themselves. The consequence of this is that the political parties and their message become less important to the electorate.

Moreover, the peoples' perception is greatly reinforced by the obscene display of opulence by public office holders and ostentatious living of many politicians that every elected or appointed public officer is amassing wealth from the public treasury.

This seems to have strengthened the resolve of many voters to sell their votes to the highest bidder.

Furthermore, the penchant of politicians to strive to win elections, even at the party primary level, at all cost, makes desperate contestants to engage in all sort of malpractices including offering financial and material inducements to voters.

The noticeable weakness in a party whip, characteristics of party politics in a presidential system, when elected members exercise a considerable degree of freedom when voting on legislative proposals. Such freedom makes the legislators to be more susceptible to receive gratifications from the private interest groups. The interest groups employ what Stokes (2019) calls “legalized bribery”. They make large donations to secure the votes of legislators.

The absence of any legislation that puts any ceiling on financial contributions to political parties and candidates by groups or individuals (Stokes, 2019). But we must quickly add that the Ghanaian constitution is not completely silent on party finances, but its provisions in respect to the finances of political parties relate only to their source of funds and other assets. Vote trading perpetuates bad governance. To Stokes (2019), for every vote traded, many people will suffer the unintended consequences when the traded votes make the difference between winning and losing in the election.

2.9 Impacts of Vote Buying

Broadly speaking, vote buying obstructs the democratic process by interfering with the rights of citizens to freely decide who will represent them and their interests (Amoah, 2021). According to Amoah (2021), vote buying enables poor governance and undercuts citizens' ability to hold their elected officials accountable. Amoah (2021) further indicated that exchanging rewards for votes mostly leads to negative

development consequences. Buying votes comes out as one way that maintains corruption in government undertakings. This is likely because candidates who win an election through massive spending will definitely endeavor to recover such costs which easily encourage corruption (Stokes, 2019). Indeed, in Ghana, it is known that leaders who spend money buying votes try as much as possible to recover these expenses, especially when they are later given administrative positions where they find easy ways to snatch on public funds (Stokes, 2019).

Equally mentioned is that electoral malpractice, such as vote buying, reduces critical citizenship (Bratton 2018). Loss of critical citizenship can be dangerous as leaders will not be held responsible for their actions by an uncritical population. This in a way derails development. It was in the interest of this study to uncover the on-ground effect of vote buying where such issues as a critical population would be explored as well (Bratton 2018).

Additionally, it is indicated that bought votes have negative impacts on service delivery by leaders. On this, Gonzalez Ocantos and Nickerson (2018) point out that politicians who reap the fruits of vote buying have few incentives to improve public services and the overall living standards of the poor because they benefit from subjecting certain constituencies to a poverty trap. In Ablekuma Central Constituency, public services such as schools, roads and water are really wanting.

Since vote-buying can hinder the integrity of the electoral process, a lot of eminent personalities have risen to condemn the ignoble act in recent times. Some leading Nigerian musicians also lend their voices against vote-buying (Gyampo, 2018). Vote-buying shuts out candidates with lean campaign budgets. By this, there will be an increase in political corruption. This will mean that electoral victories are purchased

rather than won fairly, it glaringly leads to state capture. It equally compromises the credibility, legitimacy, and integrity of elections and its institutions. Vote-buying undermines the integrity of elections as the winners are often the highest bidders and not necessarily the most popular or credible contestants (Stokes, 2019). It often leads to protests and blames trading among parties and candidates after elections thereby discrediting the process (Gyampo, 2019).

It, therefore, discourages people who are willing to work well from participating in electoral politics and causes citizens to lose faith in state institutions. Vote trading equally tends to perpetuate bad governance. It not only compromises the wellbeing of those who sold their vote for instant gratification but also the future of those who did not sell their votes but are inevitably exposed to bad governance that results from such a fraudulent process. For every vote traded, many people will suffer the unintended consequences when the traded votes make the difference between winning and losing in the election.

The main effect of vote-buying in elections especially on the Ghanaian general elections is that it will always undermine political legitimacy and make a joke of the Ghanaian two-decade of the democratic experiment. In addition to this, it will create a fundamental moral burden on citizens to demand good governance from politicians who have previously bought their ways into offices and the legitimacy of future elections

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview

This chapter presented the procedure that was adopted in conducting this study. The sub-headings were: the philosophy underpinned the study, research approach and design, study population. Others are the sample size, sampling techniques, the study variables, research instruments, scoring of research instruments and data analysis procedures and the ethical considerations.

3.2 Research Philosophy

The objective of scientific research is to determine laws and theories to explain natural or social phenomena or in other words build scientific knowledge. Sometimes there may be a single universal truth and sometimes multiple truths, but it is understood that theories upon which scientific knowledge is based, are only explanations of a particular phenomenon. Scientific knowledge is based on theories and observations, they always co-exist and cannot exist without each other. Theories provide meaning and significance to what we observe and observations help validate or redefine existing theory or construct new theory (Bryman, 2016).

Research philosophy refers to the development of knowledge and the nature of that knowledge (Creswell, 2017). Development of knowledge takes place either finding solution for a problem or filling a knowledge gap. Our research is influenced by our knowledge and thoughts i.e., finding quality assurance practices of senior high schools. Researchers often make assumptions while conducting research. Such assumptions about human knowledge and the nature of reality they encounter in their research help them to understand their research questions, the methods they use and

the findings they interpret (Creswell, 2017). Epistemology and ontology are two main fundamentals of research philosophy, which impact the way researchers think and carry out their research process.

3.2.1 Ontological Assumption

Ontology is the branch of philosophy that studies the nature of reality or social entities (Bryman, 2015). Researchers hold different views about the nature of reality, sometimes reality is considered objective and sometimes subjective, both of these aspects of ontology are likely to be accepted as producing valid knowledge (Pring, 2020). Objectivism is an ontological position that asserts that social phenomena and their meanings have an existence that is independent of social actors (Bryman, 2015). While subjectivism holds the view that social phenomena is created from perceptions and actions of the social actors. Subjectivism is often associated with constructionism, which views reality as being socially constructed (Pring, 2020). The researcher believe that the study variables have objective characteristics in organizations like schools and since the researcher is investigating single reality of vote buying in Ghanaian elections in the fourth republic, the researcher therefore, select objectivism.

3.2.2 Epistemological Assumption

Ontology explains how the real world is, whereas, epistemology enable us to study the real world. Epistemology deals with acceptable data and knowledge in a specific ground of study (Bryman, 2015). Knowledge has been viewed in two ways, i.e., positivism and interpretivism.

The philosophical stance of this research is pragmatism. Rescher (2017) characterized a pragmatic study as suitable to address problems from various domains, like those from a social or environmental perspective, and allow an investigation into human

experience. Pragmatic research philosophy explores the variety of choices individuals identify as applicable to a problem. Hence, pragmatism is concerned with action and change along with the interaction between knowledge and action (Maxwell, 2018).

Pragmatists share the view that there are manifold interpretations of events, and different concepts can be used to explain the observed phenomena (Rescher, 2016). Thus, knowledge receives its significance from its ability to solve a stated problem (Greene, 2017). Therefore, pragmatism is complementary to the present turbulent business world; it is principally suited for research in the domain of practical considerations of leadership and context (Bryman, 2015; Rorty, R. (2018).

According to Creswell (2015), pragmatism encapsulates both positivism and interpretivism. Positivism relates to the philosophical stance of the natural scientist and entails working with an observable social reality to produce law-like generalizations. Pragmatic research philosophy accepts concepts to be relevant only if they support action. Pragmatists recognize that there are many different ways of interpreting the world and undertaking research, that no single point of view can ever give the entire picture and that there may be multiple realities (Rorty, 2018).

Positivism and interpretivism are two key extreme mutually exclusive paradigms on the pragmatic research philosophy (Brierley, 2018). According to pragmatic research philosophy, research question is the most important determinant of the research philosophy. Pragmatists combine both positivist and interpretivism positions within the scope of a single research according to the nature of the research question (Glesne, 2016).

The label positivism refers to the importance of what is „posited“– i.e., „given“. This emphasizes the positivist focus on strictly scientific empiricist method designed to

yield pure data and facts uninfluenced by human interpretation. Denscombe (2018) added that positivism accorded real, external, independent and one true reality. To Brierley (2018), in positivism, the researcher is detached, neutral and independent of what is researched and the researcher maintains objective stance.

Interpretivism emphasizes that humans are different from physical phenomena because they create meanings. Interpretivists study these meanings. Creswell (2015) added that the purpose of interpretivist research is to create new, richer understandings and interpretations of social worlds and contexts. To Bryman (2016), interpretivism is complex, rich, socially constructed through culture and language. Bryman (2016) further added that interpretivism emerged multiple meanings, interpretations, realities, flux of processes, experiences, practices. To Freshwater (2017), interpretivism is typically inductive, small samples, in-depth investigations, qualitative methods of analysis, but a range of data can be interpreted.

According to James (2017), pragmatic investigations strengths are that; it helps to generalize data, helpful in designing and validating an instrument and enable the researcher to develop a holistic analysis to fully incorporate numerous relevant factors into the study. The time to prepare and conduct the studies may be longer for the more traditional paradigms.

3.3 Research Approach

Babbie (2013) defines a research approach as a whole system of thinking which includes basic assumptions, the important questions to be answered or puzzles to be solved, the research techniques to be used. This definition shows that a research approach tells the researcher how to go about conducting research, based on the assumptions and questions to be answered. Three distinctly different paradigms that

guide research are quantitative, qualitative and mixed method (Creswell, 2014). The researcher used a mixed method approach since it associates with both quantitative and qualitative approaches in the process of data collection, analysis and presentation (Bryman, 2015).

Mixed methods research is a methodology for conducting research that involves collecting, analyzing, and integrating (or mixing) quantitative and qualitative research (and data) in a single study (Creswell, 2015). The purpose of this form of research is that both qualitative and quantitative research, in combination, provides a better understanding of a research problem or issue than either research approach alone. Another reason the researcher employed the mixed research approach was that when different approaches are used to focus on the same phenomenon and they provide the same result, you have "corroboration" which means you have superior evidence for the result. Other important reasons for doing mixed research are to complement one set of results with another, to expand a set of results, or to discover something that would have been missed if only a quantitative or a qualitative approach had been used (Creswell, 2015).

The researcher-based knowledge claims on mixed methods (e.g., consequence oriented, problem-centered, and pluralistic). It employs strategies of inquiry that involve collecting data either simultaneously or sequentially to best understand research problems. The data collection also involves gathering both numeric information (e.g., on instruments) as well as text information (e.g., on interviews) so that the final database represents both quantitative and qualitative information (Creswell, 2015).

Creswell (2014) noted a lot of mixed methods, but the study followed convergent parallel types where the two different methods were utilized to obtain triangulated

results about a single subject. This research mixed method collects and analyses both quantitative and qualitative data during the same phase of the research process, and merges the two sets of findings into an overall interpretation.

The purpose of this mixed method was to obtain different but complementary data on the same topic and to best understand the research questions (Creswell, 2014). Therefore, this type of mixed method draws on the strengths and avoids the weaknesses of both quantitative and qualitative approaches. This type of mixed method allows the researcher to directly compare, validate, complement or expand quantitative statistical results with qualitative findings. As indicated before, the convergent parallel mixed method enables the researcher to collect and analyze both quantitative data and qualitative data at one time (Creswell, 2014).

3.4 Research Design

A research design, according to Creswell (2014), outlines the specific procedures for collecting, analysing and reporting in quantitative research. It may be thought of as a map of how the research will unfold and provides a logical plan as to how it will be conducted and the findings validated. Bryman (2015) formulates a research design as an integrated statement of and justification for the more technical decisions involved in planning a research project and a process. Crotty (2015) offers a closely related definition of design by stating that a research design involves a set of decisions regarding what topic is to be studied among what population with what research methods for what purpose, research design is the process of focusing your perspective for the purposes of a particular study. For Bryman (2015), the research design serves to plan, structure and execute the research in order to maximize the validity of the findings. According to Creswell and Poth (2018), there are three types of mixed

method designs: the triangulation mixed method design, explanatory mixed method design and exploratory mixed method design.

Within mixed methods, the researcher applied convergent parallel design. The convergent design consists of two distinct phases, in which qualitative and quantitative data were collected in parallel, analysed separately and then merged (Creswell, 2015). In this type of design, both qualitative and quantitative data were simultaneously collected, merged and used to understand a research problem. The basic rationale for this design was that one data collection form supplied strengths to offset the weaknesses of the other form and that a more complete understanding of a research problem resulted from collecting both qualitative and quantitative data (Creswell, 2015).

Creswell (2015) further points out that the mixed method research gives equal priority to both quantitative and qualitative data. The researcher valued both quantitative and qualitative data and saw them as equal sources of information in the study and therefore data was concurrently or simultaneously collected during the study. Finally, the results from the quantitative and qualitative analyses were compared to determine if the two data bases yield similar or contrasting results. This study used a questionnaire and interview schedule to collect the required data.

3.5 Population of the Study

According to Pring (2020), the population of research study is any group of individuals that has characteristics in common that are of interest to the researcher. On the other hand, a research population is also known as a well-defined collection of individuals or objects known to have similar characteristics. The target population for this study consisted of first-time voters in the constituency. The total population of

selected areas was 2,005. Table 3.1 below illustrates the distribution of accessible population.

Table 3.1: Distribution of Study Population

Areas	Number of First time Voters
Sukura Area	395
Larterbiokoshie Area	610
Mataheko Area	250
Abossey Okai Area	350
Kaneshie Area	400
Total	2005

3.6 Sample Size

The sample size for the study was determined based on Krajcic and Morgan sample size determination table. So, for a target population of 2005, the sample size according to Krajcic and Morgan is 322. The Krajcic and Morgan sample size table is shown below in **table 3.2**.



Table 3.2: determining sample size for a given population

<i>N</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>S</i>
10	10	220	140	1200	291
15	14	230	144	1300	297
20	19	240	148	1400	302
25	24	250	152	1500	306
30	28	260	155	1600	310
35	32	270	159	1700	313
40	36	280	162	1800	317
45	40	290	165	1900	320
50	44	300	169	2000	322
55	48	320	175	2200	327
60	52	340	181	2400	331
65	56	360	186	2600	335
70	59	380	191	2800	338
75	63	400	196	3000	341
80	66	420	201	3500	346
85	70	440	205	4000	351
90	73	460	210	4500	354
95	76	480	214	5000	357
100	80	500	217	6000	361
110	86	550	226	7000	364
120	92	600	234	8000	367
130	97	650	242	9000	368
140	103	700	248	10000	370
150	108	750	254	15000	375
160	113	800	260	20000	377
170	118	850	265	30000	379
180	123	900	269	40000	380
190	127	950	274	50000	381
200	132	1000	278	75000	382
210	136	1100	285	100000	384

Note.—*N* is population size.

S is sample size.

As shown in Table 3.2 (the Krajcie and Morgan sample size table) if the Population size of a research is 2005 then the sample size should be 322. The sample size for the quantitative data was 322 first time voters. The sample size for the qualitative data was six interviewees. This was made up of one officer at the Domestic Election Observers Office, one worker at the Constituency Electoral Office and four registered voters between the ages of forty to fifty-five years.

The distribution of the sample size according to the Electoral Commission of Ghana is presented in Table 3.3

Table 3.3: Distribution of the Study Sample

Areas	Quantitative Sample Size	Qualitative Sample Size	Total
Sukura Area	70	1	71
Larterbiokorshie Area	122	2	124
Mataheko Area	50	1	51
Abossey Okai Area	45	1	46
Kaneshie Area	35	1	36
Total	322	6	328

From Table 3.2, it can be observed that 322 formed the sample of the quantitative data while 6 formed the qualitative sample of the voters between twenty to fifty years who were purposively selected.

3.7 Sampling Techniques

Opportunistic sampling technique was used to select a sample of 322 first time voters for the quantitative data. These 322 first times voters were sampled from the Non-Formal Educational Sector, Junior and Senior High Schools within the Ablekuma Constituency. This type of sampling technique helped the researcher to quickly get data and move on with his study if he choose respondents who are easy to reach. In the qualitative phase of the data collection process, six interviewees were purposively

selected for the face-to-face interview. This was made up of one officer at the Domestic Election Observers Office, one worker at the Constituency Electoral Office and four registered voters between the ages of forty to fifty-five years.

3.8 Research Instrument

In line with design used for the study, questionnaire and interview were used to elicit data for the study. The study used self-administered questionnaires which were administered to voters. Questionnaires are advantageous in terms of economy, lack of interviewer bias, and the possibility of anonymity (Bryman, 2015). The questions were both close-ended and in order to increase validity of the responses. Structured questionnaires were preferred by the researcher because of its advantages like; easy to administer on a large population. Questionnaires require less time and money compared to other methods like focus group discussions (Bryman, 2015). The questionnaire was a 5-point Likert scale (1= Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Not Sure, 4 = Agree, and 5 = Strongly Agree). The questionnaire consisted of 28 items. Items 1 to 6 measured the causes of vote buying in the Ablekuma Central Constituency. Again, items 7 to 13 measured the manifestations of Vote buying in the Fourth Republic election in Ablekuma Central constituency; items 14 to 22 also measured the impact of Vote Buying in the Fourth Republic election in Ablekuma Central constituency, while items 23 to 27 also measured the prevention of vote buying in the in the Fourth Republic election in Ablekuma Central constituency.

3.9 Data Collection Procedure

The researcher took an introductory letter from the Head of Political Science Department to seek permission from schools involved in the study. The consent of the respondents was also sought. The aim was to establish a close relationship with them

and also inform them about the intention of the study, agree on the reasons given for the collection of data, the dates and the time when they would be contacted. According to Creswell (2014) it is unethical to enter into an organization or social groups to collect data without permission from the “gate-keepers” of the organization. Structured questionnaires containing close ended questions were administered to respondents. This was done during school or working days. The researcher visited the respondents through the Director of Studies, Headteachers and the leadership of the Tailors and Dressmakers Association and administer the questionnaires to respondents. The researcher collected the questionnaire after he was informed on the completion of the questionnaire.

In addition, the researcher used the interview guide to measure the opinion of six interviewees on vote buying. It was a face – to – face interview. This was useful for gathering in-depth information on the subject under study.

3.10 Data Analysis Procedure

After sorting out the questionnaires, the data was computed and analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 21). The statistical analysis such as frequencies, percentages and mean were used to answer the research questions. Thematic Analysis was used to analyze and interpret the interviews. This helped the researcher to closely examine the data to identify common themes, topics, ideas and patterns of meaning that are repeated.

3.11 Ethical Considerations

Prior to the administration of the questionnaires and interview guides, a letter of introduction from the Department of Political Science, was sent to all the target population either in schools, houses or at selected work places. This enabled the

researcher to acquire permission for the needed support or co-operation from the required authorities. The purpose of the research was explained to all respondents and respondents were interviewed or given the questionnaires based on their informed consent and voluntary participation. Respondents were also assured of their anonymity and the confidentiality of their responses. The study also adhered to other codes of ethics regarding data collection and information retrieval, as well as attributing secondary data to the valid sources.



CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

The chapter begun by presenting the demographic characteristics of the respondents. This was followed by the answering of the research questions. The third section, which was the major part of the study, focused on the testing of hypotheses of the study. In doing this, the analysis was based on both quantitative and qualitative data analysis and interpretation.

4.2 Response Rate

The researcher administered 322 questionnaire that represented 100% to the students, but 305 questionnaires were returned. This also represented 86.9%. This implied that the analysis was based on 305 respondents that represented 100% in the study.

4.3 Analysis of Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

It was important to analyze the background characteristics of the respondents who participated in the study. Their characteristics have a strong bearing on the study's findings relating to the research questions. The sex distribution of the respondents indicated a difference of 185 male respondents representing 60.7% and 120 female respondents representing 39.3%.

Table 4.1: Sex Distribution of the Respondents

Sex	Frequency	Percentage
Male	185	60.7
Female	120	39.3
Total	305	100.0

The dominant age group of the respondents ranged between 18 – 22 years representing (214, 70.2%), whereas age group of 23 and above representing (81, 29.8%) of the respondents.

Table 4.2: Age Distribution of Respondents

Age	Frequency	Percentage
18 – 22 years	214	70.2
23 and above years	81	29.8
Total	305	100.0

With regard to respondents living status, Table 4.3 indicates that 83 of the students representing 37.2% reported that they had no formal education, 90 of them representing 29.5% indicated that they had junior high education, while 132(43.3%) also reported that they had senior high education

Table 4.3: Distribution of First – Time Voters Educational status

Educational Status	Frequency	Percentage
No Formal Education	83	37.2
Junior High Education	90	29.5
Senior High Education	132	43.3
Total	305	100.0

4.4 SECTION B – Analysis and Discussions of Research Questions

4.4.1 Research Question One – What are the causes of vote buying in the Ablekuma Central Constituency?

This research question was to determine the **causes of vote buying in the Ablekuma Central Constituency**. The researcher administered questionnaires to participants and their responses given were presented in Table 4.4

Table 4.4: Causes of vote buying in the Ablekuma Central Constituency Elections

Statements	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean
1. Voter identification with political parties is significantly linked to vote buying.	14(4.6)	7(2.3)	25(8.2)	100(32.8)	159(52.1)	4.26
2. The perception voters have about politicians is closely linked to	43(14.1)	71(23.3)	12(3.9)	83(27.2)	96(31.5)	3.39
3. Loss of confidence in the electoral system causes vote buying	4(1.3)	32(10.5)	29(9.5)	97(31.8)	143(46.9)	4.12
4. Poorer a voter, the more likely he or she is to experience vote	7(2.3)	10(3.3)	9(3.0)	109(35.7)	170(55.7)	4.39
5. Less-educated individuals are expected to be more intensively exposed to vote buying	14(4.6)	23(7.6)	35(11.5)	82(26.9)	151(49.5)	4.09

Table 4.4 shows the causes of vote buying in the Ablekuma Central Constituency. .In the first place, the respondents were asked if voter identification with political parties is significantly linked to vote buying. With this statement, 14 of the participants representing 4.6% strongly disagreed, 7 representing (2.3%) disagreed, 25

representing (8.2%) were not sure, 100 representing (32.8%) agreed while 159 representing (52.1%) strongly agreed. The average mean of this statement of 4.26 also implies that averagely, the participants strongly agreed with that statement.

The researcher also wanted to find out from participants if the perception they have about politicians causes vote-buying. With this statement, 43 of the participants representing 14.1% strongly disagreed, 71 representing (23.3%) disagreed, 12 representing (3.9%) were not sure, 83 representing (27.2%) agreed and 96 representing (31.5%) strongly agreed. The average mean of this statement of 3.39 also implies that averagely, the participants agreed with that statement.

Moreover, the researcher wanted to find out from the participants if loss of confidence in the electoral system causes vote buying 4 of the respondents representing 1.3% strongly disagreed, 32 representing (10.5%) disagreed, 29 representing (9.5%) were not sure, 97 representing (31.8%) agreed while 143 representing (46.9%) strongly agreed. The average mean of this statement of 4.12 also implies that averagely, the participants strongly agreed with that statement.

In addition, the researcher wanted to establish if poorer a voter, the more likely he or she is to experience vote buying. With this statement, 7 of the participants representing 2.3% strongly disagreed, 10 representing (3.3%) disagreed, 9 representing (3.0%) were not sure, 109 representing (35.7%) agreed and 170 representing (55.7%) strongly agreed. The average mean of this statement of 4.39 also implies that averagely, the participants strongly agreed with that statement.

Lastly, the researcher wanted to determine if less-educated individuals are expected to be more intensively exposed to vote buying. With this statement, 14 of the respondents representing 4.6% strongly disagreed, 23 representing (7.6%) disagreed,

35 representing (11.5%) were not sure, 82 representing (26.9%) agreed while 151 representing (49.5%) strongly agreed. The average mean of 4.09 also implies that averagely, the participants strongly agreed with that statement.

Table 4.4 presents that, majority of the participants strongly agree on item 4 (i.e., Poorer a voter, the more likely he or she is to experience vote buying). The Table indicated that (109+170, = 35.7% +55.7% = 91.4%) agree, 9(3.0%) were not sure, while (7 + 10 = 2.3% + 3.3% = 5.6%) disagreed.

This finding was in line with Cinjel and Nnadozie, (2018) who noted that lot of voters have indulged into the act of vote selling and this is due to the continual spread of poverty in the country. This finding was in line with Dudley, (2018) who noted that vote pricing, buying and selling often takes place in two forms and explained that this menace mostly manifested in the form of elite's compensation and the practice of spreading monetary worth during campaign and electioneering period. Dudley, (2018) added that monetary worth and materials such as the use of money, food additive, grains, shoes, attires, salt, sugar, wrappers, exercise books and many others are mostly used as the bait to entice the desperately awaiting voters as a result of voter's lower status of poverty.

Qualitatively, the interviewees were asked to indicate on the causes of vote buying in the Ablekuma Central Constituency. The interviewees asserted that the ugly trend of vote-buying did not start in a vacuum; it is attached to some predisposing factors and the following themes emerged:

- Poverty
- Lower literacy levels of voters
- Politics is business

- Most politicians are thieves

Theme 1: Poverty

The interviewees noted that one of the most important factors that cause vote buying is the poverty. One of the interviewees stated that:

„Poverty plays an important role in vote buying strategies in that poverty moderates Clientelist parties" vote buying strategies during election campaigns"”

Another stated that:

„I believe that applying poverty as vote buying tool- method can help the politicians to achieve their voting goals of which poor citizens incline in their votes in returns"”

Another interviewee stated that:

„I think vote buying made poor voters end up in the hands of vote buying Politicians"”.

The finding was in line with Wood, (2016) who noted that poverty has blindfolded a lot of electorates and that a lot of persons as well as the societal institution such as traditional and religious institution have failed to enlighten the society on the ills associated with the practice. This finding corroborates with Yisa, (2018) who noted that a lot of electorates have refused to see any amoral with the act; stressing that it is the country's resources and it is not bribe per se but the act of generosity and openhandedness. The finding also concur that of Sule, (2019) who found out that there is a relationship between vote buying and socio – economic status of the voters.

Theme Two: Lower Literacy levels of Voters

With this theme, the interviewees claimed the link between lower literacy and vote buying. They further asserted that the issue of lower literacy level as a factor that affects vote buying performance that had made vote buying stand apex.

One interviewee stated that:

„I think among the factors that yell for vote buying is the lower level of voter’s educational level””

Another interviewee claimed that:

„I see that majority of voters with lower literacy level lack the essence of vote selling and therefore, entangle in vote buying””

Another interviewee stated that:

„I think the politicians take advantages of lower level of voters to buy the votes of such lower-level voters. Voters with lower literacy levels most at times sell their votes””.

The finding of was in line with Bratton, (2018) who noted that politicians ponder on the lower literate status of voters to offer them incentives for their votes. This finding support that of Leonard, (2017) found that despite the burgeoning issue on political behaviour and vote choice, politicians impart their messages in the form of incentives to voters during their campaign efforts across constituencies.

THEME THREE: Politics is Business

The interviewees claimed that politics is a business because the politicians forget them when they win power. Due to this, most voters have adopted a “no money, no vote” policy. The voters take their share of the benefits the politicians are going to enjoy before voting for them.

One interviewee said:

“These politicians pretend as if they don’t know you after voting for them. Most voters due to this, bargain with them before voting for them
“

Another interviewee said:

“Voters take money before voting for politicians because they forget them after winning power “

The next interviewee said:

“These politicians eat and enjoy alone after voting for them. Voters have also decided to take their portion of the enjoyment before voting for politicians “

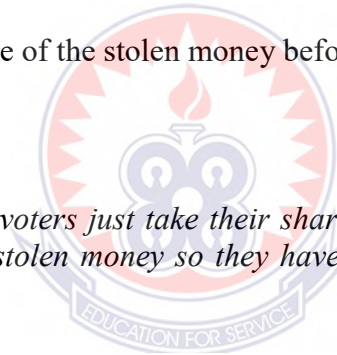
This finding corroborates with Yisa, (2018) who noted that a lot of electorates know the benefits politicians enjoy when they are voted into office; voters now take their part of the benefit before voting. The finding also concurs that of Sule, (2019) most politicians forget the electorates who voted for them when they win power.

THEME FOUR: Most Politicians are Thieves

With this theme, the interviewees claimed that most of the politicians are thieves who steal from the public purse for their private gains. For this reason, voters have also decided to take their share of the stolen money before voting for them.

An Interviewee Said:

“In vote buying, voters just take their share of the stolen money from politicians. It is stolen money so they have to take their share before voting for them “



One Interviewee Also Said:

“Voters just prevent politicians from enjoying the stolen money alone, so they take their share through vote selling “

Another Interviewee Said:

“Vote buying is just like robbing Peter to pay Peter. Politicians just give voters their share of the money they stole “

The Next Interviewee Said:

“Voters take money before voting for politicians because they see most of them as thieves. For this reason, voters need to take their portion through vote selling “

This finding corroborates that of Smah. (2017) who noted that the electorates are very much aware of the embezzlement of public funds by most politicians through the Auditor General’s report and media houses. The only means voters can take their share is through vote buying and selling.

4.4.2 Research Question Two: - What are the manifestations of Vote buying in the Fourth Republic election in Ablekuma Central constituency?

This research question was to determine the manifestations of Vote buying in the Fourth Republic election in Ablekuma Central constituency. The researcher administered questionnaires to participants and their responses given were presented in Table 4.5.



Table 4.5: Manifestations of Vote buying in the Ablekuma Central constituency Elections

Statements	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean
1. Politicians use monetary exchange to persuade voters to vote in a particular way.	10(3.3)	22(7.2)	18(5.9)	110(36.1)	145(47.5)	4.17
2. Politicians use clothing to persuade voters to vote in a particular way.	15(4.9)	37(12.1)	21(6.9)	88(28.9)	144(47.2)	4.03
3. Politicians use of mobile phones to persuade voters to vote in a particular way.	32(10.5)	19(6.2)	32(10.5)	129(42.3)	93(30.5)	3.76
4. Politicians give voters some gifts or incentives to reciprocate with their votes by voting for them	10(3.3)	22(7.2)	34(11.1)	97(31.8)	142(46.6)	4.11
5. Politicians use food items to persuade voters to vote in a particular way.	16(5.2)	55(18.0)	67(22.0)	106(34.8)	61(20.0)	3.46

Table 4.5 shows the participants' views on the manifestations of Vote buying in the Fourth Republic election in Ablekuma Central constituency. The participants were asked if politicians use monetary exchange to persuade voters to vote in a particular way. With this statement, 10 representing (3.3%) strongly disagreed, 22 representing (7.2%) disagreed, 18 representing (5.9%) were not sure, 110 representing (36.1%) agreed while 145 representing (47.5%) strongly agreed. The average mean of this

statement of 4.17 also implies that averagely, the participants strongly agreed with that statement.

The researcher wanted to find out from the participants if politicians use clothing to persuade voters to vote in a particular way. With this statement, 15 of the participants representing 4.9% strongly disagreed, 37 representing (12.1%) disagreed, 21 representing (6.9%) were not sure, 88 representing (28.9%) agreed while 144 representing (47.2%) strongly agreed. The average mean of this statement of 4.03 also implies that averagely, the participants strongly agreed with that statement.

In addition, the researcher wanted to establish if politicians use of mobile phones to persuade voters to vote in a particular way. With this statement, 32 of the participants representing 10.5% strongly disagreed, 19 representing (6.2%) disagreed, 32 representing (10.5%) were not sure, 129 representing (42.3%) agreed and 93 representing (30.5%) strongly agreed. The average mean of this statement 3.76 also implies that averagely, the participants agreed with that statement.

Again, I wanted to find out from the participants if politicians give voters some gifts or incentives to reciprocate with their votes by voting for them. With this statement, 10 of the participants representing 3.3% strongly disagreed, 22 representing (7.2%) disagreed, 34 representing (11.1%) were not sure, 97 representing (31.8%) agreed while 142 (46.6%) strongly agreed. The average mean of this statement of 4.11 also implies that averagely, the participants strongly agreed with that statement.

In addition, the researcher wanted to establish if politicians use food items to persuade voters to vote in a particular way. With this statement, 16 of the participants representing 5.2% strongly disagreed, 55 representing (18.0%) disagreed, 67 representing (22.0%) were not sure, 106 representing (34.8%) agreed and 61

representing (21.0%) strongly agreed. The average mean of this statement of 3.46 also implies that averagely, the participants agreed with that statement.

Table 4.5 presents that, majority of the participants strongly agree on item 1 (i.e., Politicians use monetary exchange to persuade voters to vote in a particular way). The Table indicated that $(110+145 = 36.1\% +47.5\% = 83.6\%)$ agree, 18(5.9%) were not sure, whiles $(10 + 222 = 3.3\% + 7.2\% = 10.5\%)$ disagreed.

This finding was in line with Jensen and Justesen, (2018) who found that vote buying and pervasive poverty are inextricably linked, in that voters living in financial hardship would necessarily sell their vote. Poor voters are more likely to be offered (and to accept) monetary or other benefits for their votes. The finding also supports that of Robert and Sampson, (2011) who found that poor voters may also be more likely to discount the future benefits on which programmatic election campaigns are built. This finding was in line with Kramon, (2016) who noted that since poorer voters are more likely to live at or near subsistence levels, they may be more inclined to reward a small welfare transfer made directly to their household with their vote, rather than a promise of the future delivery of public goods. Keefer and Vlaicu, (2018) added that poverty is therefore regarded as one of the key enablers of political clientelism.

Qualitatively, the interviewees were asked on the manifestations of vote buying and the interviewees claimed that vote buying manifests in several ways and the following themes emerged:

- Offer of gifts
- Offer of cash
- Cutting of sods
- Making huge promises

Theme 1: Offer of Gifts

The section of the interviewees claimed that the heart of vote buying is money politics. One of the interviewees stated that:

„I see elections in the fourth republic like an auction market where the highest bidder buys the good. Vote buyers who are able to share expensive gifts win elections”

Another interviewee stated that:

„I see that what we have presently is democracy for sale – a democracy that perpetuates ignorance, poverty, violence and underdevelopment. They give gifts in return for political favor. ”

One interviewee stated that:

„I see the ugly trend of entrenching the practice of corrupting the system to earn illicit money in order to buy votes from an impoverished and psychologically-damaged populace. For voters to vote for you, you need to give out expensive gifts”

This finding was in line with Lehoucq, (2016) who noted that money politics is a manifestation of vote buying that influence the voters voting decisions. The finding concurs that of Kramon and Posner, (2018) who noted that vote buying commonly manifest in offer of gifts. The finding was in line with O’Leary, (2016) who noted that the level of offering gifts had decline the credibility of electoral result in Africa

Theme 2: Offer of Cash

The section of interviewees claimed that people use money during election and therefore employing various means to get into the position of authority. One of the interviewees reported that:

„I see that money is always needed in political activities and that those who have no money cannot contest, since there is a strong gap between the rich and poor candidates, the danger involve is that those who contribute money will always influence the voters”

Another interviewee stated that:

„The politicians nowadays offer cash to voters to win political power that make them politically corrupt““

One of the interviewees stated that:

„I can boldly say that politicians nowadays offer cash to manage their voters to vote for them such that the voters vote in line with the money offered to them in reciprocal manner““

This finding was in line with John and Ayo, (2018) who noted that it is always taking the center stage in the political process of voting is money. This finding was in line with Adetula (2015) who noted that money play persisting critical role negatively that corrupt the electoral process. This finding corroborates that of Smah. (2017) who noted that the danger is that money politics that contaminate the system and weaken the law; bring about bad leaders“ and democratic institutions, through tainted politics

THEME THREE: Making Huge Promises

The researcher noted that most politicians make huge and juicy political promises to the electorate during their campaign tours just to influence their voting decision.

An interviewee said:

“When elections are very close these politicians make huge promises just for votes “

Another Interviewee Said:

“One vote buying strategy these politicians use now a days is by making juicy political promise. The intention of these promises is to cause voters to vote in a particular way “

The Next Interviewee Also Said:

“To change the voting decisions of voters, these politicians make attractive promises.

They deploy people to go round the constituency and listen to the wishes of the

electorates. Base on the report, they make huge promises with the intention of influencing their voting decision “

The finding was in line with Baidoo and Eshun, (2018) who noted that one vote-buying technique used by politicians is to lure the electorates with their huge political promises. The finding also supports that of Nitcher (2018) who indicated that most politician influence voters in their favor by their promises.

THEME FOUR: Cutting of Sods

The interviewees claimed that politicians use sod cutting as another means of buying votes. Politicians cut sods for the commencement of developmental projects when in actual fact, funds for these projects are not ready.

An Interviewee Said:

“We are very much aware of their strateg, they go round cutting sods just for votes”

Another Interviewee Said:

“The worrying factor is that, they cut sods do begin a project when the funds for the said project is not available “

One Interviewee Also Said:

“Vote buying now a days is not only about gifts or cash. Fake sod cutting is another means they use to buy votes. Fake because the fund for the project is not ready but they still go ahead to do the sod cutting “

The finding also supports that of Nitcher (2018) who indicated that most of these politicians use sod cutting to lure voters to vote in their favor. Politicians wait few months or days to election before embarking on their sod cutting strategy.

4.4.3. Research Question Three: - What is the impact of Vote Buying on the in the Fourth Republic Election in Ablekuma Central constituency?

This research question was to determine the impact of Vote Buying on the Fourth Republic election in Ablekuma Central constituency. The researcher administered questionnaires to participants and their responses given were presented in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Impact of Vote Buying on Ablekuma Central Constituency Elections.

Statements	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean
1. Vote buying perpetuates corruption throughout the entire political system	15(4.9)	59(19.3)	56(18.4)	89(29.2)	86(28.2)	3.56
2. Vote buying interferes with the independence and rights of voters to fairly assess candidates for electoral offices	28(9.2)	82(26.9)	51(16.7)	85(27.9)	59(19.3)	3.21
3. Vote buying traps vulnerable voters in self-sabotaging with their political leaders	47(15.4)	70(23.0)	48(15.7)	93(30.5)	47 (15.4)	3.08
4. Vote buying discourages and blocks honest people from entering politics	59(19.3)	61(20.0)	38(12.5)	88(28.9)	59(19.3)	3.09
5. Vote buying is a threat to democracy	13(4.3)	26(8.5)	36(11.8)	78(25.6)	152(49.8)	4.08

Table 4.6 shows the participants views on the impact of vote buying on the in the Fourth Republic election in Ablekuma Central constituency. The participants were asked if vote buying perpetuates corruption throughout the entire political system. With this statement, 15 representing (4.9%) strongly disagreed, 59 representing (19.3%) disagreed, 56 representing (18.4%) were not sure, 89 representing (29.2%)

agreed while 86 representing (28.2%) strongly agreed. The average mean of this statement of 3.56 also implies that averagely, the participants agreed with that statement.

The researcher also wanted to find out from the respondents if vote buying interferes with the independence and rights of voters to fairly assess candidates for electoral offices. With this statement, 28 of the participants representing 9.2% strongly disagreed, 82 representing (26.9%) disagreed, 51 representing (16.7%) were not sure, 85 representing (27.9%) agreed while 59 representing (19.3%) strongly agreed. The average mean of this statement of 3.21 also implies that averagely, the participants agreed with that statement.

In addition, the researcher wanted to establish if vote buying traps vulnerable voters in self-sabotaging with their political leaders. With this statement, 47 of the participants representing 15.4% strongly disagreed, 70 representing (23.0%) disagreed, 48 representing (15.7%) were not sure, 93 representing (30.5%) agreed and 47 representing (15.4%) strongly agreed. The average mean of this statement 3.08 also implies that averagely, the participants agreed with that statement.

Again, I wanted to find out from the study participants if vote buying discourages and blocks honest people from entering politics. With this statement, 59 of the participants representing 9.3% strongly disagreed, 61 representing (20.0%) disagreed, 38 representing (12.5%) were not sure, 88 representing (28.9%) agreed while 59 representing (19.3%) strongly agreed. The average mean of this statement of 3.09 also implies that averagely, the participants agreed with that statement.

In addition, the researcher wanted to establish if vote buying is a threat to democracy. With this statement, 13 of the participants representing 4.3% strongly disagreed, 26 representing (8.5%) disagreed, 26 representing (8.5%) were not sure, 78 representing

(25.6%) agreed and 152 representing (49.8%) strongly agreed. The average mean of this statement of 4.04 also implies that averagely, the participants strongly agreed with that statement.

Table 4.6 presents that, majority of the respondents strongly agree on item 5 (i.e., Vote buying is a threat to democracy). The Table indicated that $(78+152, = 25.6\% + 49.8\% = 75.4\%)$ agree, 36 representing (11.8%) were not sure, whiles $(13 + 26 = 4.3\% + 8.5\% = 12.8\%)$ disagreed.

This finding was in line with Gans-Morse and Nichter, (2018) finding that there are enormous implications posed by vote-buying in the electoral process as prospective vote buyers typically have no guarantees that voters who accept their material offers shall dutifully reciprocate on election day. The finding also supports that of Cox and McCubbins, (2016) who found that vote buying is a threat to modern democracy. Moreover, this finding was in line with that of Bratton, (2018) who emphasized that when the election is characterized by excessive vote-buying choices of the citizens, invariably, there is the likelihood that the government that emerges cannot represent, protect, and affects the will and aspirations of the people.

Qualitatively, the interviewees were asked to state the impacts of vote buying and commonly claimed that vote-buying

- Hinder the honesty of the electoral process
- Leads to corruption
- Prevents development

One of the interviewees stated that:

“I see that vote-buying shuts out candidates with lean campaign budgets and also increase in political corruption. Vote buying also prevents development. These politicians keep large part of monies

which was meant for developmental projects and use it to buy votes. In order to buy votes and win elections, some politicians engage in corruption to raise enough money to buy votes””

Another interviewee stated that:

„ With vote buying, electoral victories are purchased rather than won fairly, it glaringly leads to state capture. The money they use to buy votes is stolen money, no wonder they cannot develop the constituency””

One of the interviewees commented that:

Oh, I see that vote-buying undermines the integrity of elections as the winners are often the highest bidders and not necessarily the most popular or credible contestants, Corruption and under-development are all the results of vote buying””

Another interviewee claimed that:

“I can say that vote buying discourages conscientious people from participating in electoral politics and causes citizens to lose faith in state institutions. They steal money to buy votes. This is one reason why we lack behind in terms of development””.

The finding was in line with Baidoo and Eshun, (2018) who noted that vote-buying has become a dominant factor and an alarming phenomenon hindering honesty electoral process. The finding also supports that of Nitcher (2018) who indicated that vote buying is a worrisome electoral issue that had decline the efficiency of electoral process. This finding was also in line with Graham, (2018) who noted that vote-buying threatens voters’ readiness to embrace good democratic governance. The finding also supports that of Gallego and Wantchekon, (2017) who indicated vote buying had increased the electoral fraud practiced either during political party primaries or general elections that serve to discredit election results.

4.4.4. Research Question Four – In what ways can vote buying be prevented in the Ablekuma Central Constituency?

This objective also was to determine the ways by which vote buying could be prevented in the Ablekuma Central constituency. The researcher administered questionnaires to the students and their responses given were presented in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: Ways by which vote buying could be prevented in the Ablekuma Central constituency.

Statements	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean
1. Strict rules and laws for offences of vote buying should	38(12.5)	33(10.8)	47(15.4)	84(27.5)	103(33.8)	3.59
2. Political candidates caught for offences of vote buying should be disqualify to be voted for	11(3.6)	20(6.6)	19(6.2)	79(25.9)	176(57.7)	4.28
3. Vote-buying issue should be considered as a criminal act.	27(8.9)	34(11.1)	20(6.6)	95(31.1)	129(42.3)	3.87
4. Electoral officers should be selected based honesty and clean of corruptions	67(22.0)	57(18.7)	50(16.4)	69(22.6)	62(20.3)	3.07
5. Government should improve the living conditions of the ordinary people	10(3.3)	38(12.5)	40(13.1)	90(29.5)	127(41.6)	3.94

Table 4.7 shows the participants views on ways do the vote buying could be prevented in the Ablekuma Central constituency. In the first place, the participants were asked if strict rules and laws for offences of vote buying should be instituted will help prevent vote buying in the Ablekuma Central constituency. With this statement, 38 of the participants representing 12.5% strongly disagreed, 33 representing (10.8%) disagreed, 47 representing (15.4%) were not sure, 84 representing (27.5%) agreed while 103 representing (33.8%) strongly agreed. The mean score of 3.59 implies that averagely the participants agreed with that statement.

The researcher wanted to find out from the participants if political candidates caught for offences of vote buying should be disqualify to be voted for. With this statement, 11 of the participants representing 3.6% strongly disagreed, 20 representing (6.6%) disagreed, 19 representing (6.2%) were not sure, 79 representing (25.9%) agreed while 176 representing (57.7%) strongly agreed. The mean score of 4.28 fell in the category of strongly agreed. This implies that averagely, the participants strongly agreed with that statement.

Moreover, I wanted to find out from the participants if vote-buying issue should be considered as a criminal act will help prevent vote buying in the Ablekuma Central constituency. With this statement, 27 of the participants representing 8.9% strongly disagreed, 34 representing (11.1%) disagreed, 20 representing (6.6%) were not sure, 95 representing (31.1%) agreed while 129 representing (42.3%) strongly agreed. The mean score of 3.87 fell in the category of agreed. This implies that averagely, the participants agreed with that statement.

Again, I wanted to find out from the participants if electoral officers should be selected based honesty and clean of corruptions will help prevent vote buying in the Ablekuma Central constituency. With this statement, 67 of the participants

representing 22.0% strongly disagreed, 57(18.7%) disagreed, 50 representing (16.4%) were not sure, 69 representing (22.6%) agreed while 62 representing (20.3%) strongly agreed. The mean score of 3.07 implies that averagely the participants agreed with that statement.

Lastly, the participants were further asked if government should improve the living conditions of the ordinary people help prevent vote buying in the Ablekuma Central constituency. With this statement, 10 of the participants representing 3.3% strongly disagreed, 38 representing (12.5%) disagreed, 40 representing (13.1%) were not sure, 90 representing (29.5%) agreed while 127 representing (41.6%) strongly agreed. The mean score of 3.94 implies that averagely the participants agreed with that statement.

Table 4.7 presents that, majority of the participants strongly agree on item 2 (i.e., Political candidates caught for offences of vote buying should be disqualify to be voted for). The Table indicated that $(79+176 = 25.9\% + 57.7\% = 83.6\%)$ agree, 19(6.2%) were not sure, whiles $(11 + 20 = 3.6\% + 6.6\% = 10.2\%)$ disagreed. This finding was in line with McGrath, (2017) who noted that vote buying is an electoral campaign violation that occurs in many countries, which undermines the integrity of elections and is detrimental to democratic governance and suggested that candidates caught in vote buying should be disqualify to be voted for. The finding was also in line with Bouchier, (2018) who noted that the practice of vote buying is illegal, yet it persists in large part because of limited state capacity, as a result of stringent measures against the offenders such as disqualifying the culprits to be voted for.

Qualitatively, the interviewees were asked on the ways vote buying could be prevented and this common theme emerged.

- **Vote buying should be treated as a criminal act.**

One interviewee expressed that:

„I see vote-buying as so multifarious that it can only be tackled with robust legislation and commensurate sanctions““

Another interviewee indicated that:

„I see electoral legislation as having a limited impact on vote-buying and believe the roots of this behaviour lie deeper in society““

One of the interviewees indicated that:

„I think civic education as the most effective means to combat vote-buying. The focus and target group of such education varies though, according to where the source of the problem is believed to lie““.

Another interviewee commented that:

„I hope educating citizens about their vote and how it can impact upon their lives can help instill a longer-term view and make selling their votes less appealing““

This finding was in line with that of Winters, (2017) who noted that vote buying practices undermine democratic elections because individuals who sell their votes are unlikely to be able to demand public services from the candidates to whom they sold their votes. The finding also concurs that of Zakaria, (2019) who found out that to reduce vote buying, politicians involve should be classified as criminals and deal with them as criminals.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presented a summary of the major findings of the study, which investigate the causes, impact, and the prevention of vote buying on Ablekuma Central Constituency elections. This chapter includes the summary of the research findings, and conclusions from the results and finally the implications and recommendations for further studies.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The study sought to investigate the causes, manifestations, impact and prevention of vote buying in Ablekuma Central Constituency elections. The following research questions guided the study:

- i. What are the causes of vote buying in the Ablekuma Central Constituency?
- ii. What are the manifestations of Vote buying in the Fourth Republic election in Ablekuma Central constituency?
- iii. What is the impact of Vote Buying on the Fourth Republic elections in Ablekuma Central constituency?
- iv. In what ways do the vote buying could be prevented in the Ablekuma Central constituency?

The following findings were arrived at in the present study:

- i. The research question one that sought to find the causes of vote buying in the Ablekuma Central Constituency revealed that the poorer a voter, the more likely he or she is to experience vote buying and also the lower literacy levels of voters. Also, the perception voters have about politics and politicians is closely linked to vote buying. Voters see their votes to politicians due to the perception they have about them. They see most politicians as thieves who need to give the voters their share of the stolen money through vote buying. Vote buying therefore is seen as a business of which voters "bargain and take money or gifts from them before voting for them.
- ii. The second research question that sought to find out the manifestations of Vote buying in the Fourth Republic election in Ablekuma Central constituency revealed that politicians use monetary exchange to persuade voters to vote in a particular way together with money politics, making of huge political promises, cutting of sods and the offer of gifts. Politicians lure voters to vote in a particular way by offering them cash and gifts. Some of these politicians also use huge political promise and cutting of sods as a vote buying strategy. They make juicy political promise to voters just to lure them to vote in a particular way.
- iii. The third research question which sought to find out the impact of Vote Buying on the Fourth Republic election in Ablekuma Central constituency revealed that vote buying is a threat to democracy and also hinder the honesty of the electoral process, prevents development and promotes corruption. Vote buying prevents honest politicians from winning election.

It also prevents development and leads to corruption in the sense that monies meant for developmental projects are stolen by these vote buyers which they later give to voters in exchange for votes.

- iv. Finally, with respect to research question four which sought find out the ways vote buying could be prevented in the Ablekuma Central constituency revealed that political candidates caught for offences of vote buying should be disqualified to be voted for and should also be treated as criminals.

5.3 Conclusion

Based on the findings of the study, it is safe to conclude that:

The most important factors that cause vote buying is poverty, the lower literacy levels of voters and voters perceiving politicians as thieves. The poorer, less educated a voter is and the negative perception voters have about politicians, the more likely he or she is to experience vote selling.

Vote buying manifest itself in the form of offer of cash, offer of gifts, cutting of sods and making of huge promises. Politicians use these to persuade voters to vote in a particular.

The impact of vote buying on the Forth Republican elections in the Ablekuma Central constituency elections are that, it hinders the honesty of the electoral process, leads to corruption and prevents development. Vote buying is a threat to democracy.

To prevent Vote Buying, political candidates caught for offences of vote buying should be disqualified to be voted for and also treated as criminals.

5.4 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations have been made:

- Political parties must employ political marketing specialists to devise a marketing plan that will target voters as consumers to enhance electoral success of political candidates in elections.
- Political parties must adopt a more nationalistic approach to their campaigns since majority of voters see themselves as citizens
- Political campaign strategies must appeal to the patriotic sense of voters in order to win them to their side.
- There should be strict adherence of political law on vote buying to help curb vote buying

5.5 Recommendations for Future Research

Since the study found out that, poor and less educated voters are likely to engage in vote buying, politicians use monetary exchange to persuade voters to vote in their favor, vote buying is a threat to democracy and politicians caught for offences of vote buying should be disqualified from the elections. A further study should be conducted in other similar constituencies to investigate the causes, manifestations, impact and prevention of vote buying.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE ON VOTE BUYING

SECTION A

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF THE RESPONDENTS

Please help us classify your response by supplying the following facts about yourself and your opinion on the raised issues by ticking an appropriate box. There is no right or wrong answer, therefore no particular response is targeted.

1. Age. Between 18 – 25 years []. Between 26- 35 []
2. Sex: Male []. Female [].
3. Educational Status: None [], Basic Education [], Diploma [], First Degree [],
Master Degree [],



SECTION B

VOTERS QUESTIONNAIRE

Please, respond to the statements by ticking the number of the 5-point scale using the following keys: 1=Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Not Sure, 4=Agree, 5=Strongly Agree as sincerely as possibly.

Statements	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Voter identification with political parties is significantly linked to vote buying.					
2. The perception voters have about politicians is closely linked to vote-buying					
3. Loss of confidence in the electoral system causes vote buying					

4. Voters' geographical location are also believed to influence vote buying					
5. <i>The poorer</i> the voter, the more likely he or she is to experience vote buying.					
6. Less-educated individuals are expected to be more intensively exposed to vote buying					
Manifestations of Vote buying					
7. Monetary exchange is used to persuade voters to turn out to elections and vote in a particular way.					
8. Politicians use money to persuade voters to turn out to elections and vote in a particular way.					
9. Politicians use of smartphones to persuade voters to turn out to elections and vote in a particular way.					
10. Politicians give voters some benefits in the form of gifts or incentives for them to reciprocate with their votes by voting for the giver or the candidate					
11. Food items are given to persuade voters to turn out during elections and vote in a particular way.					
12. Politicians offer of cash persuade voters to vote for them					
13. Politicians use garments to persuade voters to vote for them					
Impact of Vote Buying					
14. The buying of votes harms democracy					
15. Vote buying interferes with the independence and rights of voters to fairly assess candidates for electoral offices					

16. Vote buying declines the quality of governance and social contract that citizens will experience					
17. Vote buying contributes to keeping politicians „off the hook“ for abusing public office when elected, and traps vulnerable voters in self-sabotaging, voters“ relationships with their political leaders.					
18. Vote buying discourages and blocks honest people from entering politics					
19. Vote buying made electoral success becomes associated with dishonest and unethical practices.					
20. Vote buying perpetuates corruption throughout the entire political system.					
21. Vote buying is a hindrance to the electoral system Process					
22. Vote buying is a massive threat to democracy					
Prevention of vote buying					
23. Strict rules and laws for offences of vote buying should be instituted					
24. Political candidates caught for offences of vote buying should be disqualified to be voted for					
25. Vote-buying issue should be considered as a criminal act.					
26. Electoral officers should be selected based honesty and clean of corruptions					
27. Government should improve the living conditions of the ordinary					

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Sex:
2. Age.
3. Educational status:
4. What do you think are the main cause of vote buying?
5. What do you think led to this main cause of the vote buying?
6. In what ways does vote buying manifest itself?
7. What do you think are the consequences of vote buying?
8. How can vote buying be prevented?

