

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

**SPLIT-TICKET VOTING BEHAVIOUR AND SOCIO-
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA: A CASE OF AGONA
EAST CONSTITUENCY 2008-2020.**



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DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA: A CASE OF AGONA EAST CONSTITUENCY
2008-2020.**



**A thesis in the Department of Political Science Education, Faculty of
Social Sciences Education, submitted to the School of
Graduate Studies in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the award of the degree of
Master of Philosophy
(Political Science Education)
in the University of Education, Winneba**

DECEMBER, 2023

DECLARATION

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

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

Signature:

Date:

SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

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

Supervisor's name: Dr. Desmond Tweneboah-Koduah

Signature:

Date:



DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my dear father, Richard Anumah through whose inspiration I was able to complete this thesis.



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First of all, I give thanks to the Almighty God for bringing me this far in my academic pursuit.

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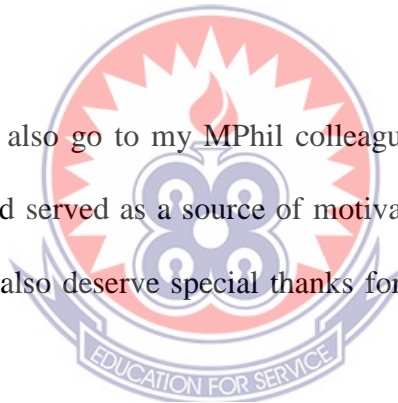
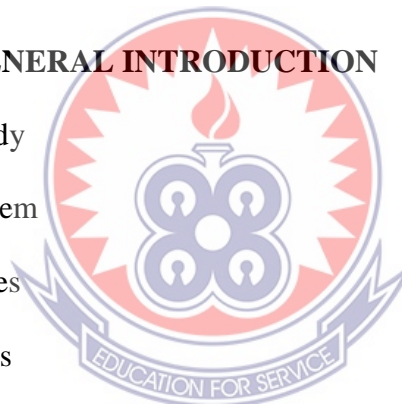


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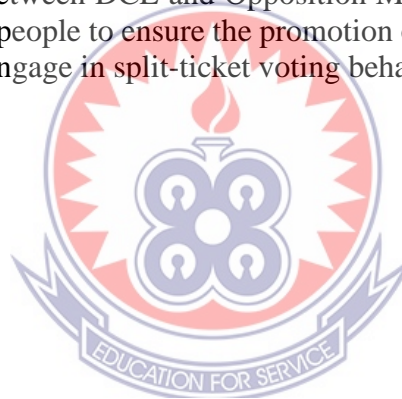


LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AEC	Agona East Constituency
CM	Campaign Message
CT	Clientelism
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DCE	District Chief Executive
EC	Electoral Commission of Ghana
GC	Gender of a Candidate
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
IE	Intention to Engage in Split-ticket Voting
MCE	Municipal Chief Executive
MP	Member of Parliament
NCCE	National Commission for Civic Education
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NPP	New Patriotic Party
PC	Personality Traits of a Candidate
PR	Performance of Ruling Government
YEA	Youth Employment Agency

ABSTRACT

Ghana's general elections over the years have been competitive and characterized by various patterns of voting behaviour. One notable voting behaviour among them is split-ticket voting behaviour. This study set out to identify what accounts for the split-ticket voting behaviour in the Agona East constituency and its implications on socio-economic development of the area. The study employed the sociological model and rational choice theory to help explain the data from the field. Voters and key informants were sampled for the study. Concurrent Mixed Methods approach was employed to collect and analyze data from the field. The study found that while the distribution of valuable items and other gifts do not influence split-ticket voters' decisions, campaign messages and performance of ruling governments play significant role in voters' intention to opt for split-ticket voting. It was also established that split-ticket voting behaviour breeds hostility between the DCE and the Opposition Member of Parliament in the constituency and this hinders smooth implementation of laudable socio-economic development plans in the area. The study therefore recommends that politicians must focus on the delivery of their campaign promises to attract the votes from the split-ticket voters in the constituency. It also recommends that in order to promote peaceful working relationship between DCE and Opposition Member of Parliament, the DCEs must be elected by the people to ensure the promotion of socio-economic development in areas where voters engage in split-ticket voting behaviour.



CHAPTER ONE

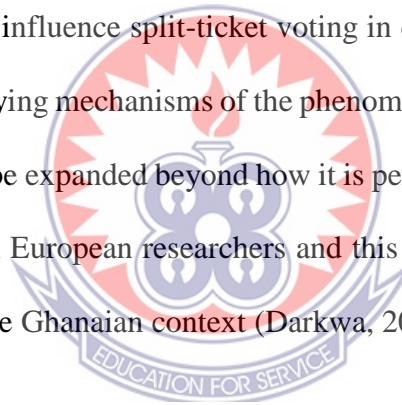
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Study

The idea that democracy ought to be participatory has long been established. One basic way in which every functioning democracy empowers ordinary citizens to participate meaningfully in their country's affairs is through elections and voting (O'Neil, 2015; Klesner, 2014). Indeed, a country's ability to create the needed environment for its citizens to freely elect their leaders according to their conscience signals democratic maturity (Magstadt, 2013). The indispensable nature of elections in democracies globally comes to bear when governments allow the electorate to either reject or endorse an incumbent (Antwi, 2018). O'Neil (2007) similarly points out that, elections promote democratic peace and minimize the likelihood of a democratic impediment, make way for competition among political parties and also provide a platform for individuals to select their leaders. Antwi (2018) as well as Ayee (2011) have all established that, the right of the populace to select their representatives is a fundamental right which has legitimate authority. This right is stated in the Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which was adopted unanimously by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948. Elections in democratic countries over the past few decades have been characterized by some voting behaviour and notable among them is split-ticket voting behaviour.

Split-ticket voting is conventionally perceived as a voting behaviour where a voter selects the presidential candidate of one party and a parliamentary candidate of another party on the ballot. For instance, on the same polling day, an electorate selects Party A's presidential candidate and Party B's parliamentary candidate or vice-versa

(Darkwa, 2019). Many researchers are of the view that split-ticket voting takes place when the election is conducted simultaneously and as such, Navia and Saldaña (2015) emphasize that split-ticket voting can simply occur when there is a concurrent election where electorates select candidates for different offices. In most political systems, split-ticket voting is increasingly becoming a common phenomenon (Persson, 2020) and the tendency to split tickets during the last decades has also grown progressively (Dalton, 2014). Due to its impacts on democratic representation and accountability, split-ticket voting keeps on attracting research attention in established and developing democracies (Burden & Helmke, 2009; Helmke, 2009). Darkwa (2019), specifically also asserts that, though the fundamental cause may be uniform in most settings, there are distinct nuances in factors that influence split-ticket voting in different settings apart from the evolution of the underlying mechanisms of the phenomenon. It has been argued that the phenomenon needs to be expanded beyond how it is perceived from the perspectives of American and Western European researchers and this therefore makes a case for it to be investigated from the Ghanaian context (Darkwa, 2019).



Since the inception of the Fourth Republican Constitution in 1992, Ghana has passed the “two-turnover-test” of democratic consolidation (Huntington, 1991) with eight successive general elections and has had its third peaceful transfer of political power (Graham et al., 2017; Kumah-Abiwu, 2017; Gunitsky, 2018). The existence of split-ticket voting according to Darkwa (2019), nevertheless, has contributed to the achievement of democratization of the country as the practice has become a noticeable feature of voting behaviour among voters in Ghana. And like many other countries in Africa, Ghana is still nurturing her young democracy and as pointed out by Darkwa (2019), split-ticket voting will continue to be a prominent feature of the country’s elections. Split-ticket voting has become associated with the country’s elections and for

that reason, it has attracted a special name among the voting population. The phenomenon has been christened “skirt and blouse voting” referring to an aggregate-level outcome where the victors in the presidential and parliamentary contests in a specific constituency come from different political parties (Daddieh, 2011; Frempong, 2017). As established by Darkwa (2019), not only is there evidence of split-ticket voting in constituencies during general elections but also evidence of party supporters and elites encouraging split-ticket voting strategically under certain conditions and also, to achieve certain goals, civil society may encourage split-ticket voting.

The first election under the Fourth Republic was conducted in 1992 but there is no data from the Electoral Commission of Ghana (EC) on that particular election to compare the performances of the two political parties; National Democratic Congress (NDC) and New Patriotic Party (NPP), since NPP boycotted the parliamentary election over allegations of rigged presidential election – a reason that compelled the Electoral Commission of Ghana to introduce reforms that directed that, both the presidential and parliamentary elections to be held on the same day (Bokpe, 2016). The practice therefore became part of the country’s political culture from 1996. During the 1996 general elections, 11 constituencies voted “skirt and blouse”. The number of constituencies increased to 17 in 2000. In John Agyekum Kuffour’s term in 2004, 22 constituencies decided not to stick to one political party in the presidential and parliamentary elections. When Nana Addo Danquah Akuffo-Addo and John Evans Atta Mills met in 2008, 19 constituencies went to the polls splitting their tickets/votes, the number shot up to 26 when John Dramani Mahama met Nana Addo Danquah Akuffo-Addo in 2012. When the two met again in 2016, 28 constituencies voted “skirt and blouse”. In 2020, the number of split-ticket voting went up to 33 (Bokpe, 2016; EC, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016, 2020). Flowing from above, it can be observed

that with the exception of the 2008 elections, the number of constituencies that opted for split-ticket voting in general elections conducted in Ghana from 1996 to 2020 kept increasing consistently. This practice has become a key feature of Ghana's elections and its implications on socio-economic development therefore require scholarly attention.

1.2. Statement of Problem

As divided government became common in the United States, researchers started taking a keen interest in split-ticket voting behaviour and since then, the study of the phenomenon has extended to other countries (Arellano, 2019). Literature on split-ticket voting behaviour in the United States is voluminous yet the phenomenon is still unexplored in other countries, subsequently, studying split-ticket voting in other countries will enable researchers to test the hypotheses of the phenomenon which have originated from the United States and also to understand precisely the individual and institutional factors influencing the phenomenon (Arellano, 2019).

Studies conducted in Germany and New Zealand for example, have revealed how mixed electoral system as an institutional factor increases a person's possibility of voting for different political parties (Gschwend, 2007). Likewise, Leiter (2019) affirms that the mixed electoral systems offer an exceptional institutional context for the investigation of split-ticket voting, as the electorate casts two votes for the same political institution. Additionally, the examination of split-ticket voting in Brazil helps in understanding the phenomenon within the context where the electorate get the chance to select among multiple parties or help to appreciate the phenomenon within the context where candidate-centred campaigns take over the political system (Ames et al., 2008). Split-ticket voting thereby permits the electorate who support multiple parties or

have precise coalitional favourites the opportunity to cast a ballot for the parties or coalitions that they prefer, as part of open choice (Huber, 2017). Studies in Mexico paved the way for comparing split-ticket voting in relation to mixed electoral systems with other countries practising the former and more so, to explore the phenomenon within the framework of recent democracy, as the country has witnessed a transition from a hegemonic regime to a democracy (Arellano, 2019). Thus, the analysis of split-ticket voting in the country's case sheds light on the phenomenon in second-wave democracies and at the same time, allows for evaluation of the results to that of other countries (Arellano, 2019).

Studies on elections particularly in Africa were necessarily not focused on the candidate who won the election but rather they looked at the underlying reasons for the electorate voting for a particular candidate over others, and the outcomes of such voting behaviour (Antwi, 2018). A substantial amount of research has been devoted to give justification for voting decisions of the African electorate, and as such, several pool of literature on voting behaviour in Africa suggest that countless factors determine the choices and behaviour of the electorate (Achanso et al., 2021). Most of these studies however established that ethnicity plays a key role in influencing the voting choices of electorate in Africa as opined by Horowitz (1985) few years back that elections conducted in Africa is nothing but just a mere census for ethnic support. He however failed to recognize that more political information has the likelihood of reducing the incidence of ethnic voting in Africa (Conroy-Krutz, 2013; Adina, 2020). In essence, studies on elections and voting behaviour in Africa have predominantly focused on the factors that determining voting decisions of African voters.

It is important to note that, over the years, scholars have conducted several studies on elections and voting behaviour in Ghana, for example: Nyanator (2020) studied the influence of political campaign songs on voting decisions in Ghana during the 2008, 2012 and 2016 general elections. Bukari et al. (2022) examined the motivations behind a sample of voters who cast their ballot during the 2012 and 2016 presidential elections. Ayee (2017) did the post-mortem of the country's 2016 general elections. Appah (2017) looked at the voting behaviour of voters in the Greater Accra, Ashanti and Volta Regions respectively. Anaman & Bukari (2019) and Bukari (2022) also focused on the political economy of elections and voting behaviour under Ghana's Fourth Republican Era. Abdulai and Sackeyfio (2021) and Gyampo and Graham (2022) assessed the 2020 general elections' journey, processes and the uncertainties. Kpessa-Whyte (2021) too investigated the independent swing voters in Ghana. Brierley and Ofori (2021) in addition, analyzed the influence of chiefs' endorsement on voter behaviour. Instructively, the recent work on split-ticket voting behaviour by Darkwa (2019), specifically explored the phenomenon by concentrating on the 1996-2016 general elections in Ghana. His interest was on the subnational variations in split-ticket voting. It has been noted that while an active body of the literature has examined voting behaviour in Ghana and split-ticket voting behaviour in general terms, there is a dearth of empirical evidence on how split-ticket voting behaviour can impact on the socio-economic development of an area. This study though complements other studies on voting behaviour in Ghana, it differs from the previous studies as it seeks to investigate the nexus between split-ticket voting behaviour and socio-economic development with a special focus on Agona East Constituency. It is imperative to note that the electoral data from the EC have depicted split-ticket voting in the constituency since 2008. During the 2008 general election, the constituency voted "skirt and blouse". They voted

for the NDC presidential candidate to emerge winner in the constituency while the NPP parliamentary candidate also won the race. For the 2012 general elections, there was no evidence of split-ticket voting in the constituency, the electorate voted for the NDC candidates in both presidential and parliamentary races. However, the constituency thumbed split-ticket voting in 2016. But this time around, the presidential race was won by the NPP and the parliamentary seat on the other hand went to the NDC. The constituency repeated their split-ticket voting pattern of the 2016 general election in the 2020 general election. The NPP won the presidential race while the NDC parliamentary candidate was sent to parliament (Bokpe, 2016; EC, 2008, 2012, 2016, 2020). Therefore, the study aimed to investigate the relationship between split-ticket voting and the provision of socio-economic development outcomes in the Agona East Constituency.

1.3. Research Objectives

The general objective of this study is to investigate the relationship between split-ticket voting behaviour and socio-economic development in the Agona East Constituency. In pursuance of the general objective, the study has the following specific objectives:

- (1) To analyze the factors that determine the voting choices of split-ticket voters in Agona East Constituency.
- (2) To examine the nature of the relationship between the District Chief Executive and the opposition Member of Parliament as a result of split-ticket voting behaviour in Agona East Constituency.
- (3) To investigate the extent to which the nature of the relationship between the District Chief Executive and the opposition Member of Parliament affects their performances in Agona East Constituency.

- (4) To assess the implications of split-ticket voting behaviour on socio-economic development outcomes in Agona East Constituency.

1.4. Research Questions

The central question that guides this study is to examine the relationship between split-ticket voting behaviour and socio-economic development in the Agona East Constituency. To answer the above question, the following specific questions were asked:

- (1) What are the factors that determine the voting choices of split-ticket voters in the Agona East Constituency?
- (2) What is the nature of the relationship between the District Chief Executive and the opposition Member of Parliament as a result of split-ticket voting behaviour in Agona East Constituency?
- (3) To what extent has the nature of the relationship between the District Chief Executive and the opposition Member of Parliament affects their performances in Agona East Constituency?
- (4) How does split-ticket voting behaviour affect socio-economic development outcomes in Agona East Constituency?

1.5. Significance of Study

The prevalence of split-ticket voting behaviour witnessed during general elections under Ghana's Fourth Republic, and its impact on socio-economic development need to be a major cause for attention and investigation. This therefore makes the subject matter a worthy topic for research. This study first and foremost fills a gap in literature

since much is not known about the subject matter, that is, split-ticket voting behaviour and its influence on socio-economic development.

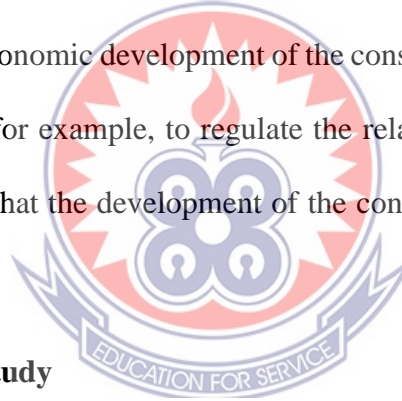
The study again contributes to existing knowledge by providing additional literature on the topic. Thus, when even studies were conducted on split-ticket voting, less attention was paid to understanding the nature of the relationship between the DCE and the opposition MP as a result of the phenomenon. This study therefore uncovers the nature of the relationship between these two political office holders as a result of split-ticket voting and how it affects their performances.

Furthermore, the test of a country's democratic resilience must not only be measured in terms of its ability to conduct free and fair elections as claimed by Ojo (2007), but must also include the level of the government's readiness to embark on socio-economic development in terms of infrastructure development, employment, etc. Since the practice of split-ticket voting has ramifications on socio-economic development of the constituency, the outcomes of this study will provide knowledge and more understanding to the extent to which split-ticket voting behaviour affects socio-economic development of an area.

This study was also motivated by the belief that, the findings of the study will be beneficial to political parties as they always try to encourage straight-ticket voting during campaigns. It also seeks to draw the attention of the various stakeholders such as CSOs and the media on split-ticket voting behaviour and its impact on socio-economic development being negative or positive. In light of the above, the findings of the study will also inform political parties and candidates to be more action-oriented and also increase public awareness of the phenomenon.

Finally, the findings of the study will hopefully serve as reference material for academic and other purposes, and also widen the opportunity for future studies on voting behaviour, precisely, split-ticket voting behaviour.

In conclusion, split-ticket voting has become a prominent feature of voting behaviour in Ghana, therefore a deeper understanding of what motivates voters to engage in such practice as well as establishing the extent to which the phenomenon can affect the socio-economic development of a constituency deserve scholarly attention. The study further offers some practical policy implications. It seeks to provide ample evidence to policy makers on how to handle the practice as it can create both threats and opportunities to electoral democracy. Specifically, knowledge on the nexus between split-ticket voting behaviour and socio-economic development of the constituency can help policy makers to develop guidelines for example, to regulate the relationship between the DCE and the opposition MP so that the development of the constituency would not be affected negatively.



1.6. Delimitation of Study

The study was confined within the context of split-ticket voting in the Agona East Constituency of the Central Region from 2008-2020. The study focused on general elections conducted in the constituency and how voters have voted. Subjects for the study encompass persons of 18 years and above and have at least voted in the last previous general elections as well as DCE, MP, CSO officials, political party officials, opinion leaders, policy experts, and NCCE official.

1.7. Operationalization of Key Concepts

Democratization: The process through which a political regime becomes democratic or the introduction of a democratic system of government.

Democratic Consolidation: The acceptance of the legitimacy of democracy with no political actor seeking to act outside the democratic institutions for both normative and self-interested motives.

Democracies: Refers to democratic states.

Election: It is a formal group decision making process whereby the populace or an electorate chooses a person or group of persons to hold public office.

The Fourth Republic or The Fourth Republican Era: It covers the period from the inception of the 1992 Constitution to the present day.

Voting Behaviour: It is the way in which people tend to vote.

Straight-ticket Voting: The practice where a voter selects candidates from the same political parties for every office contested in a single election.

Voting: A decision taken after consideration that allows an individual to choose a particular candidate or party in an election.

Vote/Choose/Select/Elect (used interchangeably in this study): A formal indication of a choice between two or more candidates during an election.

Voter/Electorate (used interchangeably in this study): A person who is eligible or entitled to vote in an election since he or she is of age and has met the constitutional requirement for voting.

Voter Choice/Voter Decision (used interchangeably in this study): It relates to the preference of the electorate in selecting one candidate or party over the other.

Influence/Impact (used interchangeably in this study): The power to affect, control or manipulate something or someone's decision.

Politician/Political Actor: A person or individual who engages in the activity of politics or someone who is active politically.

Socio-economic development outcomes: They include; provision of health and sanitation facilities, provision of educational facilities and creation of job or employment opportunities.

1.8. Organization of Study

The study is organized into five chapters. The Chapter one of the study provides a background to the study. Also in this chapter are the statement of problem, research objectives and questions, significance of study and delimitation of study. This chapter ends with the organization of study.

Chapter two on the other hand deals with the Literature Review which includes: an in-depth review of theoretical framework, operational definition of key concepts, empirical review of relevant and related studies, and hypothesis development.

Chapter three focuses on the Methodology. This chapter provides information on the philosophical view point of the researcher. This chapter dealt with methodological issues such as research approach, research design, study area, target population, sample size, sampling techniques, types and sources of data, methods and instruments for data collection, data analysis and ethical consideration.

Chapter four looks at the Findings and Discussions. This chapter looks at the data presentation and analysis. There is also interpretation and discussions of the research findings in this chapter.

Chapter five concludes the study with the Summary of findings, Contributions, Limitations, Conclusion and Recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the reviews of the theories that underpin the study. Also included in this chapter is the definitions of key concepts and empirical review of relevant and related studies. The section dealing with hypothesis development is also included herein.

2.1. Theoretical Framework

By defining relationships between variables and using those relationships to explain natural events, a theory is "a set of interrelated constructs (variables), definitions, and propositions that presents a systematic view of phenomena" (Kirlinger, 1979:64). Researchers need theories to work with to comprehend and explain human occurring and behaviour, as well as the ramifications of such activities in society. Without the usage of theories, "the research project would be meaningless" (Theodoulou & O'Brien, 1999:2). Fundamentally, theories are essential for elucidating research issues, and as such, their significance in the field of study cannot be overstated.

The scientific study of voting behaviour has emerged as a subfield of political science, as voting represents a significant aspect of public participation in a democratic system (Mahsud & Amin, 2020). In addition, three main theoretical frameworks have emerged throughout time to explain voter behaviour. These theories include: Sociological Model, Psychological Model, and Rational Choice Theory. While each of these theories explains a different aspect of voting behaviour, such as the reasons behind and methods by which voters cast their ballots, they are not mutually exclusive; rather, these theories

are typically complementary and interrelated. While some scholars affirm that voters are reasonable and that they make informed decisions when selecting candidates, others affirm the psychological model by demonstrating that partisanship can occasionally have an impact on voting decisions. Some people also contend that social groups can have an impact on voting decisions (Quainoo, 2020). The sociological model and rational choice theory were used as the study's underlying theoretical frameworks in accordance with its objectives.

2.1.1. Sociological Model

The Columbia Model of Voting Behaviour is another name for the Sociological Model. Paul Felix Lazarsfeld of Columbia University proposed this model in collaboration with Hazel Gaudet and Bernard Berelson, two other collaborators. These researchers' assessment of the 1940 presidential elections in New York State's Erie County gave rise to the sociological model (Antunes, 2010; Hutchings & Jefferson, 2018). A book named "The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign" was eventually created using the study's results. Remarkably, 546 of the 600 respondents who were chosen for the study had already decided how they would vote when they were questioned seven times prior to the elections. Only 54 respondents in the survey altered their initial view during the campaign time, even before the campaign could begin (Bartels, 2010; Mahsud & Amin, 2020). Examining how publicized stories in the mass media affect voters' decision-making was the study's original goal. However, the study's published findings showed that the mass media had little effect on voters' decisions regarding elections, and that voters' social groups play a crucial role in influencing the electorate's voting behaviour (Antunes, 2010).

According to Antunes (2010), three major works namely, "The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign" (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944),

"Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign" (Lazarsfeld et al., 1954), and "Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications" (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955) explained in detail the assumptions of the sociological model of voting behaviour. The basic tenet of the sociological model is that voters' voting preferences are influenced by their familiarity with and membership in a specific social group (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944). By placing voting in a social context and analyzing the effects of various factors, the model focuses on the individual and the social structure that surrounds them such as gender, race, place of residence, social class, and religion have on voting decisions, leading to the hypothesis that the electorate bases its decisions on the social factors listed above, and as a result, they elect candidates who share their identities (Anderson & Heath, 2003). Social groupings therefore typically support the candidate or party that they believe best represents their interests or will put their needs first (Adjei, 2012). Therefore, electorate choice is viewed as a form of social action in which the social milieu influences the populace's choice of political affiliation (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944; Anderson & Heath, 2003; Antwi, 2018).

The sociological model again asserts that the family is viewed as a dominant agent of socialization with the potential to influence the electorate's voting preference (Antwi, 2018). This assertion is centred on the notion that the family has a deep influence on children's political socialization and their attachment to a particular party (Mahsud & Amin, 2020). Through political socialization, the political culture, values, and norms of the older generations are passed down to the younger generations (Sarlamonov & Jovanoski, 2014). This model states that the fundamental values and norms that play a significant role throughout an individual's life and influence their attitudes and behaviour also determine the political lives of the electorate, which they picked up at

the early stage of their lives, hence, people tend to inherit their families' political preferences, thereby, voting as their families do (Sarlamonov & Jovanoski, 2014; Mahsud & Amin, 2020).

Notwithstanding the theory's value in guiding comprehension and illuminating voter behaviour, the sociological model has drawn a lot of criticism. First of all, it was chastised for placing too much emphasis on social factors as predictors of voting behaviour. Critics claim that the model has forgotten that other equally significant elements may potentially influence voters' judgments on how to cast their ballots. The model, however, ignored the significance of other factors like the individual voter's self-interest or policy preferences, the role of the individual electorate, the voter's assessment of government performance, and the influence political parties have when it comes to mobilizing voters (Appah, 2017; Antwi, 2018). This was because it placed more emphasis on social factors or groups as the determinants of voting behaviour.

Another important criticism of the sociological model is that, by emphasizing continuity and stability in electoral preference, it purposefully attempts to minimize the differences in voter behaviour that occur in several elections. The problem with this assumption was that it did not adequately explain the variations in voting that occur due to specific economic circumstances that are specific to each election. Election results would have stayed constant for long stretches of time if voting behaviour was solely influenced by stable sociological variables (Olayode, 2015). While social factors may try to explain the long-term stability of voting behaviour, they are unable to explain the variations in voter behaviour across elections. Similarly, the theory is unable to explain why changes in electoral outcomes occur over time, or why individuals belonging to particular social groups deviate from their group predisposition and tend to vote in a way that is predictable for individuals belonging to different social groups (Antunes,

2010). According to Brooks et al. (2006), there is no longer a significant association between sociological characteristics and party support in the modern era.

Furthermore, the model assumes that a voter may only be a member of one social group at a time, although in practice a voter may be a member of several social groups. A person could be associated with one party based on their social status, and with another based on their ethnicity or level of religiosity.

Finally, the sociological model is unable to explain why, in some nascent democracies, some social divisions have a significant impact on attitudes and voting patterns, but not in others. According to a study by Young (2009), voting in Kenya is more significantly impacted by social divisions than it is in Ghana.

2.1.2. Rational Choice Theory

The second theory used in the study to explain voter conduct and the consequences of their voting decisions was the rational choice theory. This theory aims to provide an economic explanation for people's voting habits (Antunes, 2010). Researchers have found it challenging to pinpoint the precise beginnings of rational choice theory due to the significant transformation of neo-classical theory brought about by the contributions of numerous scholars from a variety of academic fields (Tweneboah-Koduah, 2018). These researchers' attempts to do practical testing on the basic tenets of the conventional theory led to significant modifications in the theory's original structure (Oppenheimer, 2008). Undoubtedly, the modern theory, as stated by Oppenheimer (2008), derives its central theoretical stance from Thomas Hobbes' 1651 *Leviathan*, in which the author attempted to explain the fundamental roles played by the state's institutions through personal choice. He goes on to say that other scholars who supported the idea of individual self-interest, like Jeremy Bentham, Adam Smith, and David Hume, have all

made significant contributions to the advancement of modern rational choice theory. The most significant proponents of rational choice theory in electoral research were Anthony Downs, Duncan Black, and Kenneth Arrow (Mahsud & Amin, 2020). Klingelhofer (2010) states that Anthony Down's "Economic Theory of Democracy" is regarded as the seminal work that lays the groundwork for applying rational choice theory to the analysis of voting behaviour. In his book, he presented the case that voters would assess politicians and their agendas and choose a party based on the promises it would keep (Stegmaier et al., 2017). As a result, this theory interprets voter choice in terms of economics. In other words, the rational choice theory presents voters as rational economic actors who act like customers in a market and express their preferences among the policy options that political parties and candidates put forth (Antwi, 2018). The sensible voter, according to Downs (1957), acts under the following existing conditions rather than acting in a vacuum:

When presented with multiple options, each voter possesses the ability to make a choice. The voter then arranges all the options according to their personal tastes. The voter has a transitive preference. Every voter selects the option that they find most appealing and that comes in first place according to their preference ranking. Every time an individual is presented with the same options in the same situation, they invariably choose the same choice.

Rationality is the fundamental tenet of the rational choice theory. Voting is viewed as a conscious, logical process in which voters consider the benefits and drawbacks of their alternatives before selecting a candidate (Antwi, 2018). This idea suggests that voters make rational, intentional decisions while casting ballots (Oppenheimer, 2008). As a result, an individual's decision on whether and how to vote is based on the advantages associated with doing so. For example, during one election cycle, the public

might be interested in policies related to health and safety, but in later elections, they might be more interested in those related to education and agriculture. In addition, Wittek (2013) notes that "all individuals are fully informed about all their decisions, alternatives, the probabilities of their outcomes, and their consequences" in relation to rationality. Additionally, they weigh the pros and cons of each option before selecting the one that will produce the most predicted utility. To put it plainly, the theorists believed that people always make thoughtful and rational decisions when faced with a choice.

Furthermore, according to the rational choice theory, political actors and individual voters are self-interested beings. According to this assumption, people vote independently of their social group affiliation or emotional affinity to a certain political party. In this way, the electorate will act in their self-interest and put their interests ahead of the good of the group. In addition, politicians are motivated more by their interests than by a selfless dedication to the public or the interests of the country (Buchanan & Tullock, 1962; Antwi, 2018). Therefore, political parties run for office not out of charity but rather to maintain control over the government and thereafter reap benefits and reputation (Mahsud & Amin, 2020). This implies that rational theorists think that voters and political players are self-centred and that they make it a constant goal to increase profits and decrease losses (Wittek, 2013; Patracca, 1991; Downs, 1957).

The third main assumption of the rational choice theory is individualism. It asserts that the decision-maker individual serves as the main analytical unit and that the values or preferences of the individual are prioritized over those of the collective, organizational, group, or society (Anderson, 2011). The theorists contend that since each voter makes their own decisions, individual voter conduct influences collective voting behaviour.

This suggests that the behaviour of individuals inside a social group or association can best explain the group's activities, according to rational choice theorists (Tweneboah-Koduah, 2018).

The rational choice theory has been subject to several criticisms. The first criticism of the theory is that it assumes voters have exact, complete, and thorough knowledge of their values or areas of interest. Critics have expressed worry that certain variables, like the availability of complete knowledge, rationality, preferences, and proposals from political parties, are impossible to assess empirically. They contended that this has caused several conclusions to be drawn from conjectures that have not been thoroughly investigated. According to them, issues with methodology raise doubts about the theory's universality claim (Green & Shapiro, 1994). Voters may turn to indicators like the leadership positions held by their favoured candidates and the positions on electoral issues taken by recognizable groups, public figures, organizations, or entities if there is a lack of information available about issues and electoral procedures (Appah, 2017).

Again, the theorists have come under critique for exaggerating human rationality. Critics claim that theorists have forgotten that people hardly ever have a clear set of desired goals and never make judgments based on full and correct information (Heywood, 2004). Similarly, critics have shown that the "rational voter" cannot be all-knowing or possess an excessive amount of memory power to always overcome the issues of incomplete information and uncertainty in the decision-making process. As a result, people may be forced to choose other methods of voting than the rational ones (Ogu, 2013).

Similarly, some critics have specifically argued that the presumption of human rationality does not explain why a significant portion of voters maintain their party

loyalty from election to election, regardless of changes in the political, environmental, and economic landscape (Antwi, 2018). Critics also find it troublesome because nearly every decision taken by a voter or political actor is deemed logical. Critics contend that the attempt by the proponents of rational choice theory to presume that every individual's actions are rational make the "irrational actions" to also be included in the category of rational behaviour. The theorists claim that if a choice conflicts with utility maximization, it is irrational. According to the critics, this makes it more challenging to distinguish between actions that are and are not rational. This is due to the fact that the rational choice theorists' own standard for determining rationality is unclear and illogical (Herfeld, 2022).

Finally, criticism of the rational choice theory stems from its purposeful attempt to minimize the significance of historical and social circumstances in understanding the behaviour of voters. The assumption holds that voter behaviour can best be explained in terms of the actions of individual voters, with social variables having no bearing on the behaviour of voters. Why some voters' decisions to vote are impacted by social influences is a question that theorists have not adequately addressed. Given this, rational choice theorists have come under critique for failing to recognize the importance of social variables and instead emphasizing the individualistic qualities of people (Heywood, 2004).

2.1.3. Usefulness of Theories to the Study

Both the sociological model and the rational choice theory have made substantial contributions to our understanding of how politicians and voters behave, particularly how the rational choice theory has aided in the comprehension of the effects of voters' voting decisions. Considering this, the study utilized these two voting behaviour theories as suitable for examining the variables affecting split-ticket voting and the

effects of this voting behaviour on socio-economic development. The following are the ways in which the study's findings were to be explained by applying these theories.

First, coming up with explanations for the determinants of voting behaviour in absolute terms is very difficult as voting behaviour itself is a complex phenomenon and therefore, a single theoretical model cannot fully exhaust the determinants of the behaviour as each model provides a wider sketch of how different factors influence voters' decision-making process. When both theories are applied together, they sufficiently provide the factors influencing split-ticket voters' voting decisions.

Again, the rational choice theory assumes that, politicians are hopelessly opportunistic and all their decisions are calculated based on how such actions will help or hurt their chances for re-elections (Roskin, 2016). In the view of rational choice theorists, self-interested politicians will only commit huge resources to actions or policies that will enable them to win or maintain power. In other ways, rational politicians will always strategically invest state resources in areas where they can easily secure political support and the loyalty of the electorate. The theory therefore suggests that the perceived commitment on the part of politicians to invest so much in the implementation of various developmental projects, may not be borne out of altruistic commitment to public interest but rather as an instrument to achieve a selfish end (Gerxhani & Schram, 2009). The use of rational choice theory, which emphasizes the self-interested nature of people, is thought to be able to shed light on why governments get involved in politics when it comes to carrying out developmental initiatives like socio-economic programmes. This is essentially because the theory states that officials who are comprised of self-interested people would always prioritize their interests over those of others once they are in positions of authority. The aforementioned situation clarifies why government representatives initiate socio-economic development

initiatives in certain regions of the country at the cost of other regions. Basically, places where the ruling government received a lot of electoral support are the ones where development projects are most prevalent.

Lastly, rational choice theory also serves as a useful framework in this study for examining the nature of the relationship between the DCE and the opposition MP as a result of split-ticket voting behaviour. As predicted by the rational choice theorists, rational individuals like these two political actors in the name of self-interest, can be motivated to cultivate some sort of relationship which can hinder the achievement of public goods like developmental projects. This assumption by the theorists can explain the kind of relationship that may exist between the DCE who comes from the ruling party and the MP from the opposition party. In short, what the theorists seek to convey is that looking at the rational nature of human beings in general, split-ticket voting behaviour may tend to influence the nature of the relationship that exist between these two political actors.

2.2. Empirical Review of Relevant and Related Studies

This section presents a review of empirical studies conducted in the past that are relevant and related to the subject matter of this study. The purpose of this review is to tease out key findings in the reviewed studies and also establish the knowledge gaps. The review again allowed the researcher to put the study in a proper and better context. The review is therefore structured along three thematic areas namely: General Studies on Voting Behaviour, Studies on Split-ticket Voting Behaviour, and Studies on Determinants of Split-ticket Voting Behaviour.

2.2.1. Voting Behaviour

Voting behaviour is not a new occurrence in the world; it has been a defining feature of multiple elections, drawing the interest of political players, democracy experts, and election researchers. This is primarily because elections are viewed as the fundamental and necessary component of having a sustainable democratic culture, which has led to the population's ongoing need for elections as a result of democracy spreading throughout the world (Fawole, 2005). Analyzing every democratic election requires an understanding of voter behaviour and the motivations behind decisions. Over the years, many scholars have approached the subject in various ways, using a range of data, and as a result, have come up with multiple answers. Over the years, researchers have conducted a variety of studies aimed at visualizing voter behaviour. The study of voting behaviour can be traced back to the late eighteenth century, according to Jensen (1975), who has written extensively about the topic. However, the majority of the very early research did not properly adhere to academic standards. Much research has since been done in an effort to define the term. For example, voting behaviour was defined by Bratton (2013) as a "set of related personal and electoral actions, which may include voting, participating in electoral campaigns, and selecting candidates to support." He claims that the electorate acts in this way in anticipation of unspecified future advantages. Voting behaviour essentially encompasses the electorate's decisions to engage in or abstain from the electoral process, as well as their actions and inactions with respect to it (Rule, 2014).

Recent studies have progressively shown that voting conduct has become a global phenomenon present in both established and emerging democracies since researchers have linked voting behaviour to electoral processes (Helmke, 2009; Riera, 2013). Research by scholars like Pietryka (2015) and Smith (2016) have also verified the statement above. They contended that there is no way to completely eradicate the phenomenon because it has permeated every election held in every democracy. In a similar line, Leiter (2019) highlighted that voting behaviour needs to be viewed as an inherent and constant component of elections in all democracies, and as such, its prevalence in many developing democracies ought to be regarded as a normal occurrence. Once more, he contended that voting behaviour itself should not be viewed as a cause for alarm but rather as a driving force behind the state's democratic consolidation. Kersting (2013) noted that the phenomenon thrives well in a wide variety of political systems and that it does not matter whether the political system is being practiced in a developed democratic state or a developing democratic state in an effort to further highlight the dynamics of voters' behaviour in modern societies. Additionally, Moser and Scheiner (2009) claimed that early voters' actions have a significant impact on the consolidation and operation of the political system. As a result, scholars who have examined the voting patterns of the founding members of emerging democracies place a high value on the social environment, which is thought to be essential to comprehending popular preferences.

Several studies on voting behaviour have been carried out in Africa. This is as a result of the multiple elections that were held on the continent during the third wave of democratization and following independence (Owusu, 2020). According to Owusu, these advancements have led to the publication of several scholarly works on voting behaviour in Africa. Several academics have established that there is a connection

between the voting decisions of Africans and ethnicity. Hoffman and Long (2013), for instance, noted that political parties and candidates have shifted their attention from addressing issues to ethnic relationships during electoral campaigns. This happens as a result of the fact that ethnic support is frequently mobilized during elections on the continent, particularly when the political class is unable to enact any better policies (Antwi, 2018). Adina (2020), supports the points of view that voting conduct in majority of African countries is characterized by ethnic divisions, with voters favouring members of their own ethnic group over those from other ethnic groups. The electorate believe that only candidates who share their ethnic background can fulfil political promises and give them future benefits (Carlson, 2015). Conroy-Krutz (2018) used Uganda to refute the ethnic census theory of African elections. His study found that voters' political activity is less affected by ethnicity as they grow more informed about politics. This shows that the occurrence of ethnic-based voting diminishes once the electorate have access to political information. It is noteworthy to mention that Dendere's (2013) study conducted in Zimbabwe provided support for the conclusions obtained by Conroy-Krutz (2018). Additionally, he noted that modern day Africa differs from Horowitz's 1980s description of an ethnic census.

In an attempt to explain voting behaviour in Ghana, several studies have been conducted in the country. For instance, Henning et al. (2018) observed that voter's behaviour in the country has been influenced by the performance of the incumbent. They contended that, the majority of the electorate usually vote against incumbents who do not perform well to their satisfaction during their term of office. They vote for a new government basically because they want an improvement in the economic conditions of the country which the incumbent government has failed to improve. On the contrary, studies have also found that incumbency may not always be an advantage and that it

can also be a liability (Cassette et al., 2018). This assertion however focused on the political economy of elections. According to the literature, an incumbent political party that wants to be re-elected habitually spends much during the electioneering period with the aim of retaining political power (Anaman, 2016; Bukari, 2017; Anaman & Bukari, 2019). Thus, incumbent governments tend to win the electorate's support not necessarily because they performed well while in office but for the reason that they spent much resources during the electioneering period. Incumbent governments since the inception of the Fourth Republic have always shown an extreme desire to maintain political power (Bukari, 2022), which according to him could be attributed to the rewards and spoils system as well as extensive political patronage system which is normally associated with incumbency.

Studies conversely showed that, the economic conditions in general also influenced elections organized in the country. For instance, Anaman and Bukari (2019) argued that more of the recent macro-economic problems of the country were partially connected to the management of the economy which eventually had advanced effects on the electoral processes. What this means is that the provision of more information on political economy during the electioneering period and voting perspective will be useful in informing voters about voting choices. In general, studies on government performance, incumbency and its influence on voting behaviour have shortcomings regarding this current study. The shortcomings were as a result of the overemphasis on political parties. More emphasis was placed on the political parties at the expense of the electorate. The studies ignored the fact that, it is the electorate who these variables affect since they make voting decisions during elections. Hence, the electorate should have been given more attention in those studies rather than the political parties. Again, though spending much during electioneering periods can cause a change in the voting

pattern of the electorate, political parties or candidates who spend more sometimes lose the race to their counterparts who spend less (Frempong, 2017).

Commenting on voting behaviour in Ghana from a different perspective, Brierley and Ofofu (2021) analyzed the role of traditional leaders on voting behaviour. Traditional leaders or chiefs derived their leadership position from the historical socio-cultural customs of their communities and these groups of persons are believed to have a significant influence on voter behaviour (Mamdani, 2018; Logan, 2013; Baldwin, 2020). Using the actual endorsement messages made by chiefs in support of a particular candidate during the 2020 general election, Brierley and Ofofu documented that, the impact endorsement messages have on voting choice in the country is a positive one (Brierley & Ofofu, 2021). They again identified that the effect of the endorsement by the chiefs is determined by their influence on the electorate who are not aligned to the endorsed candidate and those who belong to the opposition party of the endorsed candidate. These two groups of people, thus, unaligned electorate and opposition electorate can be persuaded by the endorsement messages since the messages may provide additional or new information about the endorsed candidate. In their concluding argument, Brierley and Ofofu (2021) stated that the influence of the traditional rulers or leaders on the vote preferences of the electorate helps in shaping the electoral outcomes in the country. This position established by Brierley and Ofofu (2021) was also in agreement with the studies carried out by Mamdani (2018) and Conroy-Krutz (2018). Contrary to the positive influence of the chiefs' endorsement on voter preferences, some scholars are also of the view that, the effect of chiefs' endorsements may be bigger or higher for the electorate who are unlikely to vote for the endorsed candidate. The impact chiefs' endorsements have on voter choice may differ through the partisanship of the individual electorate or their approval or disapproval of the chief

endorsing the candidate (Kousser et al., 2015). According to them, the endorsement may have a slight impact on the electorate's vote choice since it does not offer additional information for the electorate especially if the electorate already supports the endorsed candidate. Similarly, studies have also shown that, partisans in developing democracies like Ghana have helped moderate the views of the electorate when voting for opposition political parties or candidates since there is much exposure to new and credible information about their qualities and policy positions (Brierley et al., 2020; Platas & Raffler, 2019; Kramon, 2021). Another argument made against the impact of chiefs endorsing candidates on the voting preferences of the electorate is that, public endorsement by chiefs in the country over the years has created debates among scholars and the populace at large since the practice is seen as a violation against the constitution of the land (Gyampo, 2009). And aside the legal ramifications of endorsements by chiefs, the pronouncements may also tarnish the reputation of the chief and later harm their ability to promote local governance and development in their various communities (Gyampo, 2009; Bofo-Arthur, 2003).

The continuous analysis makes it abundantly clear from the literature that voting behaviour is a common occurrence connected to the electoral processes of all democratic regimes. Furthermore, it is evident from the body of literature that the type of voting behaviour might differ based on the kind of political system that a country practises. Even though each of these studies has significantly improved and expanded our knowledge of the phenomenon, they largely ignored one crucial facet of voting behaviour. According to Conroy-Krutz and Moehler (2015), voting behaviour has several aspects which split-ticket voting behaviour happened to be one of them. It must be pointed out that whilst this section of the review looked at voting behaviour in general, the next review focused specifically on split-ticket voting behaviour.

2.2.2. Concept of Split-ticket Voting Behaviour

Split-ticket voting refers to an aspect of voting behaviour where the electorate casts two ballots for candidates from different parties competing in concurrent elections for different political positions (Valcke & Verhelst, 2019). Split-ticket voting mostly occurs only in concurrent elections although few scholars also ascertain that split-ticket voting can also take place in non-concurrent elections such as by-elections, midterm elections, and staggered multi-member elections (Chandra, 2009, 2018). Some scholars have opined that not all split-ticket voting is the same, for instance, Burden and Helmke provided a conceptual framework for split-ticket voting that expresses the phenomenon as “a ticket is split if voter i votes for party j in contest r and votes for $\sim j$ in some other contest” (Burden & Helmke, 2009:2). Two classes of spit-ticket voting have been identified from the conceptual framework provided by these authors. The classes included; vertical split-ticket voting and horizontal split-ticket voting. Burden and Helmke (2009) described the horizontal split-ticket voting as a voting in which an electorate votes for different political parties in similar positions and the vertical type as voting in which an electorate casts votes for different political parties at different government levels. Simply put, horizontal split-ticket voting happens when voters cast ballots for two congressional representatives; this typically happens in systems with mixed electoral compositions. On the other hand, vertical split-ticket voting also takes place when an electorate selects presidential and legislative or parliamentary candidates from different political parties. Since split-ticket voting appears to be common, it can therefore be extended to all electoral contests (Arellano, 2019). From existing literature, it can be inferred that most of the studies carried out on split-ticket voting behaviour used the horizontal split-ticket voting as a reference. However, this thesis uses the vertical split-ticket voting since the country where the study was conducted does not

practice a mixed electoral system that horizontal split-ticket voting is most closely associated with.

Researchers interested in the increasing incidence of split-ticket voting behaviour globally, have been attributed to a significant decline in partisanship in electoral politics. Hopkins (2018) subsequently cautioned that excessive party loyalty could lead to blind partisanship and ultimately deteriorate electoral accountability. Accordingly, researchers opined that when voters began to turn away from partisan politics in the early 1970s, split-ticket voting also began to increase because of these shifts in voter behaviour (Broder, 1971; DeVries & Tarrance, 1972). Calvo et al. (2013) have also provided support for this argument. Furthermore, a great deal of attention has been placed in the literature on the diminishing influence of partisan politics on the electorate's vote choice. Voters are supporting candidates from many political parties in separate elections as a result of the diminishing partisanship in our political systems across the globe. Put simply, voters who are not affiliated with any political party are more likely to cast a split-ticket vote than an electorate who is affiliated and therefore has a strong tie with a political party. It is clear from the above discussion that split-ticket voting has become more common during elections as a result of the partisanship drop. Furthermore, Navia and Saldaña (2015) discovered that split-ticket voting behaviour decreases in electorates with extremely strong party identification.

2.2.3. Implications of Split-ticket Voting Behaviour

Another strand of literature on split-ticket voting behaviour has concentrated on the implications of the phenomenon. Split-ticket voting behaviour, according to scholars, has the potential to divide the government. When different political parties control different branches of the federal government, there is a divided government. Theis (1995) defined divided government in the United States as when one party controls the

executive branch and another party controls one or both of the congressional chambers. According to a study conducted by Burden and Kimball (2009), split-ticket voting behaviour can lead to a divided government, which can impact the creation and execution of government policies by undermining accountability and transparency within the ruling coalition. In other words, legislation is more difficult for parties to pass when they control distinct parts of government since the parties involved may have different agendas and policy priorities. Many more noteworthy studies seem to support the position that Burden and Kimball highlighted. For instance, Edelson (2020) concludes the relationship between split-ticket voting and divided government in the United States based on his analysis of five presidential elections, namely the 1876–1892 elections. He emphasized that split-ticket voting and divided government are related. Using the dataset of presidential election results in congressional districts, Edelson (2020) asserted that, a divided government would have taken place if there was the occurrence of split-ticket voting behaviour in two of these five elections. Scholars who studied other countries aside United States with regard to split-ticket voting and divided government have also come out with different views. For instance, Ames et al. (2008) maintained that, the Brazilian electorate do not cast their votes with eventual government formation in mind. These researchers contended that the divided government in Brazil is not deliberate since voters make separate choices when casting votes in presidential and deputy elections. To them, the presidential and deputy elections are “unlinked”. They further opined that the sequencing of the elections, such as the mid-term elections in the United States is responsible for divided government. Studies in new democracies also found that, split-ticket voting is mainly seen as electoral insurance rather than dividing the government (Ames et al., 2008). However, Lacy et al. (2019) rejected the assertion of the alignment of split-ticket voting behaviour

to divided government. According to them, split-ticket voting behaviour can occasionally be seen as an important condition or factor for unifying government instead of only creating a divided government. This means that there is a chance of split-ticket voting behaviour unifying the government instead of dividing it. They however conclude that their position of split-ticket voting behaviour unifying a government can only be seen in unique occurrences.

Other studies also conducted on the impacts have provided sufficient evidence to prove that lack of accountability, political diversity and increase in political polarization are all associated with split-ticket voting behaviour (Preuhs et al., 2018; Kimball & Anthony, 2016; Blais et al., 2019). Kimball and Anthony, for instance, have reported that the United States' split-ticket voting behaviour has resulted in political diversity. According to them, when voters choose candidates from different political parties for different positions in an election, for example, someone might vote for a Republican candidate for president but choose a Democrat for a local or state office, however creates a diverse mix of political affiliations within the elected officials which can lead to a variety of perspectives and policy approaches. This diversity can either create more opportunities for political compromise and collaboration leading to a more representative and responsive government or lead to a lack of coordination and hinder the implementation of cohesive and long-term policies due to the conflicting policy priorities. Commenting on the impact from accountability perspective, Blais et al. (2019) maintained that this voting behaviour has created a situation where political actors easily shift blame and avoid taking responsibility. They might argue that they cannot fully implement their policies or address certain issues because of the opposing party's control in another branch. This view expressed by Blais et al. indicate that the tasks of holding politicians answerable for their actions during their term of office

always become very difficult for the electorate. This finding however contradicts the assertion made by Kostelka et al. (2020). They assert that when voters choose candidates from different parties for different positions, it sends a message to politicians that they cannot take their support for granted. This encourages elected officials to be more responsive to the needs and concerns of the people, regardless of their party affiliation. They conclude that when politicians know that voters are willing to cross party lines and hold them accountable for their actions, they are more likely to prioritize the needs of the people they represent. This suggests that split-ticket voting behaviour can be a way for voters to demand accountability among politicians. Another important evidence emerging from a study conducted by Preuhs et al. (2018) cast attention on the increase of political polarization as another impact of split-ticket voting behaviour. The authors emphasized that this voting behaviour reinforces the idea that there are clear divisions between the parties and their ideologies and further deepens the divide between political factions making it more challenging for them to find common grounds and compromise on important issues. The study concludes that split-ticket voting can perpetuate an “us versus them” mentality, where each party becomes more entrenched in its positions, leading to less cooperation and more polarization.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, the prevalence of split-ticket voting behaviour has been present in the continent for the past few decades, yet only few studies have been conducted in relation to the phenomenon. A recent study by Darkwa (2019) investigated the causes of split-ticket voting behaviour in an emerging democracy like Ghana. According to him, individual-level factors such as demographics characteristics and political information variables are weak in explaining split-ticket but rather the elite-level factors are the most significant in shaping split-ticket voting behaviour. The analysis finds that elite-level factors which are based on coordination successes and failures within and

between political parties as the best predictors of split-ticket voting. This analysis was done using the Afrobarometer survey, constituency level electoral data, and a fieldwork survey. He further opined that, studying split-ticket voting behaviour this way will provide meaningful insights into the phenomenon in other jurisdictions especially in developing democracies. Basically, the main argument of his study was to establish how the Ghanaian concept of split-ticket voting is similar and different from that of the Western democracies. The weakness of his study has been that it has contributed a little to our understanding of how split-ticket voting behaviour have impacted the socio-economic development of the country in general and Agona East Constituency in particular.

In a nut shell, the reviewed studies failed to capture the likelihood of split-ticket voting behaviour affecting developments in various countries most especially in Ghana despite the growing concern about that effect. This current thesis therefore improved upon the earlier studies by not only explaining the factors that influence split-ticket voting behaviour but would also uncover the nature of relationship between the District Chief Executive and the opposition Member of Parliament as a result of the phenomenon, as well as the impact of the phenomenon on socio-economic development in the study area.

2.2.4. Determinants of Split-ticket Voting Behaviour

Studies on the factors influencing split-ticket voting have unequivocally demonstrated that voters' decisions to split their votes in concurrent election contests are influenced by a number of circumstances rather than occurring in a vacuum. The majority of early research on the factors influencing split-ticket voting behaviour concentrated on the ballot form (Millspaugh, 1918; Rusk, 1970). Since then, a number of factors have been linked to the behaviour of split-ticket voters, for instance, some researchers have

examined the ways in which the candidate's gender (Allah-Mensah, 2005; Badas & Stauffer 2019; Deckman & Cassese, 2021) and personality traits (Koppensteiner & Stephen, 2014; Nwanganga et al., 2017; Quainoo, 2020) affect voters' decision to split their tickets. Others looked at how candidates and political parties use clientelism (Weitz-Shapiro, 2012; Berenschot, 2015; Tweneboah-Koduah, 2018; Amaechi & Stockemer, 2022; Tambe & Monyake, 2023) and campaign message (Nordin, 2014; Adams & Agomor, 2015; Adina, 2020) to win over voters. Some studies also looked at how voters' choices were affected by the performance of the government in power (Hazarika, 2015; Agomor et al., 2023). Furthermore, Akhter and Sheikh (2014) contended that the character or intent of the elections or the scope of suffrage also affects the interests and actions of voters at the time of voting. As a result, general elections garner greater attention than local elections.

Personality Traits of a Candidate

The personality trait of the candidate in the electoral contest is an important factor in determining voter behaviour. The majority of participants selected candidates who they believed to have similar personality traits to their own, according to a study by Koppensteiner and Stephen (2014) reported that many voters select a candidate who shared similar traits with them. In a similar line, Hayes (2010) also looked at how voter decisions in US elections were influenced by the personality attributes of candidates. He measures the personality traits in his study using items like "leadership qualities, morality, compassion, and care for people." According to his findings, voters' decisions are impacted by a candidate's personality and attributes. These findings are consistent with research conducted in Italy by Caprara et al. (2006) and Australia by Verhulst et al. (2010).

In Africa, studies conducted on the influence of the personality of the candidate on the voting decisions of the electorate also established that, personality traits such as competence and credibility have an impact on the voting decision of the electorate (Nwanganga et al., 2017). In the context of Ghana, Quainoo (2020) carried out a study which sought to examine the factors that influence voter choice behaviour in Ghana. The findings of the study revealed that personality traits such as honesty, trustworthy, compassionate and decisive are of great importance to voters in making their voting decisions. The above studies to a large extent have established that the personality traits of the candidate have a significant influence on voting decisions. Therefore, this study proposes that;

H1: Personality trait of a candidate has an influence on voters' intention to engage in split-ticket voting.

Clientelism

Clientelism cannot also be ignored in the study of voting behaviour. In politics, clientelism is defined as the practice of candidates or political parties giving away material commodities such as food and other stuffs to voters in an attempt to gain their support (Weitz-Shapiro, 2012). In the study of clientelism and voting behaviour in Mexico, Montambeault (2011) posits that electoral clientelism should not be anticipated to merely disappear just because a state has adopted democracy. This assertion has further been modified in the study conducted by Abus (2022). In his analysis of the study on clientelism and voting behaviour in Turkey, he established that mostly in developing democracies, political parties who do not perform well continue to win elections simply because they offer tangible benefits to the electorate which in turn influence their voting decisions, and this to Abus (2022) might facilitate

democratic retrogressing. These poor performing parties and their candidates win simply because they offered tangible benefits which are important enough to drive voting behaviour.

According to Berenschot (2015), the practice of distributing state resources to a targeted group of people in exchange for political support and loyalty has long been associated with African political systems. Since Africa is often described as a continent which is structured by clientelism, its developmental issues cannot be separated from the nature of politics which have clientelism as a key feature (Leonard & Straus, 2003; van de Walle, 2007). Other influential studies carried out in the continent have supported the position highlighted by Leonard and Straus. Tambe and Monyake (2023) for example, in examining the impact of clientelism on voter turnout in Africa concludes that, turnout is higher among those with more experience with electoral clientelism. African voters in essence usually have resilient preference for personal gains than national gains. Again, during Nigeria's 2019 presidential election, evidence in the form of videos emerged showing candidates and political parties giving food and other valuables to voters in places like Ekiti, Anambra, and Edo (ACCORD, 2018; Amaechi & Stockemer, 2022).

Globally, the issue of clientelism or the giving out of gifts during elections is not different from what is observed in Ghana. Scholars like Mohan and Asante (2015), Crook (2017), Abdulai (2015), and Montoya (2015) have all attested to the fact that the nation's political system is mostly clientelistic. Another strand of the literature on clientelism and voter behaviour points out to the fact that clientelism does not only occur during national elections but also student elections. Busia et al. (2021) specifically argued that, electoral clientelism takes place in the form of the provision of direct cash payments, exchange of electoral support for student government positions

and appointments, provision of food and beverage consumables, award of student-related business contracts, and provision of educational materials and souvenirs in university student elections in Ghana. In sum, findings from the various studies suggest that clientelism or gifts from candidates or parties positively impact voters' decisions. Based on the above assertions, this study proposes that;

H2: There is a significant and positive relationship between clientelism and voters' decision to engage in split-ticket voting.

Campaign Message

During the electioneering period, a candidate runs a robust campaign in an attempt to sway people in their favour or win their support. Blais & Rubenson (2013) correctly noted that voters typically vote against candidates with whom they have not had any direct campaign interaction. The goal of campaign messaging is to persuade voters that the candidate running for office will best represent their interests when voted for. Eder et al. (2017) established that winning and losing an election in many cases depends on what goes on inside the campaign. According to him, electoral campaigns are essentially communication processes in which candidates or political parties contesting in the race must first decide which message to focus on before repeatedly delivering it to the electorate. Campaigns are typically used to convey a compelling message to the electorate. Godbout and Belanger (2007) and Nordin (2014) also underscored that campaign messages play an important role in the decision making of voters. They opined that the campaign message helps to define economic issues and explain to the voters which candidate will be the most suitable for managing the economic challenges confronting the populace.

Likewise in Africa, studies revealed that the content of the campaign message has a significant impact on voters' decision making (Brierley et al., 2020). Within the African continent, a study conducted by Adams and Agomor (2015) in Ghana asserts that during election seasons, political parties and their candidates address important concerns. The results from their investigation further showed that when the two major political parties, the NPP and the NDC are in opposition, they typically criticize the programmes and policies of the other party. The NPP's campaign message on health in 2000 for instance, aimed to replace the cash-and-carry health service system. In a same spirit, the NDC ran a one-time premium campaign in 2008, characterizing the NPP's annual premium payment as a denial of access to healthcare for the underprivileged. Scholars such as Arkorful and Lugu (2021), Abdulai & Sackeyfio (2021), Gyampo & Graham (2022), among others have also looked campaign message as a variable for voting decisions in Ghana. It can be deduced from the above studies that; campaign message has an impact on the voting decisions of electorate. The study thereby proposes that;

H3: Campaign message has an impact on voting choices of split-ticket voters.

Performance of the Ruling Government

The performance of the ruling government describes how well the government or the current officeholders perform in their role believe to have significant influence on the electorate's voting decisions. Basically, while choosing who to vote for in an election, voters may take the achievements and records of the current government into account (Agomor et al., 2023). This implies that voters frequently assess the performance of the ruling government using a range of criteria, including infrastructure, social policy, healthcare, education, and the economy. If the ruling government has been successful in achieving its promises, implementing effective policies, and addressing the needs of

the people, it can positively influence voters' choices. Voters may be more inclined to support the ruling government if they believe it has made progress and improved their lives. On the other hand, if the ruling government has faced challenges, failed to deliver on promises, or if there is widespread dissatisfaction and discontent among the population, it can lead to a shift in voting choices. Voters may seek change and vote for alternative candidates or parties that they believe can address their concerns better.

When it comes to split-ticket voting behaviour, the performance of the ruling government can play a role in influencing voters' decisions. When the voters are not satisfied with certain aspects of the ruling government's performance, they may choose to vote for different candidates or political parties. When the voters assess the performance of the ruling government, they consider various factors like the economy, educational facilities, sanitation facilities, healthcare facilities, employment opportunities, and other social issues (Hazarika, 2015). Thus, if the electorate are not pleased or happy with how the ruling government has handled these areas, they might choose to vote for different political parties in the next election rather than sticking with one party across board.

In summary, as the ruling government successfully improves the economy, implements beneficial policies, and addresses citizens' concerns, the electorate may be more likely to support their candidates contesting for different positions elections and in the other way around, when the government in power fails to meet expectations, the electorate may be inclined to seek change and support a different candidate or party. So, the performance of the ruling government can be a key factor in shaping the voting decisions of split-ticket voters. Thereby, this study proposes that;

H4: Performance of the ruling government has an influence on voting choices of split-ticket voters.

Gender of a Candidate

Previous work on gender and voting behaviour basically focused on sexist beliefs about gender relations (Cassese & Barnes, 2018; Cassese & Holman, 2019), on voters' self-identified masculinity and femininity (Bittner & Goodyear-Grant, 2017; McDermott, 2016), and on voter preferences for masculine leadership in politics (Holman, 2016). This strand of literature implies that gender influences voters' assessments of candidates and choices for how to cast their ballots. Studies on gender disparities and election behaviour have been conducted for a long time in the United States (Deckman & Cassese, 2021). These studies have looked at how and why men and women make different voting decisions (Box-Steffensmeier et al., 2004; Carroll, 2006). Stauffer and Fisk (2021) conducted a study to investigate the relationship between candidate gender and vote choice. Their findings showed that women voters and Democratic men are more likely to support female candidates in election contests where the candidates' genders are mixed. Comparably, the results of a study by Badas and Stauffer (2019) also demonstrated that, in some circumstances, a candidate's and the electorate's shared gender is likely to affect voting behaviour.

Additionally, several scholars have highlighted the fact that, in comparison to their male counterparts, women encounter a variety of challenges when it comes to the process of choosing candidates to represent political parties in elections (Rai, 2005). Male candidates are frequently preferred over female ones because they are thought to be more realistic and superior. According to recent studies, most nations have set up national mechanisms that enable women to progress in politics and decision-making.

This is done to reduce the perception that men are given more preference when it comes to choosing party candidates for elections. Studies conducted following the installation of these national machinery also showed that voters tended to support female candidates over male ones in elections (Kirkland & Coppock, 2017; Wüest & Pontusson, 2017).

Studies carried out in indigenous African societies showed that there is variation in women's political positions, with some holding more positions of authority than others (O'Barr & Fimin-Sellers, 1995). In the Ghanaian setting, more women are now running for political office alongside their male counterparts, which in return influences the electorate's vote choices (Allah-Mensah, 2005). According to her, women are progressively closing the gender gap in all political arenas. This means that in elections, both sexes fight side by side, and the electorate ultimately gets to decide which gender will prevail in the run for office. Essentially, when two genders are running for the same office in an election, the gender disparities might significantly influence the voting decisions of the electorate. This study therefore proposes that;

H5: Gender of a candidate has a significant impact on voting choices of split-ticket voters.

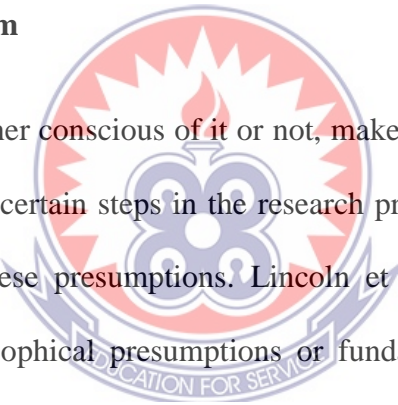
CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

This chapter describes in detail the research techniques and general procedure that guided the study. It represents the overall plan which ensured that the research problem was addressed effectively and in a logical manner. It provides details on the research paradigm, research approach, research design, study area, target population, sample size, sampling technique, types and sources of data, methods, procedures and instruments for data collection, data analysis and ethical considerations.

3.1. Research Paradigm



Every researcher, whether conscious of it or not, makes some fundamental judgments and assumptions about certain steps in the research process. Research paradigms are the names given to these presumptions. Lincoln et al. (2011) defined a research paradigm as the philosophical presumptions or fundamental beliefs that direct the researcher's conduct and shape their worldview. On the other hand, a researcher's worldview is their overall philosophical stance towards the universe and the nature of research that they bring to a study, according to Creswell (2014). There are three main paradigms used in research, namely: Positivism, Constructivism and Pragmatism. Basically, all the three paradigms are philosophical in nature and deal with some common elements such as, axiology – beliefs about the role of values and morals in research; ontology – assumptions about the nature of reality; epistemology – assumptions about how the world is known, how knowledge is gained, the relationship between the knower and the known; and methodology – shared understanding of best means for gaining knowledge about the world (Lincoln et al., 2011; Creswell, 2014).

The positivists hold that knowledge is absolute and universal. Consequently, all knowledge acquired needs to be quantified and backed up by verifiable proof (Hammersley, 2013). Park et al. (2020) further asserts that the knowledge acquired has high standards for validity and reliability. The positivist paradigm has several advantages, one of which is its verifiability which leverages research findings to validate phenomenon in various contexts through scientific methods (Abane, 2018). Based on their knowledge claim, the positivists adopt quantitative research methods to state the reality in the world.

Conversely, constructivists or interpretivists support the use of qualitative research methods in order to interpret the phenomenon that is being studied. Constructivists contend that since knowledge is socially created, it is subjective. According to Hammersley (2013), the central argument of this paradigm is that people understand the world around them and then behave accordingly. This implies that knowledge is not something that can be ascertained by a process of measurement, but rather something that is acquired through personal interpretations (Greener, 2008). Instead of attempting to generalize the foundation of understanding for the entire population, researchers that employ this paradigm typically get a thorough understanding of the phenomenon and its complexity in its unique context (Creswell, 2014). Despite its room for more subjective views, the outcomes of the research under this paradigm may be influenced by the researcher's own interpretation, belief systems or cultural values despite the room for several subjective views (Bogna et al., 2020).

The pragmatists also hold the belief that a social phenomenon can only be comprehended by integrating several perspectives on reality. To interpret the research problem, they use the mixed research approaches.

This study was therefore underpinned by the pragmatic paradigm (Kaushik & Walsh, 2019). As a philosophical movement, pragmatism originated in the late 19th century in the United States (Maxcy, 2003) and was first used by William James in 1898 (James, 2000). According to Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009), the pragmatics reject the paradigm's single either/or debate and instead advocate for paradigm plurality. In order to steer clear of the views of constructivism and positivism, this paradigm welcomes mixed techniques as the third research community (Dhanapati, 2016). In a similar vein, Creswell (2014) noted that pragmatism is frequently linked to mixed methods approaches because it is not in any way restricted to a particular philosophy or reality system, allowing researchers to select the research procedures, methods, and techniques that best suit their goals and needs. The pragmatic paradigm also emphasizes conducting research in an objective, value-free manner with a focus on the research issues that the axiology perspective hopes to resolve (Collis & Hussey, 2014).

According to Morgan (2014), there are three main assumptions of pragmatism. The first assumption holds that because actions take place in the world and the world is full of experiences that happen to particular groups or individuals within particular time and circumstances, actions cannot be separated from the situations and contexts in which they occur. Hence, from the ontological perspective, pragmatism inhabits both objectivity and subjectivity (Gray, 2021). The second assumption was predicated on the view that there is a fluctuating relationship between costs and actions. This indicates that as actions are inherently unpredictable, their expected outcomes may vary depending on the circumstances. According to the third assumption, people's actions are also dependent on their socially accepted worldviews. This suggests that the experiences of individuals are developed from their worldview and subsequently shaping their actions.

The pragmatic paradigm was employed for this study because it allowed the application of multiple research approaches for the study (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003; Baker & Schaltegger, 2015; Maarouf, 2019). Thus, pragmatism helped the researcher to use the most suitable approaches that best work for the research problem at any point in time of the study and also, the results of the research were interpreted through diverse ways. Again, pragmatism was employed because it helped the researcher in making solid conclusions for the study (Antwi & Hamza, 2015; Wills & Lake, 2020). In summary, this study positions itself on pragmatism because of its multiple realities stance, the nature and theory of knowledge and the procedures to obtain that knowledge.

3.2. Research Approach

The study utilized a Mixed Method Approach (Plano Clark, 2019). The mixed method approach was utilized since it combines aspects of both qualitative and quantitative approaches, this approach falls in the middle of the continuum (Creswell, 2014). The views, approaches, data forms, analysis, and interpretation of study findings associated with quantitative and qualitative research methods are combined in the mixed methods approach (Plano Clark, 2019). This method, which is based on the pragmatic principle, asserts that examining a thing from several angles leads to a more thorough and insightful understanding than viewing it from just one angle (Neuman, 2011). Scholars such as Creswell specifically stated that a mixed method approach should be employed if the gathering and examination of the quantitative and qualitative data is intended to address research issues or serve as a framework for illuminating a philosophical paradigm (Creswell, 2015). In a similar vein, Dhanapati (2016) contended that a lot of researchers employ mixed methods approaches in an effort to take advantage of a wider variety of opposing viewpoints. Moreover, Silverman (2005) and Creswell (2014) both endorse this combination, implying that researchers should stop making the erroneous

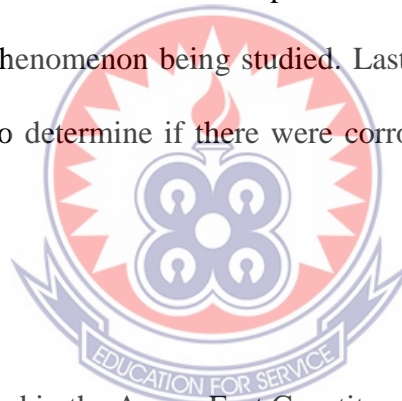
decision between quantitative and qualitative methodologies and instead utilize their best qualities.

The mixed method approach was employed for this study because of the philosophical assumption of the study. The study's underlying assumption was that since everyone has a unique worldview, various people will perceive the same phenomenon in different ways. This suggests that the views, sentiments and social patterns constructed by people differ as the same phenomenon is given different interpretations by different individuals, based on their past experience and their background. For instance, two persons experiencing the same situation will react differently to it. The researcher had to acknowledge this distinction as a result used both quantitative and qualitative approaches on the field. Again, the study's objectives and questions led to the utilization of the mixed method approach. Since the study's aim was to address the research questions, doing so necessitated the use of both quantitative and qualitative approaches. For the first objective which sought to analyze the determinants of split-ticket voting, the study used quantitative method to gather data and analyze them. Regarding the second, third and fourth objectives, qualitative techniques were employed since they were more appropriate as compared to other techniques. Lastly, the use of mixed method approach for the study also helped to do away with the inadequacies inherent in using only one approach or method.

In summary, the complexity of split-ticket voting behaviour and its consequences had a role in the decision to choose this approach. Thus, addressing it completely would not have been possible with a single approach.

3.3. Research Design

To address the research questions holistically, the study adopted a single case study research design. (Yin, 2014). A single case study was selected because the study focused on split-ticket voting behaviour in the Agona East Constituency of the Central Region. It also utilized a concurrent mixed methods design which is one of the numerous research designs under mixed methods approach to research (Patton, 2014). The concurrent mixed method design allowed the researcher to collect and analyze both quantitative and qualitative data simultaneously to address different aspects of the research questions. Again, the use of the concurrent mixed methods design for this study allowed for integration of several viewpoints and also, provided a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon being studied. Lastly, it allowed the researcher to compare both results to determine if there were corroborations or differences in the findings.



3.4. Study Area

The study was conducted in the Agona East Constituency of the Central Region.

3.4.1. Justification for the Study Area

In general, the purpose of choosing the Central Region above other regions was to ensure that the findings of the study can be generalized. Besides, the Central Region possesses a unique feature vis-à-vis split-ticket voting which is worth investigating (Bokpe, 2016). For instance, available statistics from the Electoral Commission of Ghana revealed that, the Central Region is well-known for split-ticket voting behaviour in Ghana and out of the 23 constituencies in the region, Agona East Constituency has

also become a hub of the practice in the region since 2008 (EC, 2008, 2016, 2020; Bokpe, 2016).

Lastly, the issue of convenience was also taken into consideration as opined by Bryman & Bell (2007). Thus, the researcher's familiarity with the study area allowed her to gather important and sufficient data which would not have been possible with a researcher who was a complete stranger to the area.

3.4.2. Profile of Study Area

The Agona East Constituency is located within Agona East District which was carved out of the defunct Agona District Assembly now Agona West Municipality in 2008 through the Legislative Instrument (LI) 1921. It covers an area of 318 square kilometres. The constituency (district) is also situated in the eastern corner of the Central Region and Nsaba as its administrative capital. The constituency (district) is bordered to the North by the Birim South District, to the South by the Agona West Municipality, to the East by Awutu Senya District and to the West by Ajumako-Enyan-Essiam District (GSS, 2012). According to the 2021 Population and Housing Census of Ghana (GSS, 2021), the total population of the district stood at 98,324 with males constituting 48.2 percent and female forming 51.8 percent. The voter size of the constituency as at 2020 stood at 63,281 (EC, 2020). The leading ethnic group in the constituency is Akan which comprises mainly of the "Agonas" and pockets of "Fantis". However, other ethnic groups such as Ga-Dangme, Ewe, Guan, Gurma, Mole-Dagbani, Grusi and several other ethnic groupings (GSS, 2012). Christianity is the dominant religion in the constituency followed by Islamic and Traditional religions. The economic activities in the constituency are farming, trading and artisan work. However, agriculture, specifically peasant farming constitutes the main economic activity of

majority of the citizens of the constituency. Trade and commerce also thrive well in the constituency.

Agona East Constituency can be described as a slightly urban constituency with a high rate of unemployment (GSS, 2021). The constituency lacks good roads. Majority of roads in the constituency are feeder roads with countable second-class roads, meaning, the road network in the constituency is made up of feeder roads and second-class roads. Generally, only few roads are in good shape since most of them are in deplorable state especially the rural ones. Likewise, some towns in the constituency still lack basic utility services and social amenities, such as water, roads, markets, schools, health centres, and communication services (GSS, 2021).

3.5. Target Population

The study population comprised of eligible voters in the Agona East Constituency. The target population for the study therefore consisted of all persons of 18 years and above and have voted in at least one of the previous general elections. It also included DCE, MP, Political Party Officials, Opinion Leaders, NCCE official, Policy Expert and representatives from CSO.

3.6. Sample Frame and Size

The sample frame for the study was the voter's register which consisted of 63,281 voters in the Agona East Constituency. For this study, the sample sizes for both quantitative and qualitative studies were unequal as demonstrated below:

3.6.1. Quantitative Sample Size

The sample size for the quantitative study was arrived at using sample size determination table by Krejcie and Morgan (1970). The voter's size of the constituency

as at 2020 stood at 63,281 (EC, 2020) and as a result, an adequate sample size of 382 was arrived at. Table 3.1 therefore displays the sample size determination table where “N” is the population size and “S” is the assumed sample size.

Table 3.1 Sample Size Determination

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

Source: Krejcie & Morgan (1970)

❖ Response Rate

Out of the 382 questionnaires sent to the field, 375 questionnaires were usable at the end of the data collection and data cleaning exercise. Therefore, the response rate for the survey was 98%.

3.6.2. Qualitative Sample Size

Small sample sizes are likely necessary for qualitative research in order to facilitate the in-depth case-oriented analysis that is essential to this line of inquiry (Vasileiou et al., 2018). In a similar vein, Guest et al. (2006) stressed that the focus should be more on the depth and quality of the data to be collected than on the precise number of participants. Therefore, rather than concentrating on a pre-determined sample size, the goal should be data saturation. This suggests that researchers should continue collecting data until no new information or themes emerge. Based on the aforementioned assumptions, the qualitative study settled on a sample size of 12 of which the point of saturation was reached on the twelfth interview. Constantinou et al. (2017) also provided support for this sample size for the qualitative study. The 12 interviews were conducted with appointed and elected officials. They included 4 political party officials (2 from NPP and 2 from NDC), 1 policy expert, 2 officials from Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDD) representing CSO, 2 opinion leaders, 1 DCE, 1 MP and 1 official from NCCE.

3.7. Sampling Techniques

Quantitative Sampling Technique

With the total voter population of the study area being 63,281 as at 2020 (EC, 2020), the study area had subsequently been divided into 21 electoral areas by the Electoral Commission for the purpose of elections. In order to ensure that the sample for the study

was representative, stratified random sampling technique was used. Specifically, a proportionate stratified random sampling techniques which allowed each stratum to have the same sampling fraction was adopted.

These sampling techniques were used adopted to minimize bias and also to increase the accuracy of the results.

This was achieved by first generating the percentage of respondents selected from each electoral area and since the constituency had already been divided into 21 electoral areas, these electoral areas however formed the strata for the sampling, thus, each electoral area is seen as stratum. The mathematical formulae for the percentage of respondents from each stratum (electoral area) was: $P = e \div p \times 100$, where P is the percentage of respondents of each electoral area, “e” is an electoral area voter size and “p” is the total voter size of the constituency (63,281). The reason for the percentage proportionate sampling was to ensure that differences in each electoral area’s (stratum) voter population were present in the study’s sample size.

After the percentage was generated, the number of respondents from each electoral area were also obtained. The number of respondents were obtained using the mathematical formulae: $P \div 100 \times 382$, where P is the percentage of respondents of each electoral area and the 382 being the total sample size for the study. The next and final stage of the sampling process for the quantitative study involved respondents being randomly selected from each stratum through the application of lottery method until the sample size was created. Table 3.2 summarizes the sample size for each electoral area (stratum).

Table 3.2: Summary of Quantitative Sample Size

Electoral Area/Stratum	Voter Size	Percentage (%)	Sample Size (Approximately)
Ahoroso/Odumase	3000	4.7	18
Ofoase/Zongo	3500	5.5	21
Mankrong junction	2800	4.4	17
Fawomanye	2200	3.5	13
Bontrase	3200	5.0	19
Broyedur/Adwenepaye	2600	4.1	16
Salem	3400	5.4	21
Seth Okai	2400	3.8	14
Tawora	3100	4.9	19
Mankrong/Akwakwaa	2500	4.0	15
Duabone	3300	5.2	20
Ninta/Ofoase	2300	3.6	14
Nkebease	3600	5.7	22
Zono/Ankobebe	2700	4.3	16
Besease/Apomosu	3700	5.8	23
Namanwura	2100	3.3	13
Duatu	3800	6.0	23
Amanful/Mansofo	2900	4.6	18
Asafo	2000	3.2	12
Kotokoli/Kwansakrom	3900	6.2	24
Fante Bawjiase	3000	4.7	18
TOTAL	63281	100	382

Source: Author's own computation, 2023.

❖ **Qualitative Sampling Technique**

A purposive sampling technique was employed for the qualitative sampling of interviewees. Purposive sampling technique was used to select interviewees because of their involvement and deep knowledge in the subject matter. These were person who

occupy political and non-political positions in the constituency and therefore have experience and knowledge on split-ticket voting behaviour and its implications in the constituency. Other officials outside the constituency were also selected not only for their deep knowledge of the split-ticket voting phenomenon and its implications but also for the purpose of triangulation. The entire interviewees included the DCE, MP, CSOs' officials, NCCE official, policy expert, political party officials and opinion leaders.

3.8. Types and Sources of Data

This study used two types of data; primary and secondary data. The primary data constituted information collected directly by the researcher from respondents and interviewees on the field. Whilst, the secondary data included all information gathered from previous studies conducted which were relevant and related to the current study. They were sourced from websites, journal articles, books, book chapters, newspapers and other unpublished works. The secondary data were used to offer a suitable background understanding of the topic and also provided insight into the analysis and interpretation of the findings obtained from the field.

3.9. Data Collection Methods and Procedure

Two methods of data collection were used for the study. The quantitative data were gathered through a survey whilst the qualitative data were collected through interviews. On the issue of the data collection procedure, permission was first sought from the participants before recruiting them to be part of the study. The objectives, benefits and risks of taking part in the study were explained to both the respondents and interviewees upon the commencement of the data collection. Again, participants who agreed to be part of the study were also informed about the confidentiality and anonymity of the

information provided before each of them was made to sign a consent form. Lastly, participants were also made aware of their right to stop participating in the study at any point if they desired to do so.

Specifically with the interviews, appointments were booked with the respective interviewees and subsequently, the interviews were conducted at venues that were convenient for the interviewees. With prior permission from the interviewees, majority of the interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed later. Two of the interviewees did not allow tape-recording so notes were rather taken. Again, one interview was also conducted through phone-in conversation of which the interviewee allowed to be recorded and transcribed later. The interviews were conducted solely by the researcher herself.

With respect to the survey, data were collected through self-administered questionnaire in most cases. The self-administered questionnaire method disallowed the intervention of the researcher, however, there were some instances where the researcher also employed an interviewer-administered questionnaire in collecting the data. This method of administering questionnaire was employed because of the low educational level of some of the respondents. Such people could not read and understand the questions, and such situations therefore required the intervention of the researcher. Upon request, questionnaires were left with some of the respondents to be filled during their convenient time and later retrieved from them. Colleague researchers were also contacted to assist in the data collection exercise due to the sample size for the survey. The data collection for both the survey and interviews took place from June 2023 to September 2023.

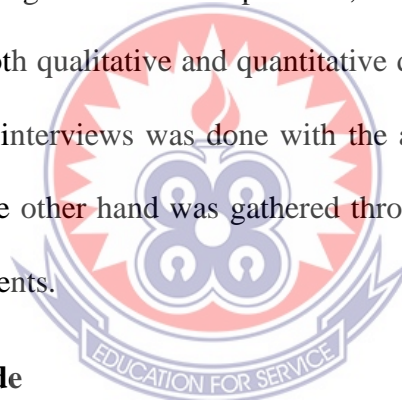
Table 3.3: Summary of Data Collection Method

Number	Method of Data Collection	Participants
1	In-depth interviews 12 interviews	DCE, MP, 4 Party Officials, 2 Opinion Leaders, 2 Officials from CSOs, 1 NCCE Official, 1 Policy Expert.
2	Survey 382 respondents	Electorate. Respondents include males and females who were 18 years and above.

Source: Author's field data, 2023

3.10. Instruments for Data Collection

For a better understanding of the research problem, various data collection instruments were used to collect both qualitative and quantitative data. The qualitative data which was collected through interviews was done with the aid of an interview guide. The quantitative data on the other hand was gathered through the use of questionnaire as data collection instruments.



3.10.1. Interview Guide

The researcher used semi-structured interview guide which was constructed based on the objectives of the study. This type of interview guide allowed the interviewees to freely and openly express their feelings, opinions and concerns without any limitations on the subject matter. The semi-structured interview guide also provided the researcher the opportunity to ask follow-up questions or probe further the responses of the interviewees when an issue raised was of interest and could provide a vital information. Also, the semi-structured interview guide provided consistency and flexibility during the interview process, thus, there was no rigid way of asking questions yet the guide ensured that interviewees did not deviate entirely from sharing views on the subject matter (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002). In general, the interviews were centred on

examining the nature of the relationship between the DCE and the opposition MP, the impact of the relationship on their performances and also, assessing the implication of split-ticket voting behaviour on socio-economic development of the constituency.

3.10.2. Questionnaire

The researcher used a structured questionnaire which contained closed-ended questions to seek information from the respondents in the survey. The constructs for the questionnaire were adapted from different sources. The items under the constructs were measured using multiple anchored on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “strongly disagree” (1) to “strongly agree” (5) (Nemoto & Beglar, 2014). A 5-point Likert scale was chosen over a 7-point Likert scale in this study because of its ability to enhance a better understanding of construct relationships as emphasized by Dawes (2008), Cheng and Chen (2015) and Arkorful et al. (2020). The questionnaire was structured into 2 sections. Section A comprised of the demographic characteristics of respondents and section B focused on the constructs and their respective items of measurement.

3.10.2.1. Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Five (5) questions were used to measure the demographic profile of respondents. These questions looked at the sex of respondents, their age bracket, marital status, educational level and their employment status. The demographic characteristics of respondents were followed by the constructs and their respective items employed for the study. These items of measurement were adopted from various sources and modified to ensure their suitability to the context of the current study.

The measurement of constructs constitutes the source of items for the questionnaire and the various items under each construct that were measured. The measurement in this study involves one (1) dependent variable and five (5) independent variables. In all,

twelve (12) items were used in measuring the various constructs or independent variables.

3.10.2.2. Constructs and their Measurements

❖ Measures of Personality Traits of a Candidate

Three (3) items were used to measure the personality traits of the candidate. The items for this construct were identified from a review of personality traits as a determinant of split-ticket voting. The review revealed that personality traits such as trustworthiness, honesty, and compassion have an influence on split-ticket voting decisions. These traits were therefore used as items for measuring the personality traits of the candidate. These items were however adapted from Quainoo (2020).

❖ Measures of Clientelism (CT)

Measures of clientelism were adapted from various empirical literature. In all three (3) items were adapted to measure clientelism. These items were adapted from Busia et al. (2021) and Amaechi and Stockemer (2022). The first item to measure clientelism focused on gifts from candidates being potent in making split-ticket voting decisions. The second item used in measuring clientelism looked at split-ticket voting decisions being made with recourse to provision of direct cash payments. The final item also focused on the distribution of valuable items being paramount to split-ticket voting decisions.

❖ Measures of Campaign Message (CM)

Two (2) items were adapted from Eder et al. (2017) and Brierley et al. (2020) as well as Arkorful and Lugu (2021) to measure campaign messages. One (1) item focused on how the campaign message of a candidate plays a role in voting decision-making. The

second item focused on the extent to which people consider campaign messages in making voting decisions.

❖ **Measures of Performance of the Ruling Government (PR)**

Three (3) items were used to measure the performance of the ruling government or incumbent. The first item focused on the building of more schools by the ruling government or incumbent. The second item looked at the provision of more jobs by the ruling government or incumbent and the last item was on the provision of more health facilities by the ruling government or incumbent. These items were adapted from Hazarika (2015) and Agomor et al. (2023).

❖ **Measure of Gender of the Candidate (GC)**

The gender of the candidate was measured with one (1) item. The item was constructed based on the meaning of gender. The item focused on the consideration of the gender of the candidate before voting “skirt and blouse”.

❖ **Measures of Intention to Engage in Split-ticket Voting (IE)**

Three (3) items were adapted from Arkorful et al. (2021) to measure the intention to engage in split-ticket voting. The first item concentrated on the willingness to vote “skirt and blouse”. Intending to participate in split-ticket voting was the second item for measurement. The last item under this construct focused on the effort to vote for candidates from different parties.

3.10.3. Control Variables

Variables that may possibly sway the impact of the independent variables on the dependent when not controlled are usually termed as the control variables (Abane, 2018). Control variables were important in this study because they helped to ensure that

the observed relationship between the independent and dependent variables was not influenced by other factors. Control variables in this study also helped to isolate the effects of the variables of interest and establish a more accurate understanding of their relationship.

Sex, age and educational level are commonly used as control variables in the study of voting behaviour. For instance, Hansen and Tyner (2021) controlled sex, age and educational level to examine the impact of political ideology on voting preferences. By including these control variables, these scholars were able to assess whether the observed effects of political ideology on voting behaviour were independent of these demographic factors. Similarly, a study conducted by Andrews et al (2019) shows that educational levels and age groups of respondents play a key role in influencing the electorate's voting decisions. They are of the view that the voting choices of the electorate are mostly determined by the level of their education and age.

Accordingly, three (3) variables namely; sex, age and educational level were used as the control variables in the study. The implication is that these variables might have an impact on voters' intention to engage in split-ticket voting.

3.10.4. Regression Model

$$Y = \alpha + \beta X_1 + \beta X_2 + \beta X_3 + \beta X_4 + \beta X_5 + \text{CONTROLS} + \epsilon$$

Where: Y = Intention to engage in split-ticket voting, X₁ = Personality trait of a candidate, X₂ = Clientelism, X₃ = Campaign Message, X₄ = Gender of a Candidate, X₅ = Performance of ruling government, ϵ = error term and Controls = Sex, age, and educational level. The Y represented the dependent variable whilst all the X in the model represented the independent variables.

3.11. Pre-Testing of Data Collection Instruments

To enhance clarity, structure and better understanding as well as the overall quality of the questions, a pilot administering of the questionnaire and interviews were conducted at the Gomoa East Constituency between March and April. The piloting targeted two separate groups of individuals. The first group comprised registered voters whilst the second group targeted political and non-political actors with interest and experience in elections, split-ticket voting behaviour and its implications. The researcher administered the questionnaire to the first group whereas face-to-face interviews were conducted with some randomly sampled individuals from the second group. Feedback from the piloting helped the researcher to refine the questions. A final questionnaire and interview guide were then formulated for the actual data collection. To set the records straight, the results from the piloting were not included in the final data.

3.12. Reliability Test

To ensure the quality and credibility of the quantitative data, a reliability test was conducted to determine the consistency and dependability of the items used in measuring the constructs. The reliability test allowed the researcher to assess whether the items were measuring the same construct consistently. Creswell (2014) asserts that reliability testing is crucial in research to ensure that data collection instruments are consistent and accurate. By assessing reliability, researchers can have confidence in the reliability of their measurements. Similarly, DeVellis (2016) also argue that reliability measures provide evidence of the consistency and stability of measurement tools and that reliability test should be done to establish trustworthiness of the data. In essence, reliability testing in research helps to establish consistency and accuracy in data collection and also strengthens the validity of the research's findings. The reliability

test, specifically Cronbach's alpha was used to measure the internal consistency of the questionnaire (Cronbach, 1951). Table 3.4 displayed the alpha coefficient of the constructs as well as the items of measurement for the study.

Table 3.4: Summary of Reliability Test

CONSTRUCT/ITEMS	CRONBACH ALFA
Personality Traits of the Candidate (PC) – 0.982	
Trustworthiness of a candidate is something I consider when making a voting decision.	0.977
I consider how honest a candidate is in my voting decision making	0.962
I will vote for a candidate that is compassionate	0.981
Clientelism (CT) – 0.983	
I will consider a gift from a person in my voting decision making	0.967
Money from a candidate influences my voting decision.	0.974
People consider valuable items given by a candidate when considering whom to vote for	0.981
Campaign Message (CM) – 0.964	
Campaign message of a candidate is of importance to me.	0.961
People consider campaign message of a candidate when making a voting decision.	0.957
Performance of the Ruling Government (PR) – 0.921	
The government of the day or the incumbent has built more schools in the constituency	0.927
The government or incumbent has provided more jobs in the constituency	0.952
The government of the day or incumbent has provided more health facilities in the constituency	0.971
Gender of the Candidate (GC) – 0.987	
The gender of a candidate is an important thing to me in voting	0.987
Intention to Engage in Split-Ticket Voting (IE) – 0.989	
I am willing to vote “skirt and blouse”	0.917
I intend to participate in split-ticket voting	0.971
I will make an effort to vote for candidates from different political parties.	0.957

Source: Author's constructs

According to Tavakol and Dennick (2011), an alpha coefficient of 0.9 indicates excellent internal consistency and reliability. They further emphasized that such a high alpha coefficient demonstrates strong agreement among the items in a scale, providing robust evidence for the reliability of the measurement tool. This argument however confirmed the stance of George and Mallery (2019) in their study where they opined that an alpha coefficient of 0.9 demonstrates an excellent reliability. So having an alpha coefficient within this range as evidenced in Table 4.6 is considered highly favourable and also supports the validity of the findings of this study.

3.13. Trustworthiness

To ensure the trustworthiness of the qualitative study, the researcher took into consideration the criteria of credibility, dependability, confirmability as well as transferability (Lincoln et al., 2011). According to Kyngas et al (2020), the level of plausibility, reliability, or authenticity of the data collected and its analysis is what is meant by the credibility criterion in qualitative research. In addressing credibility, researchers strive to establish that a true image of the phenomenon under investigation is being given (Shenton, 2004). Credibility also relates to the goal of the study and confidence in how effectively data and techniques of analysis meet the desired research problem. The researcher adopted the following procedures to ensure the study's credibility; firstly, interviewees were guided through the same major questions in order to keep and maintain the purpose of the study. Secondly, interviews were audio-recorded and transcribing was done for each interview subsequently. Also, sharing the transcribed data and field notes with the interviewees and asking for their feedback, corrections and additional insights were done in order to validate and enhance the accuracy of the data collected through interviews.

Dependability in research means reproducing the same results in the same situation with the same subjects (Lincoln et al., 2011). To ensure dependability of a research, Shenton (2004) asserted that the processes within the study should be reported in detail, so as to allow future researchers to repeat the work, albeit not necessarily to get the same findings. Dependability in this study was attained by an in-depth explanation of the methodology and strategies employed in conducting the study. All important materials such as research instruments, transcriptions, findings and interpretations were kept safely for verification by the research supervisor.

The third criterion which is confirmability deals with the procedures required to establish that the conclusions arose from the data collected and not the researcher's predispositions (Shenton, 2004). A fundamental criterion for confirmability is the degree to which the researcher accepts his or her predispositions as suggested by Abdul-Kadir and Abu-Hasan (2014). Confirmability was verified in the study through an audit of descriptive surveys alongside impressions and decisions taken along the study route.

The final criteria of Lincoln et al. (2011) in ensuring trustworthiness is transferability. This concerns the degree to which the results may be transmitted to different settings or groups. To facilitate transferability of the study, the researcher gave an adequate and detailed background of the fieldwork for the reader. This is to allow a reader to judge if the prevailing environment is comparable to another circumstance with which he or she is aware of and whether the results may fairly be extended to other settings (Shenton, 2004). Moreover, the researcher provided a vivid and comprehensive explanation of the study area, interviewees' background and the methodological tools employed.

3.14. Data Analysis

The data analysis approach choice was determined by the kind of research method and research questions involved in the study. The data analysis approaches employed helped the researcher to make sense out of the numerous views of the respondents and interviewees from the field. To achieve effective data analysis, data gathered from both quantitative and qualitative sources were subjected to vigorous rechecking and editing or cleaning before coding was done.

3.14.1. Quantitative Data Analysis

The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software was used to analyze the data obtained from the questionnaires that were administered. The field data were first coded with the use of Microsoft Excel. The coded data were subsequently imported into SPSS soft for analysis. Based on the level of measurement such as frequencies and percentages were employed to present the demographic characteristics of respondents (Pallant, 2020). The study again employed Multiple Linear Regression (Pallant, 2011). Multiple linear regression involves predicting a dependent variable based on two or more independent variables. According to Pallant (2011) and Yin (2014), multiple linear regression is used when there are multiple factors influencing the dependent variable and the researcher wants to understand how each factor contributes to the overall prediction. The multiple linear regression was employed to test the hypotheses of the study because it allowed the researcher to determine which independent variables are most strongly associated with the dependent variable. It also helped the researcher to identify key factors that drive changes in the dependent variable of interest.

3.14.2. Qualitative Data Analysis

The qualitative data were analyzed thematically (Clarke & Braun, 2012). The analysis however began with the use of Microsoft Word Office in transcribing the audio-recordings from the interviews into texts orthographically. Transcribing audio-recordings orthographically means reproducing all spoken words and sounds including murmuring and gurgles such as “mm-hmm” and “ha-ha” (Clarke & Braun, 2012). After the transcribing, the data was read and familiarized with by the researcher. The data were then coded for the purpose of producing and reviewing themes. Major themes within the data in relation to the research objectives were defined and named. The identified themes were later used to analyze each of the aspects of the study objectives in depth.

3.15. Ethical Considerations

The researcher strictly followed the guidelines provided by Bryman & Bell (2007) to overcome the ethical problems which emerged during data collection. Their guidelines include; participants’ voluntary participation, the procurement of participants’ full consent, protection of participants’ privacy and anonymity as well as the provision of adequate level of confidentiality of research data.

The researcher carried an introductory letter which introduced her before seeking the consent of the participants. Informed consent of all participants was sought before engaging them in the study. Hammersley and Traianou (2012) contended that informed consent often concerns access to people, documents, institutions, settings and information. In securing an informed consent from the prospective respondents, the researcher first devoted enough time discussing the objectives and significance of the study with them. They were also made aware that they could exercise their right to

withdraw from the interview at any time or even skip question(s) they were uncomfortable answering in the survey. This was done to reaffirm their voluntary participation and also to ensure that they had sufficient information on the study.

For the purpose of protecting privacy and the confidentiality of respondents and interviewees, their names were concealed.

And lastly, the confidentiality and safety of the participants were also guaranteed by ensuring that the data obtained from the field were highly secured, analyzed objectively and used only for the intended purpose of the research.



CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis and discussions of the data obtained from the field. The chapter however comes in two-folds: The first section focuses on data presentation and analysis. It presents an analysis and interpretation of both quantitative and qualitative data which were obtained from the field. The second section concentrates on the discussion of the findings. The empirical data to be analyzed in the first section were meant to answer the following research questions.

What are the factors that determine the voting choices of split-ticket voters in Agona East Constituency?

What is the nature of the relationship between the DCE and the opposition MP as a result of split-ticket voting behaviour in Agona East Constituency?

To what extent has the nature of the relationship between the DCE and the opposition MP affects their performances in Agona East Constituency?

How does split-ticket voting behaviour affect the socio-economic development outcomes in Agona East Constituency?

4.1. Results Presentation and Analysis

Quantitative Data

The analysis for the quantitative study was done based on the data obtained from the survey conducted in the study area. The quantitative study sought to analyze the factors that determine the voting choices of split-ticket voters by testing hypotheses.

❖ **Demographic Characteristics of Respondents**

The entire demographic characteristics of the survey respondents are presented below:

Sex of Respondents

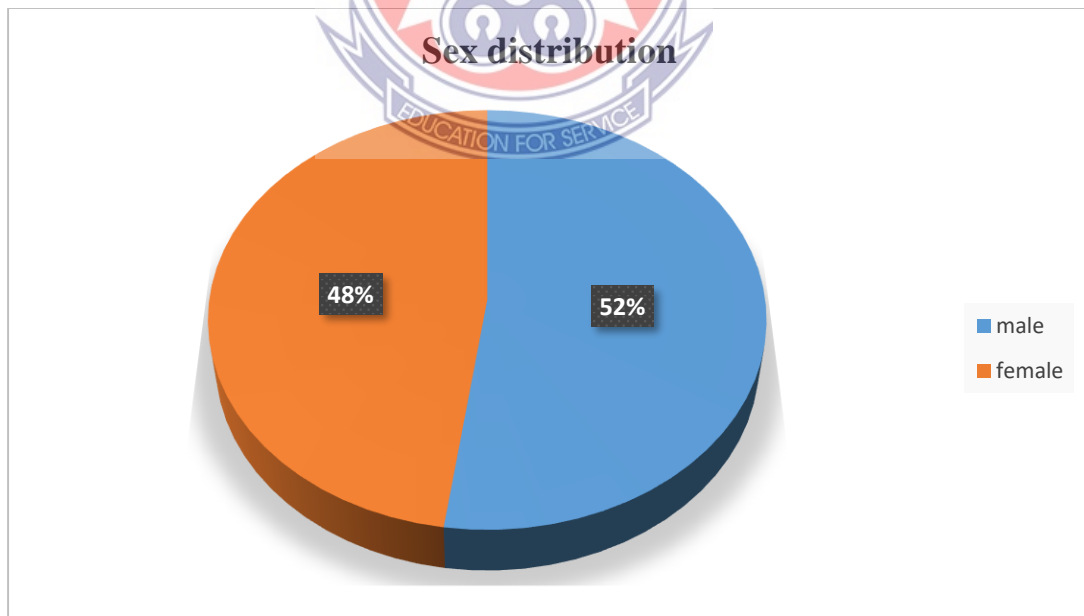
Majority of the respondents were males representing 52%; the remaining 48% were females. See Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1 for details.

Table 4.1: Sex Distribution of Respondents

Sex	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Male	196	52
Female	179	48
Total	375	100

Source: Author’s field data, 2023

Figure 4.1: Sex Distribution Chart



Age of Respondents

Thirty (30) percent of the respondents were of the ages from 34 to 41. This was followed by those who were between the ages of 26 and 33 years (24%), the ages between 42

and 49 years comes next with 20% and those above 50 years constituted 14% of the respondents. The age group with the least number of respondents were those within the ages of 18 to 25 years representing 12%. Table 4.2 displays the age distributions of the respondents.

Table 4.2: Age Distribution of Respondents

Age Group	Frequency	Percentage (%)
18 to 25	46	12
26 to 33	91	24
34 to 41	112	30
42 to 49	73	20
50 and above	53	14
Total	375	100

Source: Author's field data, 2023

Marital status of respondents

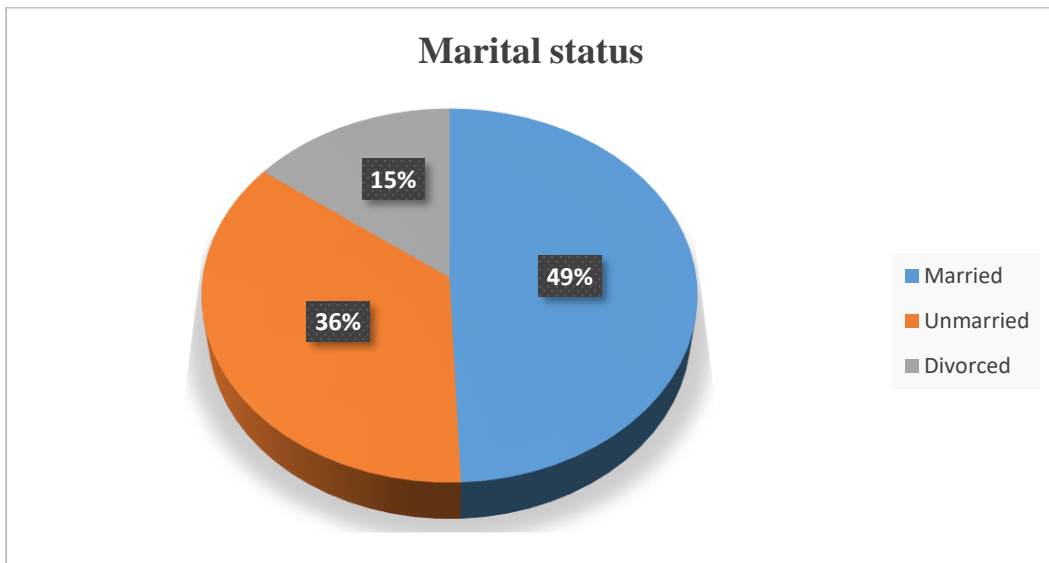
Table 4.3 and Figure 4.2 shows that 49% of the respondents were married. They are followed by those who were unmarried with 36% and those who were divorced constituted 15% of the respondents.

Table 4.3: Marital Status of Respondents

Marital Status (%)	Frequency	Percentage
Married	185	49
Unmarried	135	36
Divorced	55	15
Total	375	100

Source: Author's field data, 2023

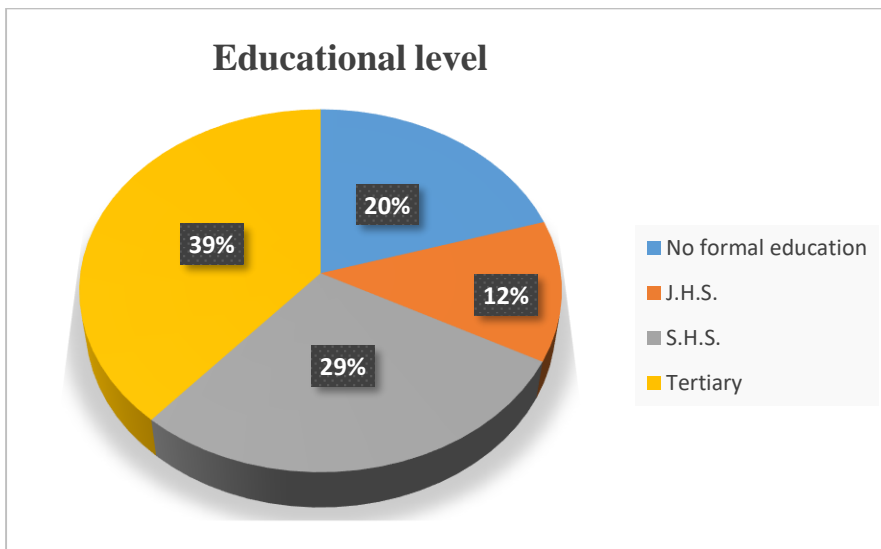
Figure 4.2: Marital Status of Respondents



Educational level of respondents

Thirty-nine (39) percent of the respondents said they have tertiary education. This is followed by 29% who said they have secondary education, 20% of them said they have no formal education. The remaining 12% said they have junior high education. Figure 4.3 shows that most of the respondents have tertiary education.

Figure 4.3: Educational Level of Respondents



Source: Author's field data, 2023

Employment status of respondents

The survey found that 52% of the respondents who participated in the study were employed whilst the remaining 48% were unemployed. These percentages are illustrated in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Employment Status of Respondents

Sex	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Employed	198	52
Unemployed	179	48
Total	375	100

Source: Author's field data, 2023

❖ Test for Multicollinearity

Test for multicollinearity is one of the requirements needed for conducting a regression analysis. It is however important to test for multicollinearity since it can have several effects on the analysis and interpretation of the results. According to Freedman (2009), when collinearity exists, it becomes challenging to determine the unique contribution of each independent variable to the dependent variable. This can lead to inflated coefficients, thus, making it difficult to interpret the true impact of each variable. Field (2019) also opined that researchers' failure to test for multicollinearity can lead to increase in standard errors and decrease the significant level of results. Meaning relationships that might have been significant in the absence of collinearity may no longer be considered significant. To address the issue of multicollinearity in this study, three approaches/techniques were used, these are correlation matrix, tolerance and variance inflation factor (VIF). These were used in order not to violate the assumptions for conducting regression analysis.

Correlation Matrix

A correlation matrix is a table that shows the correlation coefficients between multiple variables. It is important to examine the relationship between the independent variables (PC, CT, CM, PR and GC) and the dependent variable (IE) and per the criteria for conducting regression analysis, the independent variables should not be highly correlated with each other. If two or more variables have a high correlation, it could indicate that they are measuring similar aspects of the same phenomenon. By checking the correlation matrix, the researcher was able to identify which variables have high correlations and decide whether to include them in the regression analysis or choose a subset of variables in order to avoid multicollinearity. Correlation matrix helped the researcher to understand if there are any strong correlations between the variables. Scholars such as Pallant (2013) argues that the correlation between variables should not have a coefficient more than 0.7. This coefficient according to him shows that the variables are not highly correlated with each other. Table 4.7 shows the correlation coefficients of the variables.

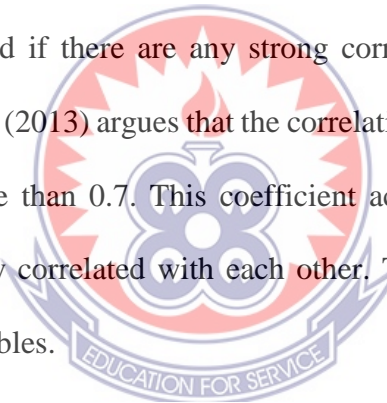


Table 4.5: Matrix of Correlations

Variables	PC	CT	CM	PR	GC	IE
PC	1.00					
CT	-0.52	1.00				
CM	0.40	-0.33	1.00			
PR	0.03	0.05	0.07	1.00		
GC	-0.07	0.02	0.01	-0.04	1.00	
IE	-0.04	0.04	0.10	-0.14	0.12	1.00

Source: Author's field data, 2023

The correlation results as displayed in Table 4.5 indicate that all the variables correlating with itself has a coefficient of 1. And as demonstrated on the table the correlation coefficients of the variables range from 0.52 (CT and PC) to 0.01(GC and

CM). This implies that all the variables' coefficients are less than 0.7 which means these variables do not correlate with each other. And also, all these coefficients fall within the 0.7 recommended by Pallant (2013). It can therefore be concluded that with respect to correlation matrix, there was no manifestation of multicollinearity in the results.

Tolerance and Variance Inflation Factor (VIF)

The last issues addressed before the regression test was conducted in this study were testing for the tolerance and the variance inflation factor. Tolerance in the context of multicollinearity is used to measure whether the correlation between the independent variables is high. By assessing tolerance, the researcher was able to identify and address multicollinearity in order to ensure that the regression results are reliable and meaningful. It also allowed the researcher to have a better understanding of the relationships between variables and make more accurate predictions. In general, a tolerance level 1.0 is often considered acceptable in regression analysis (Field, 2019). This tolerance level means there is absolutely no multicollinearity among the independent variables. Some scholars also proposed a tolerance level not below 0.2. As illustrated in Table 4.6, the tolerance level of all the independent variables is above 0.2 and close to 1.0 which indicates low level of multicollinearity among the variables.

Table 4.6: Summary of Test for Multicollinearity

Variables	Tolerance	VIF
PC	0.671	1.491
CT	0.711	1.406
CM	0.813	1.230
PR	0.989	1.011
GC	0.994	1.006

Source: Author's field data, 2023

Variance Inflation Factor is also used to assess multicollinearity in regression analysis. It helps researchers to understand if there is a high level of redundancy among the independent variables in a regression model. It again helps in identifying variables that are highly correlated. A high VIF value indicates a strong correlation between independent variables which can make the interpretation of the coefficients unreliable. As recommended by scholars such as (Hair, 2014), a VIF value not less than 0.5 is considered as absence of multicollinearity and as shown in Table 4.8, the VIF value of the variables are all above 0.5 hence regression analysis can be conducted.

❖ Hypotheses Testing

The hypotheses of objective one of the study were tested after addressing the issue of multicollinearity. In testing for the hypotheses, 5 models were used in the study. The models include dependent variable (IE), independent variables (PC, CT, CM, PR, GC) and the control variables (sex, age, educational level). In model 1, the researcher combined intention to engage in split-ticket voting (IE), campaign message (CM), sex, age and educational level (Ed_level). Model 2 consists of intention IE, performance of a ruling government (PR), sex, age and Ed_level. Model 3 variables are IE, personality trait of a candidate (PC), campaign message (CM), sex, age and Ed_level. Model 4 also

consists of IE, gender of a candidate (GC), PC, clientelism (CT), sex, age and Ed_level.

Model 5 comprises of IE, PC, CT, CM, PR, GC, sex, age and Ed_level. The results of the regression test are illustrated in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: Regression Test

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
VARIABLES	IE	IE	IE	IE	IE
PC			-0.0175* (0.00972)		-0.0131 (0.0101)
CT				0.0203 (0.0127)	0.0201 (0.0135)
CM	0.0390** (0.0195)		0.0473** (0.0200)		0.0515*** (0.0198)
PR		-0.0416*** (0.0141)		-0.0408*** (0.0141)	-0.0432*** (0.0140)
GC				0.0718** (0.0311)	0.0672** (0.0310)
Sex	-0.0196 (0.0718)	0.0662 (0.0765)	-0.0198 (0.0716)	0.0196 (0.0777)	0.0211 (0.0774)
Age	0.0228 (0.0298)	0.0373 (0.0292)	0.0411 (0.0314)	0.0561* (0.0309)	0.0581* (0.0317)
Ed_level	-0.0254 (0.0343)	0.00785 (0.0312)	0.000361 (0.0371)	0.0311 (0.0341)	0.0179 (0.0373)
Constant	14.51*** (0.197)	15.03*** (0.197)	14.45*** (0.199)	14.44*** (0.307)	14.19*** (0.340)
Observations	375	375	375	375	375
R ²	0.014	0.026	0.023	0.047	0.066

Source: Author's field data (2023)

4.1.1. Factors that determine the voting choices of split-ticket voters in Agona East Constituency

The regression test as displayed in Table 4.7 indicates that PC has a significant and negative relationship with IE in the Agona East Constituency. That is, a unit increase in the personality traits of a candidate will decrease electorate's intention to engage in split-ticket voting by 0.0175 units at 10% level of significance. This implies that the more voters get attracted to the personality traits of a candidate, the lesser their intention to engage in split-ticket voting reduces. With regard to CT, the coefficients shown in the table point to the fact that there is no relationship between clientelism and voters' intention to engage in split-ticket voting. This suggests that clientelism has no influence being negative or positive on voters' intention to engage in split-ticket voting in the constituency. With respect to CM in model 1, 3 and 5, the results depict a positive and significant relationship with IE. This means that campaign message plays a significant role in increasing electorate's decisions to engage in "skirt and blouse voting". Thus, a unit increase in campaign message will also increase the intention of voters to engage in split-ticket voting by 0.0390, 0.0473 and 0.0515 units at 5%, 5% and 1% level of significance respectively. With reference to PR in model 2, 4 and 5 indicates that this variable has a significant and negative relationship with the dependent variable (IE). That is, a unit increase in the performance of a ruling government will decrease voters' intention to engage in split-ticket voting by 0.0416, 0.0408 and 0.0432 units at 1% significance level respectively. This implies that when the incumbent government is able to perform to the satisfaction of the electorate, their decisions to engage in split-ticket voting thereby decrease. The table again shows that GC has a positive relationship with IE in model 4 and 5. Its units are 0.0718 and 0.0672 at 5% significance level respectively. This however suggests that when the gender of a candidate is

appealing to the electorate, this preferred gender in turn increases their decisions to engage in split-ticket voting.

Qualitative Data

The analysis for the qualitative study was done based on the data obtained from the interviews conducted within and outside the study area. Consequently, results were presented using a thematic approach. Overall, the qualitative study sought to examine the nature of the relationship between the DCE and the opposition MP, to find out the extent to which the nature of their relationship affects their performances and also to assess the implications of split-ticket voting behaviour on socio-economic development outcomes in the Agona East constituency and Ghana at large.

❖ Demographic Profiles of Participants

The essence of this section is to present a demographic profile of the participants. A total number of 12 officials were interviewed. These officials are political and non-political actors identified within and outside the constituency. For the purpose of protecting privacy and the confidentiality of participants, their names were concealed. Table 4.8 summarizes the demographic characteristics of the participants in the qualitative study.

Table 4.8: Summary of Demographic Characteristics of Participants

ID	ORGANIZATION	CONSTITUENCY	PORTFOLIO
P1	Political Party	Within	Presiding Member
P2	Political Party	Within	Communication Officer
P3	Political Party	Within	Communication Officer
P4	Political Party	Within	Research Officer
P5	Traditional Council	Within	Clan Head
P6	Traditional Council	Within	Sub-chief
P7	Government	Within	DCE
P8	Political Party	Within	MP
P9	Government	Outside	Programme Officer
P10	Civil Society	Outside	Programme Coordinator
P11	Civil Society	Outside	Research Fellow
P12	Civil Society	Outside	Lecturer

Source: Author's field data, 2023

4.1.2. The nature of relationship between the District Chief Executive and the opposition Member of Parliament

This objective of the study sought to examine the nature of the relationship that exists between the DCE and the opposition MP as a result of split-ticket voting behaviour.

The following themes were generated for this objective.

❖ Hostile Relationship

To achieve this objective the participants were first asked to describe the nature of the relationship between these two political heads, the findings however revealed that the nature of their relationship is not cordial. This view ran through all the responses from

the majority of the participants interviewed within the study area, according to one of the participants labelled as P6, he stated:

“Their relationship is very hostile since they both belong to rival political parties and as you know, in our politics the opposition party is seen as some sort of enemy so developing a cordial relationship with an opposition could be seen as betrayal to the ruling party. But the interesting thing about these two is that they both hail from the same town yet their relationship is not a healthy one” (Officer P6).

When the same question about the nature relationship between the DCE and the opposition MP was put to the DCE, she revealed that their relationship is not too cordial because they see one another as competitor. This is what she had to say to support her claim:

“The MP complains I am sabotaging her in the constituency simply because I have the intention to contest for the parliamentary seat in the near future” (Officer P7).

❖ **Engagement**

As a follow up to confirm the above revelation, participants were asked to indicate how often they saw the DCE and MP working together. This was what one of the participants had to say:

“Since these two political actors do not have that perfect relationship, they are not often seen working together, especially when it comes to the cutting of sod for projects to begin in the constituency which needs the presence of both, you will only see one of them doing that. With regards to meetings at the district assembly, the MP hardly attends those meetings. What I know and it is also a fact is that even when they are taking major decisions at the district assembly, the MP as ex-officio member is always absent” (Officer P1).

The above statements therefore suggest that the relationship between the DCE and the opposition MP cannot be described as cordial since they belong to different political parties. Certainly, as long as they do not share the same political ideology their

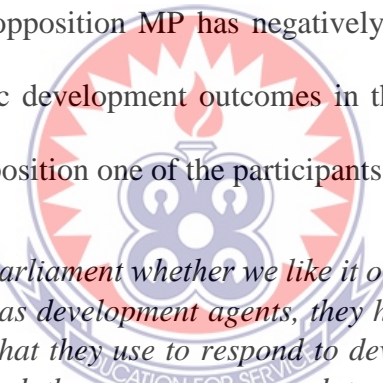
relationship will continue to be unfriendly. The data again suggest that there is some kind of unseen pressure from both political parties that creates hostile environment for them to be seen to be working together.

4.1.3. The extent to which the nature of the relationship between the two political heads affects their performances

The purpose of this question was to indicate in their opinion the degree to which the nature of their relation can impact on their performances in the constituency.

❖ Limited Cooperation and Collaboration

Obviously, the participants were unanimous in stating that the unfriendly relationship between the DCE and opposition MP has negatively affected their performances in terms of socio-economic development outcomes in the constituency in a significant amount. To justify this position one of the participants had this to say:



“Members of Parliament whether we like it or not have now become what is known as development agents, they have some resources at their disposal that they use to respond to development needs of the constituents, and those resources need to be accessed from the assembly, so if the MP and the DCE are from different political parties then obviously the MP’s access to that resources will be affected. On the other hand, the DCE is in the district everyday which, the MP is in Accra. The MP can have other opportunities that she can use to support the DCE from Accra, therefore if they are unable to work together because of bad relationship between them then their performances will highly be affected negatively” (Officer P4).

Another participant also expressed a similar view when he explained that:

“Since the DCE is working for the ruling government, the MP who is from the opposition party can struggle to lobby for projects for the constituency since her party is not in power, besides because she would not want the ruling government to take glory for any development projects in the constituency, she can do things to sabotage the DCE. I believe that for any constituency to develop in terms of infrastructural projects, the DCE and the MP must work

together and this not what is happening in the constituency here”
(Officer P5).

❖ Contribution to Development

In an attempt to achieve the third objective, the study further sought the views of the participants on the performance of the District Assembly and the opposition MP in the provision of the socio-economic development outcomes individually. The data revealed that the District Assembly and the opposition MP are working to initiate projects separately to help develop the constituency but the issue of getting enough resources to support their individual projects has become a challenge. The statements below summarize the views of the interviewees on the performance of the District Assembly and the opposition MP:

“For health, the MP has been offering free health screening in some of the communities, she is always with the physically challenged. She has also been providing some small funds to the unemployed and market women in rural communities to enable them to either start or expand their businesses. As a member of the parliamentary select committee on education I will say she is really doing her best when it comes to education in the constituency. She has provided roofing sheets to some schools to aid the building of classroom blocks, donated exercise books to schools, and there is this one thing she does annually, she always provides mathematical sets for BECE candidates in the constituency and also the provision food for the pupils during the exam period. Provision of scholarship for needy but brilliant pupils and also bought motorbikes for the GES office”
(Officer P3).

Another participant also indicated that:

“For me, the District Assembly is not doing so well when it comes to the provision of these development outcomes. The Assembly is getting next to nothing from internally generated funds so they rely on the central government before they can initiate any developmental projects. Even the little resources they get too I don't think they are channeling it to the right places. When it comes to education, the Assembly has been able to build some new classroom blocks and also renovate old ones. Their inability to perform well are all due to the inadequate internally generated fund available to them and the delay in getting access to the common fund” (Officer P2).

The above statement from the interviewees suggests that the opposition MP is performing well in terms of the provision of health and educational needs, and creation of job opportunities and the expansion of businesses as compared to the District Assembly. But overall, both parties are not able to do much for the people since they are all financially handicapped, and as such they do not have enough resources at their disposal to initiate a lot of developmental projects in the constituency. From the series of data presented, it can be deduced from the narratives that once there is no cooperation between these two political actors, they will not be able to discharge their duties effectively to provide the needed socio-economic development outcomes in the constituency. The DCE may have good plans for the constituency but without the support of the opposition MP those plans will be difficult to materialize. In the same vein the MP may also have laudable plans towards socio-economic development of the area but until they work together with the DCE, she can only achieve minimal results. Thus, it is therefore obvious that the unfriendly relationship between the two key political actors in the constituency will to a large extent affect their performance towards the delivery of socio-economic development outcomes in the constituency.

4.1.4. Assessing the implications of split-ticket voting behaviour on socio-economic development outcomes

It is a common knowledge that the kind of politics we do in our part of the world is not only divisive but also vindictive in nature. The fourth objective which also happened to be the final objective was meant to examine how split-ticket voting behaviour on its own can impact on socio-economic development in the constituency even if the relationship between the two political heads were to be cordial.

❖ Current State of Socio-economic Facilities

Generally, there appears to be a deliberate attempt by politicians from both sides of the divide to campaign against split-ticket voting behaviour since they consider it to be a hindrance to development. This particular objective of the study aimed to either confirm or deny this assertion. In the first place, the participants were asked to share their view on the provision of health, sanitation and educational facilities as well as the creation of employment opportunities in the constituency in the midst of the constituency's split-ticket voting behaviour. This is what one of the interviewees had to say:

“Presently, the health facilities lack personnel and logistics. The sanitation facilities are poor since the rubbish containers are few and do not match the increasing population. The places of convenience are also not enough for the people in the constituency. Regarding education, some of the schools still lack furniture and teachers. Employment has always been a problem in the constituency since the majority of the youth are unemployed, I know that because the DCE and MP are not coming from the same party we are not able to attract government's attention very well” (Officer P3).

Another interviewee shared a similar view by intimating that:

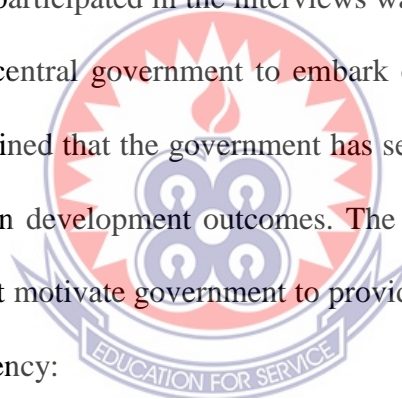
“For health, I will say it has not been the best as compared to the other constituencies in our neighbourhoods where both the DCE and MP are coming from the ruling party. The sanitation issue is nothing to write home about, rubbish being thrown away indiscriminately due to inadequate provision of containers and this has resulted in a lot health associated problems for the constituents especially the aged. It will surprise you that as we are speaking now some communities still lack potable drinking water. More of the basic school blocks still need renovation, desks and other things when it comes to education. Even though the government is trying to reduce unemployment in the constituency through YEA and other government agencies and institutions, their effort is minimal as compared to other constituencies. Our roads are also in bad shape and our leaders seem not to be working together” (Officer P9).

From the above narratives, it can be concluded that the constituency is lagging in terms of development outcomes and it appears the interviewees are united in attributing the

problems to the disunity between the DCE and the opposition MP. The data also revealed that the provision of health and sanitation facilities, educational facilities and creation of employment opportunities have been the major problems confronting the Agona East Constituency and they seem to believe that the problems have been worsened due to their consistent engagement in split-ticket voting behaviour.

❖ Indicators of Development

Again, in an attempt by the researcher to get in-depth understanding of the impact of split-ticket voting behaviour on socio-economic development outcomes, a policy expert working with one of the prominent Universities in Ghana was engaged. Interestingly, the policy expert who participated in the interviews was asked to indicate some of the factors that drive the central government to embark on developmental projects in a constituency. He explained that the government has several factors/indicators when it comes to embarking on development outcomes. The following is how he explained some of the factors that motivate government to provide socio-economic development outcomes in a constituency:



“The government has its own indicators and based on these indicators it embarks or initiates projects. The first and most important indicator in my opinion has to do with electoral support. Ruling governments mostly prefer developing their strongholds before developing constituencies where they hardly get electoral support. Politicians you know always want to exploit situations to their advantage, so the likelihood of a ruling government initiating projects in constituencies where they had massive electoral support during elections is very high. So, we cannot rule out the fact that most often constituencies with a lot of party sympathizers tend to benefit in terms of the provision of socio-economic amenities since the government will always want to get more people to vote for them in the subsequent elections. They also have the perception that when they provide these amenities, the electorate in these areas will not only vote for the presidential candidate but also vote for the parliamentary candidate presented by the party”.

“Another factor that drives a government to embark on developmental projects is the lobbying skills of the MP together with the DCE. Getting developmental projects for a constituency also needs some skills in terms of lobbying on the side of the MP and the DCE. These two political actors can draw the attention of the central government to initiate development outcomes in their constituency with their lobbying skill. However, if both actors are not from the ruling party, it will be difficult for them to attract full attention of the government for the purpose of developmental project” (P12)

The above statements from the policy expert revealed though several factors are likely to drive the central government to initiate socio-economic development outcomes in a constituency. However, he intimated that a constituency benefit more from a ruling government if it is considered as a stronghold of the ruling party. This implies that a constituency that engages in split-ticket voting behaviour cannot be described as a stronghold and therefore cannot receive more developmental outcomes from the ruling government. Based on these revelations, it can be concluded that for any constituency to receive any sort of development outcomes, that constituency must fall within a stronghold category of which Agona East Constituency does not qualify.

❖ **Partisan Politics**

The study further sought to gauge the views of some other interviewees on the impact of split-ticket voting behaviour on the level of the constituency’s development outcomes. This set of interviews also revealed that split-ticket voting behaviour which has been going on in the constituency has greatly affected the level of their development outcomes. In essence, this voting behaviour has an influence on the level of development outcomes of the constituency. According to an interviewee labelled Officer P2 stated:

“I can say for a fact that the “skirt and blouse” voting behaviour in the Agona East constituency has minimized the level of development. Taking the partisan politics side of the DCE and the opposition MP for instance, their actions and inactions have led to delay in the

development process of the constituency. And we all know partisanship does not foster development in any area but rather reduces the speed of development”.

❖ **Policy Inconsistency and Instability**

During interviews with the two officials from different Civil Society Organizations they expressed similar views. For instance, one of the officials indicated:

“An updated evidence we have from the number of works we have done suggested that split-ticket voting behaviour has an impact on the level of a constituency’s development. When the electorate makes this kind of electoral choice, the development of the constituency suffers the consequences. Having two political heads from two different political parties in a constituency does not help with development since they all have different plans for the constituency and most of the time these plans conflict with one another and these are all as a result of their political backgrounds, orientations and ideologies of each political actor” (Officer P11).

Split-ticket voting behaviour in one way or another has an impact on the level of a constituency’s development. This was evidenced from the statements from the interviewees. In sum, this kind of voting behaviour minimizes a constituency’s level of development since they government will not invest heavily in an area where she will not derive maximum electoral returns.

In conclusion, the findings from the study suggest that there is a relationship between split-ticket voting behaviour and socio-economic development. Split-ticket voting behaviour hinders socio-economic development outcomes of an area that engages in such electoral choices. This is so because constituencies that normally opt for split-ticket voting are seen not to be loyal to any political party therefore no politicians would like to invest their time and resources in developing such constituencies. The most plausible interpretation of this evidence is that partisan politics plays a critical role in slowing down development outcomes in the Agona East constituency, a constituency that has continually been engaging in split-ticket voting. It can also be concluded that

this voting behaviour breeds hostile relationship between the DCE and the opposition MP. It was further noted that due to the unfriendliness nature of their relationships, they are unable to work together to champion development agenda in the constituency. Despite the fact that these two political heads to an extent have embarked on socio-economic development in the constituency, they do not have sufficient resources and capacity to start and complete any major developmental project individually that would have made significant impact on the livelihood of the people.

4.2. Discussion of Research Findings

This section is devoted to the discussion of key findings and they were done within the context of the extant literature and the adopted theories. The discussion also focuses on the extent to which the findings of the study have confirmed or contradicted the assumptions of the sociological model and rational choice theory. The discussion herein is presented according to the objectives of the study.

4.2.1. Factors that determine the voting choices of split-ticket voters in Agona East Constituency

This objective was achieved by testing hypotheses developed from the literature. Previous studies have shown that a number of factors do influence the voting choices of many people. This study therefore set out to validate or refute these factors. The factors are as follow:

Personality Trait of a Candidate

First, the study found that the personality traits of a candidate have an influence on the voting choices of split-ticket voters in Agona East Constituency. The findings however suggest that the influence the personality traits of a candidate has on split-ticket voting is significant yet negative. The results of the regression test show that the personality

traits of a candidate have a standard coefficient of 0.0175 at 10% significant level. This result establishes that the more voters are drawn to the personality traits of a candidate, the lesser their intentions to engage in split-ticket voting.

When it comes to explaining the influence of the personality traits of a candidate on split-ticket voting behaviour, the sociological model is more relevant since this finding corroborates the assumption of the sociological model which focuses on how individual characteristics such as personality traits help shape voting choices. In this context, voters are drawn to candidates with certain personality traits that resonate with them regardless of party affiliation. The model explains that voters tend to appreciate and choose candidates who share common traits with them and accordingly these traits could create a sense of attachment which can sway them in favour of a particular candidate (Anderson & Heath, 2003). The finding revealed that the voters considered traits such as trustworthiness, honesty and compassion when evaluating each candidate's suitability for the position being contested for. These traits tend to influence their decision to vote for a particular candidate, even if they belong to a different party. Likewise, candidates who demonstrate these traits were seen by the electorate to be more capable and better suited for the office they were vying for. Within the existing literature, the findings corroborate previous studies conducted by Nwanganga et al. (2017) and Quainoo (2020). These studies on voting behaviour in Nigeria and Ghana respectively, found that the personality traits of a candidate have a significant influence on voting decisions. This finding also reinforces the observations of Caprara et al. (2006) and Verhulst et al. (2010) that the personality traits of candidates have an impact on the electoral decision of voters. In their quest to establish the nexus between personality traits and voting decisions, Koppensteiner and Stephen (2014) found that

voters mostly choose candidates for possessing similar traits as theirs. This finding agreed with the hypothesis one (1) of the study.

Clientelism

The practice where politicians provide material benefits or favours to individual voters in exchange for their electoral support is seen as clientelism. This can influence voting choices by creating a reciprocal relationship between political actors and voters. In this instance, instead of voting based on policies or ideas, some voters do vote for a candidate because they expect to get something in return from that particular candidate. This study found that clientelism has no influence on the intentions of voters to engage in split-ticket voting, meaning there is no relationship between clientelism and split-ticket voting behaviour as indicated by the regression test. This finding suggests that split-ticket voters in the constituency have a resilient preference for collective gains than personal gains. This finding however contradicts the widely held belief in the literature that states that clientelism in the form of the distribution of gifts, money or other valuable items by candidates has impact on voting decisions (Busia et al., 2021; Amaechi & Stockemer, 2022). These scholars specifically argue that clientelism plays a major role in determining voters' preferences and this particular evidence from the previous studies runs counter to what has been found in this study. Theoretically, this finding also refutes the principle of human rationality as espoused by rational choice theorists. Their assumption presupposes that individual voters are rational beings and therefore weigh the immediate benefits they may receive against the potential costs or risks disagrees with this finding of the study (Wittek, 2013). The finding from this study suggests that provision of material benefit to split-ticket voters does not have sufficient capacity to influence such voters to change their intention to engage in split-ticket voting behaviour. This finding disagreed with hypothesis two (2) of the study.

Campaign Message

The study also found that there is a significant and positive relationship between campaign messages and voters' intention to engage in split-ticket voting. Candidates use campaign messages to convince voters to support them based on what they stand for and what they promise to do if elected. This finding suggests that candidates often tailor their messages to appeal to a broader range of voters, including those who are not aligned to their parties. Hence, the goal of their campaign messages was to attract voters who may be inclined to split their votes and choose candidates from different parties for different offices. This finding which indicates that campaign messages when well-crafted and delivered by politicians influence voting decision-making does not come as a surprise since it confirms the outcome of studies done by scholars such as Eder et al. (2017); Nordin (2014); Adams & Agomor (2015) and recently Gyampo & Graham (2022). For instance, Eder et al. (2017) argue that winning and losing an election to a large extent depends on campaign messages. They explained that prior to politicians launch enthusiastic and dynamic campaigns which they use to communicate a persuasive message to sway voters to their sides. The finding further affirms the assertion of Brierley et al. (2020) that campaign message plays a crucial role in influencing voting choices. The evidence also highlights why candidates, in their quest to win elections tend to find it convenient to target the voting populace with economic issues confronting them and the measures they tend to use to address these issues if they are being voted for. Another supportive evidence could be drawn from a study by Arkorful and Lugu (2021) which also found that voters consider the campaign message of a candidate when making a voting decision. They explained that an environment where candidates receive messages prior to elections on a regular basis engenders more electoral support. This is so because, the ultimate goal of these messages is to shape

voters' perceptions and influence their voting decisions. Again, from a theoretical perspective, this finding reinforces one of assumptions of the rational choice theorists who argue that voters make decisions based on a careful evaluation of the candidates' positions and their self-interests (Oppenheimer, 2008). In the case of split-ticket voting behaviour, voters choose candidates from different parties for different offices based on their assessment of each candidate's qualifications, policies and how well they align with the voters' preferences. It is like picking and choosing the best options from different parties based on what matters most to you as an individual. This assumption aligns with the principle of appealing to pragmatic and independent-minded voters (Fiorina, 1981). This principle recognizes that some voters prioritize practical solutions and are willing to consider candidates from different political parties based on their ability to cross party lines and find common ground. On the basis of this belief, highlighting these problem-solving qualities in their campaign messages, candidates tend to attract and secure the support of voters who value independence and a willingness to transcend partisan politics. This finding agreed with hypothesis three (3) of the study.

Performance of the Ruling Government

The study further found that the performance of the ruling government has an impact on the voting decisions of split-ticket voters in the Agona East Constituency. However, this finding suggests that the impact is negative yet significant at 1% level, this means that if the ruling government is able to perform well during their term of office, it will minimize voters' intention to vote "skirt and blouse" in the subsequent elections. The finding agrees with the conclusions drawn by Hazarika (2015) and Henning et al. (2018) that if voters are not happy with the way a ruling party handles issues surrounding areas such as the economy, education, sanitation, health, employment and

others, their candidates suffer defeat in upcoming elections. The present finding also supports the outcome of a study which was undertaken by Agomor et al. (2023) on the influence of incumbency on voting decisions. They found that the voters considered the achievements and track records of the incumbent when casting votes. They concluded that from the voters' perspective, the performance of the ruling government plays key role in determining voting preferences. In this case, the electorate's decision to vote for a particular candidate could be an indication that the candidate they voted for belongs to a ruling party that has been successful in achieving its promises and addressing the needs of the citizens. Again, the finding agrees with the principle of individualism which is one of the assumptions of the rational choice theorists. This principle asserts that voters make voting choices based on their self-interest and the expected outcomes (Buchanan & Tullock, 1962; Antwi, 2018). In this context, voters assess the performance of the ruling government and make choices that they believe will best serve their interests and priorities. The model explains that voters tend to assess how well the government has fulfilled its promises, implemented policies and other relevant factors that impact their lives when deciding on which party's candidate they wish to support or vote for. The finding reveals that the voters chose to split their votes among candidates from different parties contesting for different positions in order. Based on the principle of individualism, rational choice theorists predict that the individual voter as a decision maker will be the primary unit of analysis and that the individual's preferences will be assumed to be more important than that of collective preferences (Anderson, 2011). This implies that the voting pattern of the Agona East Constituency can be best explained within the context of the behaviour of the individual voters within the constituency. This finding agreed with hypothesis four (4) of the study.

Gender of a Candidate

The study again found that the gender of a candidate has a positive influence on the voting choices of split-ticket voters in the Agona East Constituency. This means that the gender of a candidate is a consideration for voters when it comes to split-ticket voting behaviour. This finding of the study has confirmed recent studies conducted on gender and its impact on voter preferences by establishing that the gender of a candidate has a significant influence on voters' decisions to split their votes among different parties. As intimated by Badas and Stauffer (2019), some voters consider a candidate's gender as a key factor in their decision-making process. According to them, these voters may feel more inclined to support a candidate of their own gender as they may believe that candidate can better understand and advocate for their specific concerns and experiences. Another supporting evidence could be drawn from a study conducted by Holman (2016) which also found that gender plays a vital role in the evaluation of candidates and the electorate's voting preferences. They explained that sex orientation of candidates usually has a tendency of influencing voters on whom to vote for. Therefore, this finding is reflection of the view that a shared gender between candidates is likely to influence voting decisions among the individual voters. This finding further gives meaning to the assertion by Cassese and Holman (2019) that political parties sometimes use the gender of their candidates to consolidate their support base by deliberately focusing on the electorate whose loyalty in the future is uncertain. Theoretically, this finding is in agreement with the assumption of the sociological model which suggests that social factors such as gender identity can influence voter behaviour (Antunes, 2010). The model explains that voters may be influenced by their perceptions of how a candidate's gender aligns with their own gender identity or societal expectations. The finding revealed that voters considered gender when

assessing the candidates for the position they are contesting for. Hence, gender of the candidates tends to influence their decision to vote for candidates from different parties. This finding agreed with hypothesis five (5) of the study.

4.2.2. The nature of relationship between the DCE and the opposition MP

The study found that as a result of split-ticket voting behaviour in the constituency, the relationship between the DCE and the opposition MP is hostile. This is so because the study revealed that their belongingness to rival political parties has created some sort of tension between them that has made it very difficult to foster a friendly and healthy relationship between them. This means that their political differences have escalated to a point where they have negative and confrontational attitudes towards each other. The hostile relationship between the DCE and the opposition MP stems from factors such as diverging party loyalties. There is a clash of party loyalties between these two political heads, they have different party ideologies, priorities and policy preferences have led to disagreements and conflicts. Another factor that has resulted in the hostile relationship is power struggles. Since they belong to rival parties and also having ambitions for higher positions have intensified competition between them which has also led to a hostile relationship as they vie for influence and control. Policy disagreement has also been a factor that has caused the hostile nature of their relationship. The DCE and the opposition MP always have opposing views on key policy issues in the constituency and these policy differences have fueled animosity and made it challenging for the DCE and opposition MP to find common ground and reach compromises. The finding further reveals that this unfriendly nature of their relationship makes it challenging for them to work together effectively for the betterment of the constituency. The hostility between them has manifested in many ways including; engaging in public confrontation, lack of communication, refusal to

cooperate and even sometimes resorting to personal attacks. All these have created a tense atmosphere where trust and mutual understanding are lacking, making it extremely difficult to build consensus and work together towards shared goals. This finding confirms studies conducted by Binder (2015) and McCarty et al. (2019). For instance, Binder (2015) opined that there is the tendency of split-ticket voting breeding hostile relationship between rival political heads working within the same electoral district. In essence, his study suggests that split-ticket voting can contribute to a more hostile relationship between the opposing political figures.

Looking at this finding from the theoretical perspective, the hostile relationship between the DCE and the opposition MP reaffirms the assumption of the rational choice theory which focuses on political actors' making decisions based on their self-interest and expected outcomes (Wittek, 2013; Mahsud & Amin, 2020). According to this theory, individuals are motivated by their self-interest and seek to maximize their benefits. As rational actors, both political heads had prioritized advancing their own party's interests and maintaining their political power. In this context, the hostility arises from strategic political calculations and power struggles between the DCE and the opposition MP. These two political heads consider being hostile towards each other benefits their own political agendas and also helps them gain support from their respective voter base. To conclude on basis of rational choice theory, it is safe to state that the hostile relationship between the DCE and the opposition MP could stem from their self-interest, the desire to advance their party's agenda and the fear of losing political power.

4.2.3. The extent to which the nature of relationship between the DCE and the opposition affects their performances

The study also found that the nature of the relationship between the two political heads has to a large extent affected their performances negatively. There is a considerable body of evidence from the study which points to the fact that the hostile relationship between the DCE and the opposition MP has affected their performance in terms of socio-economic development in the constituency. The hostile relationship has led to a limited cooperation and collaboration between them, so instead of working together towards common goals, they rather engage in power struggle and political gamesmanship which mostly result in delays and even blockages in the implementation of socio-economic development projects and policies. This finding corroborates a study done by Curry and Lee (2020) on policy implementation alongside split-ticketing. They found that cooperation plays a crucial role when it comes to implementing policies to aid development, so a limited cooperation and collaboration among the key holders involved in the implementation process usually lead to the curtailment of it. Again, the constant hostility has created a toxic and divisive environment in the constituency. This has affected the morale of government officials, civil servants and the constituents as a whole. The lack of unity and trust among the two political heads in the constituency has made it difficult for them to rally support and mobilize resources for their individual developmental initiatives. Also, the focus on personal conflicts and political battles have distracted both the DCE and the opposition MP from their primary responsibilities of serving the interests of the people. Instead of prioritizing the needs of the constituency, they prioritize their own political agendas which has hindered progress in terms of socio-economic development. This finding again resonates with McCartan and Helmke (2021) that when opposing political leaders do not exhibit a perfect

relationship, they are often seen diverting from their responsibilities of serving the interest of the populace within their jurisdiction.

The above findings validate the assumption of rational choice theory which suggest that individuals make decisions based on their self-interest (Wittek, 2013). In the case of a hostile relationship between the DCE and the opposition MP, this self-interest can manifest in a lack of cooperation and collaboration. It explains that when there is a hostile relationship, both parties will prioritize their own political interests over the socio-economic development of the constituency (Anderson, 2011). This theory further implies that politicians are motivated by their self-interest, including the desire to score political points. Consequently, these heads engage in political gamesmanship rather than focusing on the well-being of the constituents which has resulted in a prioritization of personal and political interests over the socio-economic development outcomes such as healthcare, sanitation, infrastructure, education and job creations. This assumption of the rational choice theory helps us to understand why and how the hostile relationship between the DCE and the opposition MP has negatively affected the provision of socio-economic development in the constituency.

4.2.4. Implications of split-ticket voting behaviour on socio-economic development outcomes

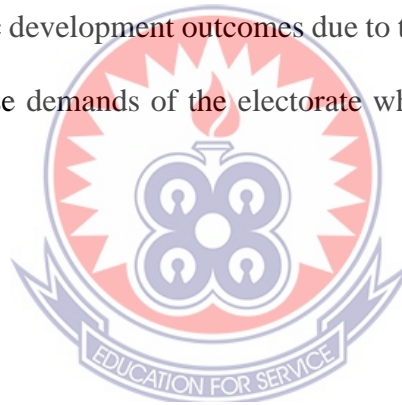
Based on the findings, it is evident that the constituency is lagging in terms of health, sanitation, educational facilities as well and employment opportunities. And these are all a result of the split-ticket voting behaviour in the constituency. The finding first reveals that enough resources have not been allocated to the constituency to help in initiating socio-economic development outcomes. Split-ticket voting behaviour has resulted in a fragmented allocation of resources. The ruling government prioritize certain constituencies when it comes to allocating resources for embarking on initiatives

and developmental projects. They allocate resources based on political support and electoral considerations. This has led to an uneven distribution of resources across constituencies in the country, potentially leaving certain constituencies like the Agona East Constituency underserved and neglected in terms of socio-economic development. The findings also suggest that there is policy inconsistency and instability due to the division in governance in the constituency. The presence of two political parties controlling different branches of government in the same area makes it difficult to implement policies effectively. This however results in delays in addressing urgent socio-economic issues and hinders progress towards development goals. An earlier baseline study by Ames et al. (2008) on split-ticket voting and divided government affirms the present finding. Their study reveals that when different branches of government are controlled by different political parties, it makes it more difficult to pass legislation, as different parties may have different priorities and agendas and this subsequently leads to a lack of progress on important issues. The study further found that split-ticket voting behaviour negatively impacts socio-economic development outcomes in the constituency through the lack of accountability. The decisions of the voters to support candidates from different political parties make it difficult to hold them accountable for their actions and decisions. This has created a sense of ambiguity regarding who is responsible for specific outcomes or failures making it harder to address issues and ensure effective governance. This finding suggests that the lack of accountability has slowed down development in the constituency as accountability is seen as a crucial aspect of socio-economic development as it promotes transparency, efficiency and responsiveness in the development process. This finding further gives meaning to the assertion by Blais et al. (2019) that when different parties control different branches of government, it can be difficult to hold the elected officials

responsible for their actions and inactions which in the long run retard development processes.

The study again found that this voting behaviour has contributed to a fragmented political landscape and hindered consensus building which has also affected socio-economic development negatively. When voters consistently support candidates from different parties, it leads to a more polarized political environment which makes it difficult to build consensus on important socio-economic issues. This finding gives credence to the observation by Preuhs et al. (2018) that when voters always vote for candidates from different political parties, it becomes harder to find common grounds between the different factions which tend to lead to increased polarization. According to them, this increased polarization brings about lack of consensus which can delay decision-making processes, impede policy implementation, and also undermine the effectiveness of government institutions in promoting socio-economic development. This evidence from the findings lend support to the view that the presence of variety of political perspectives and beliefs within the governing process poses negative impacts on socio-economic development plans (Kimball & Anthony, 2016). These findings also align with the assumption of the rational choice theory which contends that individuals, including political actors are most likely to undertake the course of action which would be to their own advantage (Ogu, 2013). According to the rational choice theory, the actions of politicians in the implementation of development programmes are not unusual. They can be explained within the context of the behaviour of individuals who are incurably self-interested and utility maximizers (Gerxhani & Schram, 2009; Roskin, 2016). In the context of split-ticket voting behaviour and socio-economic outcomes, politicians are motivated to prioritize policies and initiatives that will secure their re-election and maintain their political power. The ruling government knows that if they

align their policies with constituencies that are their party's strongholds, they are more likely to secure the support and votes of the majority of voters. This therefore creates a strong incentive for the ruling party to focus on and prioritize the socio-economic development needs of those constituencies. However, in constituency with split-ticket voting behaviour, the diverse and fragmented preferences of the electorate create uncertainty for politicians. They face the challenge of appealing to voters from different parties with varying ideologies and policy preferences, making it harder to determine which specific socio-economic development outcomes will maximize their chances of winning. Thus, this assumption in rational choice theory however suggests that politicians in constituencies with split-ticket voting may find it more challenging to initiate socio-economic development outcomes due to the complexity of understanding and meeting the diverse demands of the electorate while maximizing their own self-interest.



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0. Introduction

This chapter summarizes the key findings of the study, followed by the contributions, limitations, avenues for future research, conclusions and recommendations. The study set out to investigate the nexus between split-ticket voting behaviour and socio-economic development in the Agona East Constituency.

5.1. Summary of Key Findings

The presentation of the summary of the major findings were done according to the objectives of the study.

Objective 1: Determinants of split-ticket voting behaviour in Agona East Constituency.

Personality traits of a candidate: In our attempt to analyze the factors that influence the voting choices of split ticket voters in the constituency, the study found that the personality traits of a candidate influence the voting decision of split-ticket voters. This finding suggests that the influence of personality traits of a candidate on split-ticket voters is though significant, yet it is negative. This result means that the more split-ticket voters are drawn to the personality traits of a candidate, the lesser their intentions to engage in split-ticket voting.

Clientelism: It was also revealed that clientelism does not have any influence on the intention of the electorate to engage in split-ticket voting. That is, the sharing of money, distribution of valuable items and other gifts do not have impact on split-ticket voters' decisions.

Campaign message: Again, the study found that campaign message plays a positive role in voters' intention to opt for split-ticket voting. This finding indicates that campaign messages when well-crafted and delivered by politicians influence the voting choices of split-ticket voters.

Performance of the ruling government: The study further found that the performance of a ruling government also has an impact on the voting decisions of split-ticket voters but the finding however suggests that the impact is negative. This means that if the ruling government performs well during her term of office, it reduces the intention of the voters in the constituency to vote “skirt and blouse” in the subsequent elections and vice versa.

Gender of a candidate: The study also found that the gender of a candidate has positive impact on voters' intention to engage in split-ticket voting in the Agona East Constituency.

Objective 2: The nature of the relationship between the DCE and the opposition MP in Agona East Constituency.

The study found that the relationship between the DCE and the opposition MP is hostile. Sufficient evidences were found to show that the relationship between these two political heads is not cordial and this makes it extremely difficult for them to work effectively together in the constituency.

Objective 3: The nature of relationship between the DCE and the opposition MP and their performances.

The study further found that for the two political heads in the constituency to be successful in the discharge of their respective responsibilities, they need to work

together. However, the unfriendly relationship between the DCE and the opposition MP has made it difficult for them to rally support and mobilize resources for socio-economic development initiatives. The focus on personal conflicts and political battles have also distracted both heads from their responsibilities of serving the interests of the people. It was again established that limited cooperation and collaboration between them has to large extent resulted in delays and even curtailment of the implementation of some developmental projects.

Objective 4: The implications of split-ticket voting behaviour on socio-economic development outcomes in Agona East Constituency.

Lastly, the study revealed that split-ticket voting behaviour has impacted negatively on the socio-economic development of the constituency. The finding showed that having two political heads from two opposing political parties has accounted for the inability of the constituency to attract the attention of the central government. This is so because the ruling government pay more attention and prioritizes constituencies which it considers as strongholds for the allocating resources for development. Thus, ruling governments do invest in constituencies where they can make electoral gains while they ignore constituencies that engage in split-ticket voting and such constituencies like Agona East are regarded as orphan constituencies. There is also policy inconsistency and instability due to the division in governance in the constituency which have resulted in delays in addressing urgent socio-economic issues and hinders progress toward developmental goals. Split-ticket voting behaviour has again made it difficult to hold the two opposing heads accountable for their actions and decisions since the voting pattern has created a sense of ambiguity regarding who is responsible for specific outcomes or failures making it harder to address issues and ensure effective governance.

5.2. Contribution of the Study

The contribution made by the study at the end can be seen in two areas namely:

Contribution to theory

First, the study has contributed to the sociological model and the rational choice theory. The findings of the study have confirmed the assumptions made by these theories. The sociological model argues that voters consider individual characteristics such as personality traits and social factors such as gender identity when deciding on whom to vote for. The findings revealed that the split-ticket voters in the constituency do not only consider personal traits of a candidate when making a voting decision but also consider gender. Thus, these findings have confirmed the key assumptions of sociological model. On the other hand, findings from the study are also in consonance with the assumptions of the rational choice theory; that the rational politicians are more likely to invest in where they can get electoral returns, whereas voters on the other hand make decisions based on their own self-interest and expected outcomes. The above-mentioned assumptions provided more clarity and understanding to the findings of the study. For instance, looking at the self-interested nature of human beings in general, split-ticket voting behaviour has the tendency to breed hostile relationship between a DCE and an opposition MP. At the end, the study deployed the self-interest assumption of rational choice theory to explain the hostility between the two political heads and why the Agona East Constituency has suffered from a limited socio-economic development as a result of split-ticket voting behaviour

Contribution to literature:

Again, the study has also contributed to literature on voting behaviour in general and split-ticket voting behaviour in particular. It can be inferred from the literature that most

of the studies conducted on split-ticket voting behaviour were focused on horizontal split-ticket voting where voters vote for two congressional representatives from different parties. However, this study contributed to research by looking at the vertical split-ticket voting where a voter selects presidential and legislative candidates from different political parties. Within the existing literature, studies paid more attention to these implications of split-ticket voting behaviour in the developed economies. The first one had to do with the creation of a divided government. This occurs when different levels of government are controlled by different political parties which makes it more difficult to pass legislation. The second implication focused on lack of accountability in government. When different parties control different branches of government, it becomes difficult for the electorate to hold the elected officials answerable for their actions. Increased in political polarization was another implication of split-ticket voting behaviour identified in the literature. When voters are more likely to vote for candidates from different parties, it becomes harder to find common ground between different political factions. It was again found in the literature that split-ticket voting behaviour brings about political diversity. Previous studies did not look at the nature of the relationship that is likely to exist between a DCE and an opposition MP which subsequently affects their responsibilities and performances and also, the impact split-ticket voting behaviour has on socio-economic development outcomes which was revealed through the findings to be a negative one. The study however fills these literature gaps by providing findings on the negative impact of spit-ticket voting behaviour.

5.3. Limitations of the Study

It is important to point out that the findings from the study presented in this thesis should be considered in the light of following limitations:

First, although only 375 questionnaires were usable, due to time and resource constraints, the survey was based on the views of 382 voters randomly selected from 21 electoral areas in the Agona East Constituency in the Central region. Although split-ticket voting behaviour is prevalent in 33 constituencies across the 16 regions as at during the 2020 general elections. The implication of split-ticket voting behaviour may slightly differ from one region to another. Therefore, because the study was not able to cover all the 33 constituencies in Ghana, generalization of the results is limited to the study area.

Second, the selection of the Civil Society Organization namely Ghana Centre for Democratic Development as well as the selection of the party executives, opinion leaders, DCE, MP and NCCE official for the qualitative study were all done purposively. This means that the adoption of the purposive sampling technique to select the institutions limited the chances of other equally good institutions to take part in the study. This indicated that there was a response bias and therefore, once conclusions drawn were based on the views expressed by these selected officials, it also limits the generalization of the outcomes of the study to another environment.

It must also be pointed out that the qualitative component of the study was analyzed and interpreted subjectively and the conclusions may be tainted with researcher's own biases. However, as a way to reduce the extent to which the researcher's own biases can influence the results from this study, attempts were made to ensure that questions meant for all the participants were asked in the same way and further ensured that outcomes of the interviews were recorded objectively and accurately.

5.4. Avenues for Future Research

Findings from this study have indeed added a new to the scholarly works on split-ticket voting behaviour in Ghana and globally. However, because it was not able to cover all split-ticket constituencies in the country, generalization of the results is limited. There is also the need for further study across the other constituencies excluded from this study to check the veracity of these outcomes. It is also recommended that further research can be done to answer the following lingering questions:

- (i) Why has there been an upsurge of split-ticket voting behaviour in Ghana's general elections?
- (ii) Why does split-ticket voting behaviour also persist in core regions and not only in the swing regions in Ghana?

5.5. Conclusions

In conclusion, it is clear from the study that there are several factors which determine the intentions of voters to engage in split-ticket voting. This study reveals that the factors identified in the literature except of clientelism play significant roles in the voting decisions of split-ticket voters in the Agona East Constituency. The findings from the study lead to the conclusion that split-ticket voters base their voting choices on the personality traits of a candidate, the campaign message, and the performance of the ruling government as well as the gender of a candidate. These findings of the study adequately addressed the research hypotheses by confirming some and refuting one.

Again, although many scholars have come out with numerous implications of split-ticket voting behaviour, evidence from this study suggests that the negative implications of this voting behaviour were left out in the literature. The results from the study point to the fact that split-ticket voting behaviour plays a key role in reducing the

rate of socio-economic development in areas noted for this voting behaviour. The issues which have been highlighted by the study provide a major source of concern. This is because more and more constituencies are opting for split-ticket voting in every general election and the partisan nature of Ghana's politics can lead to a deprivation of socio-economic development outcomes of many citizens. It is imperative for the national cake to be shared equally, irrespective of voting choices. In order to safeguard the country's nascent democracy, every effort must be made to encourage citizen to exercise their franchise freely and objectively. The fight against the introduction of money in Ghanaian politics can be won easily if voters are encouraged to exercise their voting rights independently. Distribution of national resources must not be tied to where politicians can garner more votes but rather it must be based on needs assessment.

5.6. Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, a number of measures have been recommended for consideration and policy actions.

Firstly, it is recommended that the research department of political parties in Ghana must be strengthened in order to have the capacity to carry out comprehensive studies in all constituencies before general elections. This will enable them to ascertain what factors will influence the voting choices of voters in their respective constituencies. By so doing, they will be able to tailor their campaign activities accordingly and avoid one side fit all style of campaign they have been waging over the years.

It is also recommended that the media, Civil Society Organizations and Ghanaians in general must start a sustained campaign to promote the widespread of split-ticket voting behaviour. This is because the straight ticket voting behaviour which majority of voters in Ghana have been engaging in have emboldened politicians to take voters for granted.

When the politicians know that voters in their so-called strongholds are willing to cross party lines and hold them accountable for their actions, they are more likely to prioritize the developmental needs of the people they represent.

Again, to foster a cordial relationship between a DCE and an opposition MP in a constituency that engages in split-ticket voting behaviour, it is recommended that the state must ensure the strict enforcement of the Local Government Act-1993 (Act 462). The Act clearly spells out the mandate and responsibilities of both the District Chief Executive and Member of Parliament in the District. The Act 462 has also provided sufficient measures to ensure that these two political heads work together to promote the development of the district. As long as there is a strict enforcement and adherence to the Act, these two political actors will be able to live harmoniously and to promote socio-economic development outcomes in the constituency.

The CSOs can create platforms for regular dialogues as well as accountability fora to get both political heads to be able to respond to some socio-economic challenges that are confronting the constituents.

It is also suggested that the election of the District Chief Executives in Ghana will go a long way to compel them to be more accountable to their people than to their political parties and this will reduce the tension between the two political figures in the constituency.

Again, to tackle the negative impact associated with split-ticket voting behaviour requires the active participation of the civil society organizations and media. The civil society organizations must help to advocate for equal sharing of resources across all constituencies from the central government. The media on the other hand must also help in demanding accountability from the politicians. The study recommends that the civil society organizations and media must take keen interest in the socio-economic

development of constituencies that engages in split-ticket voting behaviour. The regular and effective monitoring of such constituencies by these institutions promote accountability on the part of politicians. As Norton and Foster (2001) argue, civil society organizations play a vital role in ensuring that development and accountability are promoted in a country. The findings from a study by Domingo (2005) also showed the media and civil society organizations can do so much to reduce partisan politics in the governing process.

It is also recommended that to sustain socio-economic development in the midst of split-ticket voting behaviour, the NCCE should intensify public education to encourage citizens to demand from politicians what is theirs. Every constituency is entitled to enjoy socio-economic development outcomes irrespective of their political affiliations. Thus, the provision of socio-economic development outcomes should not be based on the electoral fortune of a ruling government.



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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ELECTORATE

Consent Information

I am an Mphil student at the Department of Political Science Education, University of Education, Winneba. I am undertaking a study on the topic: “**Split-ticket voting behaviour and socio-economic development in Ghana: A case of Agona East Constituency**”. This questionnaire is designed to solicit information from electorate on the determinants of split-ticket voting in the Agona East Constituency. The information required is strictly for academic purpose, therefore any information provided would be treated with the utmost confidentiality and shall be used only for the intended purpose. It will be much appreciated if you could spare some time to complete this questionnaire. Thank you.

Section A: Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Sex: M [] F []

Age: 18-25 [] 26-33 [] 34-41 [] 42-49 [] 50 and above []

Marital Status: Married [] Unmarried [] Divorced []

Educational Level: No formal education [] JHS [] SHS [] Tertiary []

Employment Status: Employed [] Unemployed []

Section B: Determinants of Split-Ticket (Skirt & Blouse) Voting Behaviour

Please respond to the questions by ticking (√) in the box right option, using the Likert scale below.

SD = Strongly disagree, D = Disagree, N = Neutral, A = Agree, SA = Strongly Agree

Construct and Items	Responses				
	SD	D	N	A	SA
PERSONALITY TRAITS OF THE CANDIDATE					
Trustworthiness of a candidate is something I consider when making a voting decision.					
I consider how honest a candidate is in my voting decision making					
I will vote for a candidate that is compassionate					
CLIENTELISM					
I will consider a gift from a person in my voting decision making					
Money from a candidate influences my voting decision.					
People consider valuable items given by a candidate when considering whom to vote for					
CAMPAIGN MESSAGE					
Campaign message of a candidate is of importance to me.					
People consider campaign message of a candidate when making a voting decision.					
PERFORMANCE OF THE RULING GOVERNMENT/INCUMBENT					
The government of the day or the incumbent has built more schools in the constituency					
The government or incumbent has provided more jobs in the constituency					
The government of the day or incumbent has provided more health facilities in the constituency					
GENDER OF THE CANDIDATE					
The gender of a candidate is an important thing to me in voting					
INTENTION TO ENGAGE IN SPLIT-TICKET VOTING (SKIRT AND BLOUSE)					

I am willing to vote “skirt and blouse”					
I intend to participate in split-ticket voting					
I will make an effort to vote for candidates from different political parties.					



**Appendix B: Interview Guide for DCE, MP, Opinion Leaders and Political Party
Officials in the Constituency**

I am an Mphil student at the Department of Political Science Education, University of Education, Winneba. I am conducting a study on the topic: **“Split-ticket voting behaviour and socio-economic development in Ghana: A case of Agona East Constituency”**. You were selected as a possible participant because of your knowledge in the subject of study. Please read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

If you agree to be in this study, I will ask you to do the following things: Be present for an interview and willing to discuss the nature of the relationship between the District Chief Executive and the opposition Member of Parliament and the implications of split-ticket voting behaviour on socio-economic development in the Agona East Constituency. Be willing to allow audio recording this interview which may last 40 minutes, and to allow information that was gained from this interview to be placed within a research project. Your name and identifying traits will be kept confidential throughout this process.

The study has no direct risks or benefits and the records of this study will be kept confidential.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without penalty. Should you decide to withdraw, data collected about you will not be used. You are also free to skip any question that may be asked at any time.

Statement of Consent:

I have read the above information. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I consent to participate in the study and to be audio taped.

Signature of Study Participant Date

Signature of Researcher Date

Part I – The Nature of Relationship between the District Chief Executive and the opposition Member of Parliament

1. What is the nature of voting behaviour in this constituency?
2. What are the reasons behind the voting behaviour in the constituency?
3. How will you describe the relationship between the District Chief Executive and the opposition Member of Parliament?
4. How often do you see the District Chief Executive and the Opposition Member of Parliament working together?
5. How does split-ticket voting behaviour account for the kind of relationship that exists between the District Chief Executive and the opposition Member of Parliament?
6. Does split-ticket voting behaviour affect the performance of the District Chief Executive and the opposition Member of Parliament in any way? If yes, why If no, explain your reason
7. What are the possible challenges to be encountered if the District Chief Executive and Member of Parliament are not from the same political party?
8. How do you see the future of their relationships?

Part II – The Implication of Split-ticket Voting Behaviour on Socio-economic Development

9. What is your view on the provision of the following development outcomes in the constituency
 - (a) Provision of health and sanitation facilities
 - (b) Provision of educational facilities
 - (c) Creation of employment opportunities for the constituents
10. How will you describe the performance of the Member of Parliament in terms of the provision of the above development outcomes?
11. What will you say about the performance of the District Assembly in relation to the provision of the above-mentioned development outcomes?
12. What can be done to sustain the socio-economic development if split-ticket voting behaviour continues in this constituency?

13. In your opinion what drives a government to provide development outcomes such health, education and employment opportunities in a constituency?
14. How do you see the future of the constituency in terms of socio-economic development?

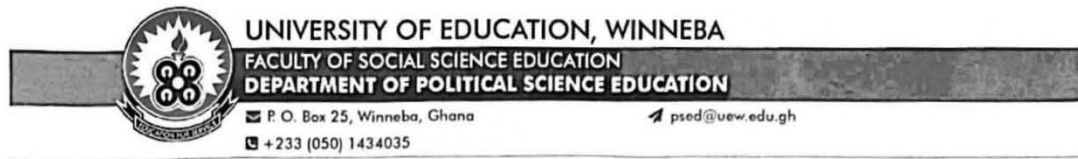


**Appendix C: Interview Guide for Civil Society Organizations Representatives,
NCCE Official and Policy Experts**

**Assessing the relationship between District Chief Executive and opposition
Member of Parliament and its impact on socio-economic development**

1. What is your understanding of split-ticket voting behaviour?
2. What are the reasons behind this voting behaviour in Ghana?
3. How will you describe the possible relationship that can exist between a District Chief Executive and opposition Member of Parliament?
4. In your opinion to what extent can split-ticket voting behaviour account for the kind of relationship that will exist between a District Chief Executive and opposition Member of Parliament?
5. Can split-ticket voting behaviour affect the performance of the District Chief Executive and opposition Member of Parliament in any constituency? If yes, why If no, explain your reason
6. Do you think split-ticket voting behaviour has any impact on the level of a constituency's development outcomes such as health, education and employment opportunities?
7. What can be done to promote development outcomes in a constituency that engages in split-ticket voting behaviour?
8. What can be done to maintain a cordial relation between a District Chief Executive and an opposition Member of Parliament?
9. How do you see the future of their relationships?

Appendix D: Letter of introduction



16th June, 2023

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam,

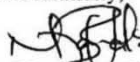
LETTER OF INTRODUCTION: MS. ABIGAIL EDZENUNYE ATUWO

This is to introduce to you Ms. Abigail Edzenunye Atuwu from the Department of Political Science Education, University of Education, Winneba. She is undertaking a study on the topic: **Split-Ticket Voting Behavior and Socio-Economic Development in Ghana: A Case of Agona East Constituency.**

This researcher needs your help by way of volunteering information on this subject to enable him to complete her research. Please, the research is purely for academic purposes and all information is treated as confidential.

Kindly give her the necessary assistance she may need.

Yours faithfully,


DEPT. OF POLITICAL SCIENCE EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION
P. O. BOX 25
WINNEBA
Ms. Magdalene Nyarko
For: Ag. HOD, Political Science.

