Choosing Between Past and the Future: A Survey-Based Analysis of Voter Intention and Choice in Ghana's 2024 Presidential Election

Gbensuglo Alidu Bukari (Corresponding Author)

Department of Political Science, University for Development Studies, Tamale

E-mail: gbukari@uds.edu.gh

Maclean Ninsaw Gbati

Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, Legon-Accra,

E-mail: mngbati@st.ug.edu.gh

Naazia Ibrahim

Department of Political Science, University for Development Studies, Tamale

E-mail: inaazia@uds.edu.gh

Abstract

The 2024 Ghanaian presidential election presents a critical juncture for voters as they weigh past governance performance against future policy promises. The study aims to contribute to the broader discourse on democratic accountability, voter psychology, and electoral dynamics in emerging African democracies. It examines voter intentions and choices through a survey-based analysis, exploring the factors influencing electoral decisions, such as retrospective evaluations of incumbent performance, prospective assessments of opposition candidates, and socioeconomic considerations. Using this approach, the study investigates whether Ghanaian voters would prioritise past experiences (performance-based voting) or future expectations (policy-based voting) in their electoral behaviour in the 2024 presidential election. Ghana's 2024 presidential election presents a critical test of democratic decision-making, as voters weigh retrospective evaluations of past governance against prospective assessments of future policy directions. This study employs a nationally

representative survey (N=600) to analyse voter intentions and choices. The results show voters prioritised past performance, particularly in economic management. The findings suggest that electoral success in Ghana's competitive democracy requires balancing accountability for past governance with credible future policy alternatives.

1. Introduction

Ghana, a unitary English-speaking country in West Africa, achieved independence from Britain on March 6, 1957. Over the next 27 years, the nation experienced political instability marked by multiple military coups, some successful, others not, beginning with the first coup on February 24, 1966. This turbulent period ended on January 7, 1993, when Ghana restored democratic governance under the 1992 Fourth Republican Constitution, holding presidential and parliamentary elections that same year (Bratton & van de Walle, 1997; Bukari, 2023). Since then, Ghana has enjoyed relative political stability for over three decades, with no military interventions. While occasional localized conflicts linked to political and developmental issues arise, the overall environment has remained peaceful. At the national level, Ghana's Fourth Republic has evolved into a highly competitive two-party system dominated by the ruling New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the opposition National Democratic Congress (NDC). This system is marked by continuous election campaigns and fierce political rivalry (Nugent, 2007; Afrobarometer, 2023; Bukari, Eliasu, & Adam, 2024; Bukari, Millar & Akolga, 2025).

Arguably, Ghana's fourth republican electoral democracy is widely regarded as one of Africa's most stable. The 2024 Ghanaian election occurs amid economic challenges, governance controversies, and heightened public expectations, making voter decision-making particularly complex, with economic challenges including high inflation, debt distress, and unemployment. Voters navigate this tension between retrospective and prospective voting (Fiorina, 1981; Aldrich, 1993; Lewis-Beck & Stegmaier, 2000; Bukari, 2022; Bukari, Millar, & Akolga, 2025), contributing to broader debates on electoral accountability in emerging democracies. But elections often present a critical juncture in the nation's democratic journey as voters weigh historical allegiances against future aspirations. Against a backdrop of economic challenges, shifting political loyalties, and evolving voter priorities, this study seeks to unravel the key drivers of voter intention and choice in the Ghanaian 2024 Presidential election. While existing studies have analysed electoral behaviour in Ghana, few have explicitly examined the tension between retrospective voting (based on past government performance) and prospective voting (based on future policy proposals). Additionally, the role of socioeconomic factors and voter intentions remains underexplored in the context of the 2024 Presidential election.

1) Would the Ghanaian voter prioritise choosing between the past and the future in the 2024 presidential election?

2) How would an undecided voter rationalise his or her choice, and what factors could sway this decision in Ghana's 2024 presidential election?

This study was relevant because the 2024 Ghanaian presidential election presents a pivotal choice for voters between rewarding past government performance or opting for opposition-led change. Grounded in rational choice theory, the study employs a survey-based analysis to examine how Ghanaian voters weigh costs, benefits, and expected utility when deciding between incumbent and opposition candidates in Ghana's 2024 general election (Jebuni & Bukari, 2025; Bukari, Arah & Botchway, 2025). By analysing voter intentions through the lens of instrumental rationality, the study addresses the above empirical questions and

investigates whether electoral choices in the 2024 Ghanaian presidential election would be driven by retrospective evaluations (past performance) or prospective calculations (future policy outcomes) while considering socioeconomic constraints and informational asymmetries. The study therefore aims to deepen understanding of voter behaviour in emerging democracies, offering insights into how strategic incentives would shape electoral accountability in the Ghanaian 2024 Presidential election. The rest of the paper is organised as follows. The next section is the theory and hypothesis, and this is followed by the study methodology, findings and discussion, conclusion and policy recommendations, and cited references.

2. Literature Review

Presidential election surveys in African democratic elections have been carried out by many political researchers. For instance, Bratton, Dulani, and Masunungure (2016) found that competitive elections are happening more and more in countries all over the world, even in places that aren't democracies. They looked at the elections in Zimbabwe in July 2013, where Robert Mugabe won his seventh term as president with a big 61 percent of the vote. His political party, the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), also won most of the seats in the House of Assembly (Bratton et al., 2016). In Africa, younger and urbanised voters increasingly prioritise issues like job creation and governance reforms (Bratton, 2013), suggesting a shift from purely retrospective assessments.

Ghana returned to multi-party democracy in 1992 and has since organised nine (9) successful presidential elections. Ghana's political landscape has been characterised by competitive elections between the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC), with voters often oscillating between rewarding incumbents for past performance or opting for opposition promises of change. Ghana's two-party system (NPP vs. NDC) has historically seen alternating power shifts, with elections often decided by swing voters in competitive regions (Ichino & Nathan, 2013). Recent studies highlight growing voter disillusionment with partisan politics, making economic messaging crucial (Bob-Milliar, 2014; Asekere, 2021; Bukari, Eliasu & Adam, 2024).

In electoral literature, retrospective voting theory posits that voters assess incumbent performance, particularly on economic issues, when deciding whether to re-elect or replace a government (Key, 1966; Fiorina, 1981). In Ghana, research shows that economic conditions significantly influence electoral outcomes (Fridy, 2013), with voters punishing incumbents for poor economic management (Whitfield et al., 2015; Dunning et al., 2019). Prospective voting emphasizes future policy promises over past performance (Downs, 1957).

Elections in Ghana during the Fourth Republican Era from 1992 to 2024 have generated keen interest among competing parties and stakeholders (Gyimah-Boadi & Debrah, 2021; Bukari 2022). To make predictions about the 2024 presidential election outcome, it is important to use the political economy theory that can guide us to make useful and accurate predictions given the enormous interactions between politics, economics, and other aspects of society.

3. Theory and Hypothesis

Democracy is based on the notion that all citizens have equal rights to participate and vote in

an election and to be voted for in a democratic State, and that every citizen's input is of equal importance (Polsby, Wildavsky & Hopkins, 2008). Voting in a democratic election can accurately be assessed by several theories, but this paper is discussed within the framework of the economic theory of democracy (Riker & Ordeshook, 1968; Downs, 1957; Bukari, 2022). The economically rational voter approach to understanding and analysing voter participation in elections was first formally developed by Downs (1957). Downs suggests that the individual citizen rationally chooses to vote to pursue his or her self-interest. This rational voter is largely concerned with the policies that an elected government will implement in terms of the benefits they get from voting (Kramon, 2016). The rational voter has preferences for a policy that he/she most prefers; deviations from this policy lead to less satisfaction for that voter.

Given the volatility of the electorate and the ever-changing nature of the political landscape, it is incredibly difficult to make reasoned assumptions about how people will vote in the future and the factors that are likely to be influential (Schedler, 2013). However, using the rational choice model, we can identify certain key developments that might play some role in Ghana's 2024 presidential election. The rational choice model recognises that most voters, particularly the swing voters, are not identified with any political party. For this category of voters, votes are up for grabs (Weghorst & Lindberg, 2013). The rational voter then decides how to vote based on a series of judgments made about several relevant factors (Downs, 1957; Weghorst and Lindberg, 2013). As an aid for the study, we have reduced these factors to 4Ps (past performance, policies, personality, party unity, and other considerations). Suffice it to say that these factors provide a convincing explanation of why certain parties won and lost elections. About the 2024 Ghanaian presidential election, we placed some recent developments, such free senior school policy debate and the preference for the vice-presidential candidate, into a voting behaviour perspective.

Past performance. This is potentially the most important factor in that the electorate places a great deal of importance on the ability of a government to manage the economy in the 2024 presidential context in Ghana. The key question was not just, Is the economy better now than it was at the time of the last election? but rather, who do you think is the best presidential candidate to manage the economy? Consequently, the key issue is economic competence or credibility. However, the ruling NPP candidate could still win the presidential election, even if the country is in recession, if the electorate believes that their policies are better than those of their rivals. This will invite a consideration of the effectiveness to date, and consequently, this assessment of the track record of the government can also be termed *retrospective voting* (Stokes, 2005; Lindberg & Morrison, 2008; Bukari, 2022)*.*

Policies. The electorate could also look to the future and gauge which party they prefer. This can be termed *prospective voting*. A central issue in this regard is the state of public opinion in the sense that they may have moved to the right or the left (Stokes, 2005; Bukari, 2022; Bukari, Eliasu & Adam, 2024; Bukari, Adua & Alhassan, 2023). There are clear links to economic competence mentioned above as well. There is considerable debate at the moment as to whether or not the public has become less sympathetic to the plight of the poor and others as the recession has continued and played into the hands of the ruling NPP party's chances in the 2024

presidential election.

Personality. Given the increased role of the mass media as a means of political communication and information, elections in Ghana have acquired a growing presidential quality with a focus on the leadership of the two parties (NDC and NPP) (Bukari, Adua & Alhassan, 2023). In Ghana's 2024 presidential election, the personal qualities of the main opposition presidential candidate (John Dramani Mahama) and the ruling party candidate who doubles as the country's vice President (Dr Mahammud Bawumia) could prove crucial. However, polls have shown that John Dramani Mahama was preferred to Dr. Mahammud Bawumia, and there have been signs that the NDC campaign would focus on Bawumia's personality as opposed to the party's policies as part of their election strategy in the 2024 presidential election campaign.

Party Unity. The ruling New Patriotic Party (NPP) has been rather divided since the party's internal primary elections to select both parliamentary and presidential candidates for the 20204 General elections. There have been significant backbench rebellions over the internal primary election issues. The opposition National Democratic Congress (NDC) has maintained a fair degree of unity. The shadow cabinet (the NDC) was more united than the ruling NPP and won the public trust and sympathy over the NPP's chaos.

It should, however, be noted that no single factor alone can provide an adequate explanation of voting behaviour, but rather it is a combination of factors over the medium term that serve to act as the key influences upon the electorate. An economically rational voter assesses his/her net benefit from voting, which is equal to the preferred election outcome of that individual multiplied by the probability that his/her vote will affect that outcome. Also, it is political parties and candidates that structure the choices available to the voting public. Voters have beliefs about what is best for them and/or society, and they act accordingly based on the information provided by the political parties and candidates. Hence, participation is likely to increase in situations where voters are provided with adequate information about choices by the political parties. Given the very small probability that his/her vote will affect the 2024 Ghanaian presidential outcome, we postulate the following hypothesis:

H_0: Improving the economic and political situation in a democracy is expected to be positively associated with voter intention and participation in party politics. That is, the greater the positive economic and political change, the greater the probability of citizens' political participation in the election.

H_1: The worsening economic and political situation in a democracy is expected to be positively associated with the change in voter intention and participation in party politics. That is, the greater the negative economic and political change in a democratic society, the greater the probability of citizens' disillusionment with political participation.

4. Methodology

This study employed a cross-sectional design using a multi-stage cluster sampling approach. Ghana was divided into three electoral zones, Northern, Middle, and Coastal, from which six constituencies (two per zone) were randomly selected. Data collection took place from November 1 to November 30, 2024, with 100 randomly selected respondents surveyed in

each constituency, totaling 600 respondents. The target population included registered voters aged 18 and above, as listed in Ghana's 2024 Electoral Commission voter register. Key assumptions guided the sampling process:

1) A 95% confidence level, ensuring a 5% margin of error, meaning there was a 95% probability that findings accurately reflected the population.

2) A 90% expected response rate, accounting for potential non-responses.

3) A 50-50 response probability, assuming an equal likelihood of participation.

4) Only eligible registered voters (18+ years) were included.

The minimum sample size was determined using the formula:

$$n = \frac{N}{(1+N(\alpha^2))} \qquad (1)$$

Where:

n = sample size

N = total registered voters (18,774,159)

α = margin of error (0.05)

Substituting the values yielded a base sample of 400. To account for non-responses, 200 additional respondents were included, resulting in a final sample size of 600. The survey captures voter priorities, perceptions of incumbent performance, and expectations from opposition candidates. Conducted from November 1 to November 30, 2024, the study used a multi-stage cluster sampling approach, with respondents selected from three geographical zones: the northern, middle, and coastal regions of Ghana. The sample included registered voters aged 18 and above, ensuring a statistically representative cross-section of the electorate. With just over a month until the 2024 elections, this survey offers a comprehensive snapshot of the political landscape. The findings suggest that the NDC is poised for victory, with the economy and job creation being top priorities for voters. While support for the NPP remains strong, the NDC's early lead could position them for a decisive first-round win.

5. Findings

First, the data revealed that 72.2 percent of the respondents were male and 27.8 percent of them were female. This indicates that, when it comes to election surveys in Ghana, men are more interested than women.
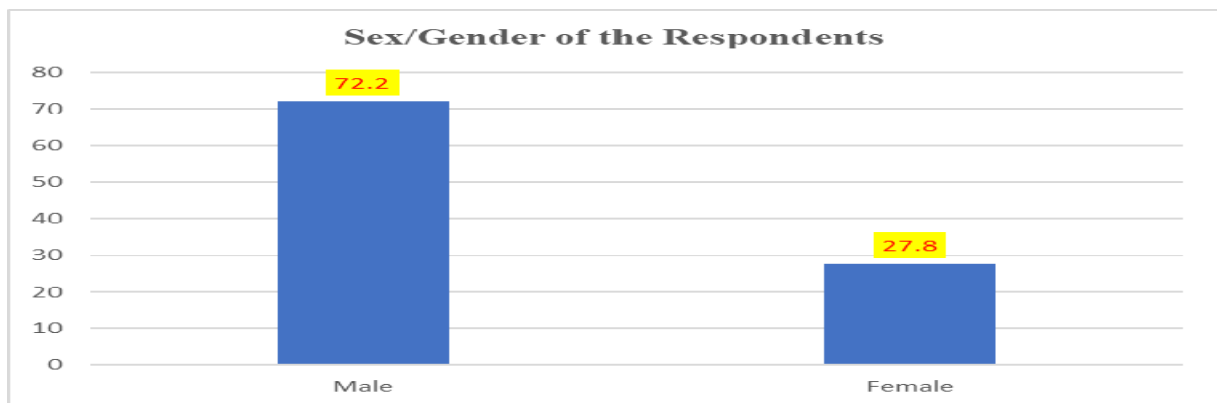
Figure 1. Sex/Gender of the Respondents

Source: Field Data, November 1-November 30, 2024.

Also, out of the 600 respondents in the survey, most of them fall within the middle age brackets, and this vindicates the position of the voters that the major factor they would consider in the 2024 general elections is the economy. This revealed that the working class will always look at their living conditions before casting their votes. This position has been vindicated by the number of people within the age group of 31–40 and 41–50, with a percentage aggregate of 59.2 percent. The respondents who fall within the age group of 18–20 and 21–30 years also constituted an aggregate of 30.2 percent, and those from 51–60 and 60 and above also made up only 10.6 percent. This is shown in the figure below.
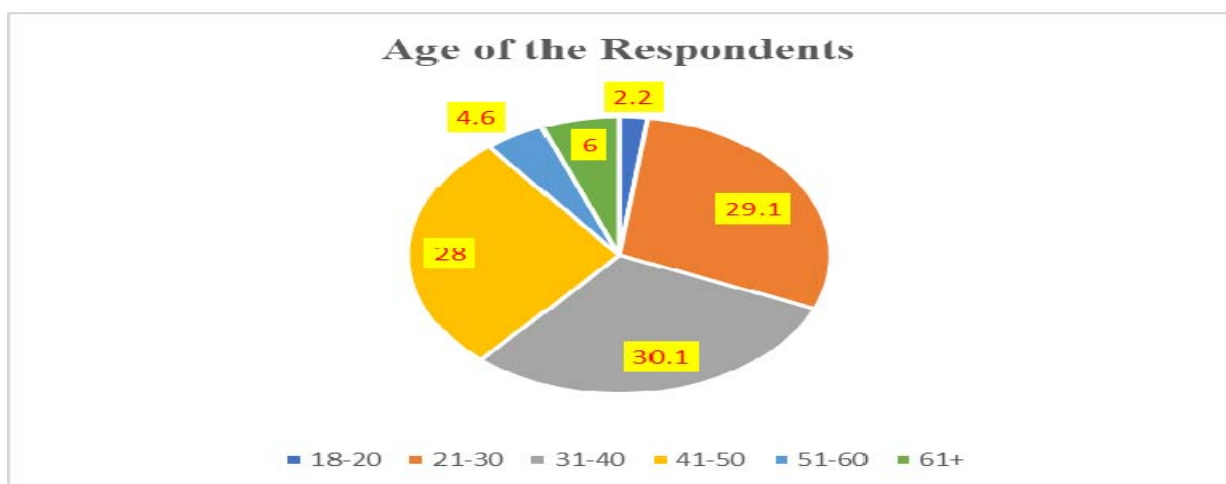
Figure 2. Age of the Respondents

Source: Field Data, November 1-November 30, 2024.

Further, the data revealed that most of the respondents are graduates and have completed school from various tertiary institutions. While the number constituted 45 percent of the total respondents, those from colleges followed with 28 percent of the total respondents. In addition, while 15 percent of the total respondents constituted those from secondary education, those with basic education and those with none in total made up 11 percent. This indicates the fact that the educated and the elites are more interested in elections and their outcomes than those with basic or no education.
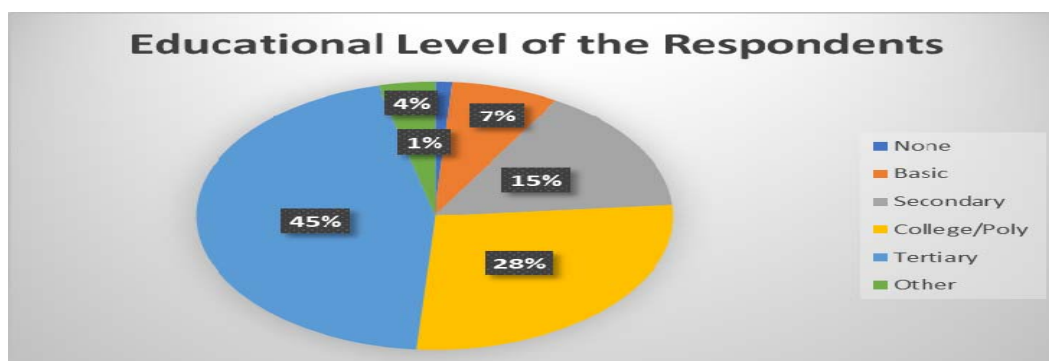
Figure 3. Educational Level of the Respondents

Source: Field Data, November 1-November 30, 2024.

The study again discovered that most of the respondents are from the public sector and are formally employed by the government in different sectors and agencies. In the study, they constituted a total of 47.1 percent of the 100 responses. This was followed by students with a total response of 24.5 percent. This also vindicates the fact that economic issues played a very vital role in Ghana's 2024 general elections. Those in the working class and students were the most affected in the last 8 years economy of the previous administration, when over 50% of their income went into food and transportation. This was also followed by the unemployed, who constituted 14.6 percent, and private businesses with 13.8 percent.
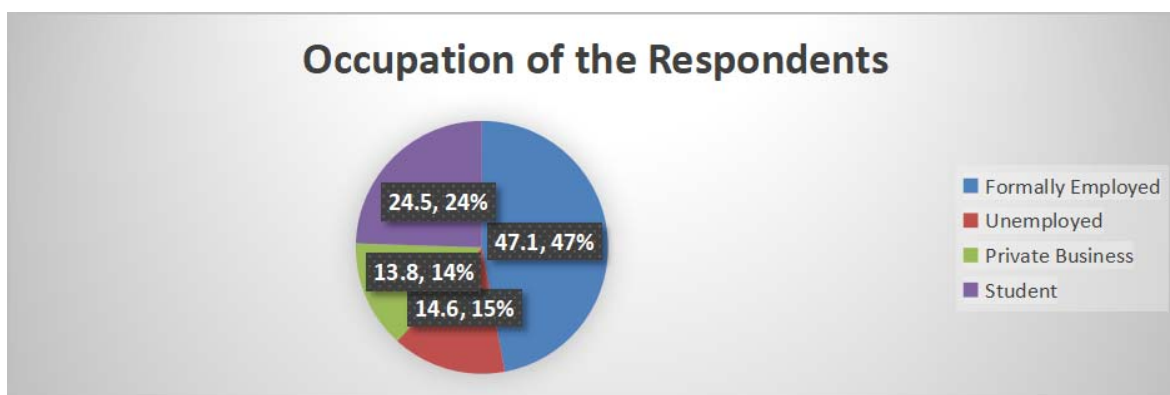

Figure 4. Occupation of the Respondents

Source: Field Data, November 1-November 30, 2024.

The data revealed that in line with marital status, the majority of the respondents, constituting 47.2 percent, were single, and married respondents were 34.5 percent. This also vindicates the fact that when people feel that the economy they live in is very severe towards them, they find it very difficult to settle down as married couples. Even those who get married turn to experience a high rate of divorce. The study discovered that 8.7 percent of the respondents are divorced, and only 5.1 percent and 4.5 percent are widows and engaged, respectively.
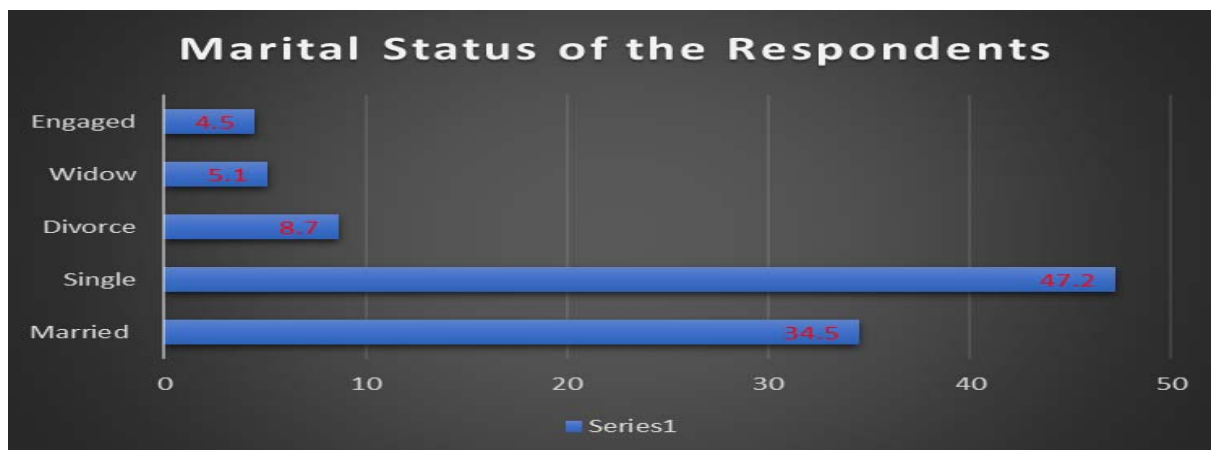
Figure 5. Marital Status of the Respondents

Source: Field Data, November 1-November 30, 2024.

The study revealed that 86.5 percent of the respondents said they would vote and 13.5 percent of the respondents indicated that they would not be voting in the 2024 general elections. That notwithstanding the research still showed that many people have faith in Ghana's democracy and will also come out in their numbers to make their choice whenever they are called to do so.
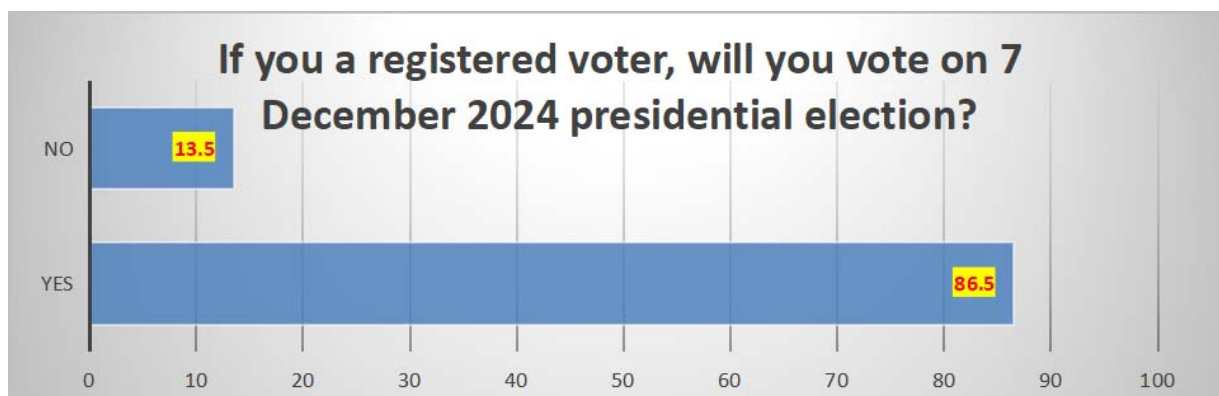

Figure 6. If you are a registered voter, would you vote on 7 December 2024

Source: Field Data, November 1-November 30, 2024.

The survey also found that voters place significant weight on past performance (34.5%), party policies (23.3%), and candidates' personalities.
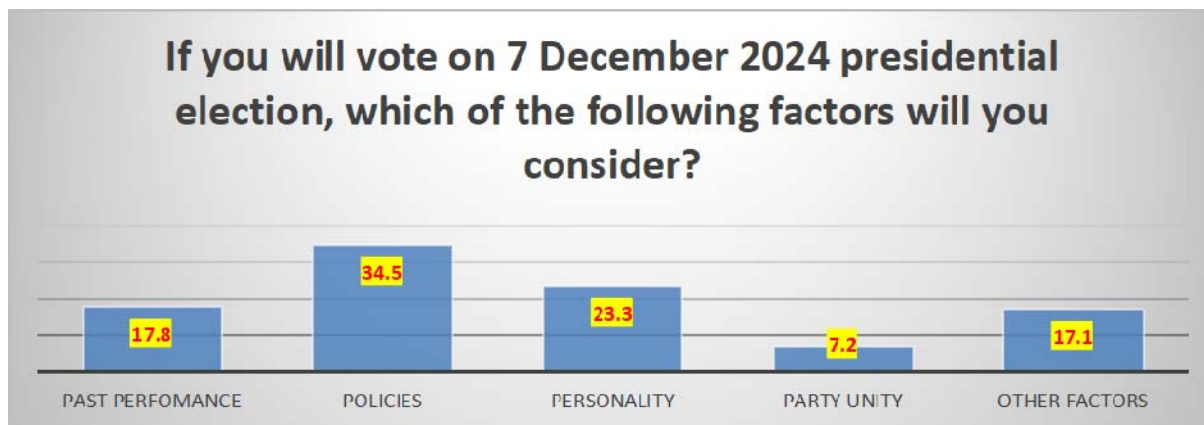

Figure 7. Factors that will influence voters on 7 December 2024

Source: Field Data, November 1-November 30, 2024.

The implementation of the Free Senior High School (SHS) policy remains a crucial issue for voters in the 2024 presidential elections. The survey found that 71 percent of the respondents rated the policy implementation as either good or poor, and only 29 percent rated it as either excellent or very good.
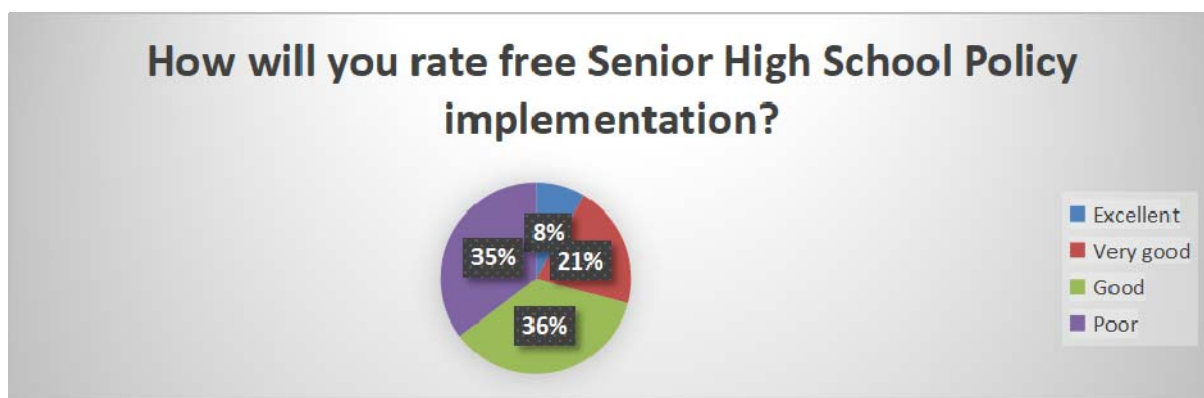

Figure 8. Respondents' Rate of Free Senior High School Policy Implementation

Source: Field Data, November 1-November 30, 2024.

The study also found that the vast majority of 89.89 percent responded that the free SHS policy should be reviewed, and only 11.11 percent said the policy should not be reviewed.
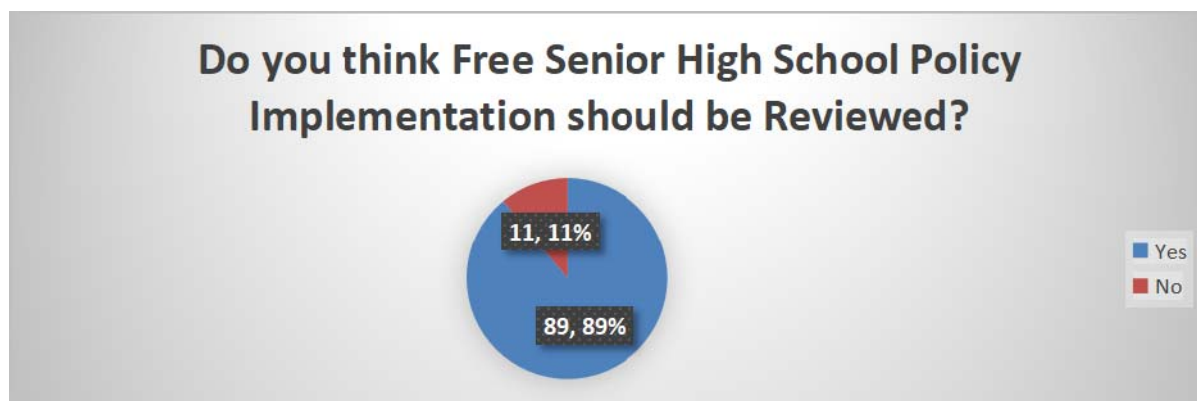
Figure 9. Respondents' View on the Review of Free Senior High School Policy Implementation

Source: Field Data, November 1-November 30, 2024.

The study identified several key issues influencing voter decisions. The economy was the dominant concern, with 62.6 percent of the respondents ranking it as the most important factor. This was followed by job creation (16.3%), education (16%), and health (3%).
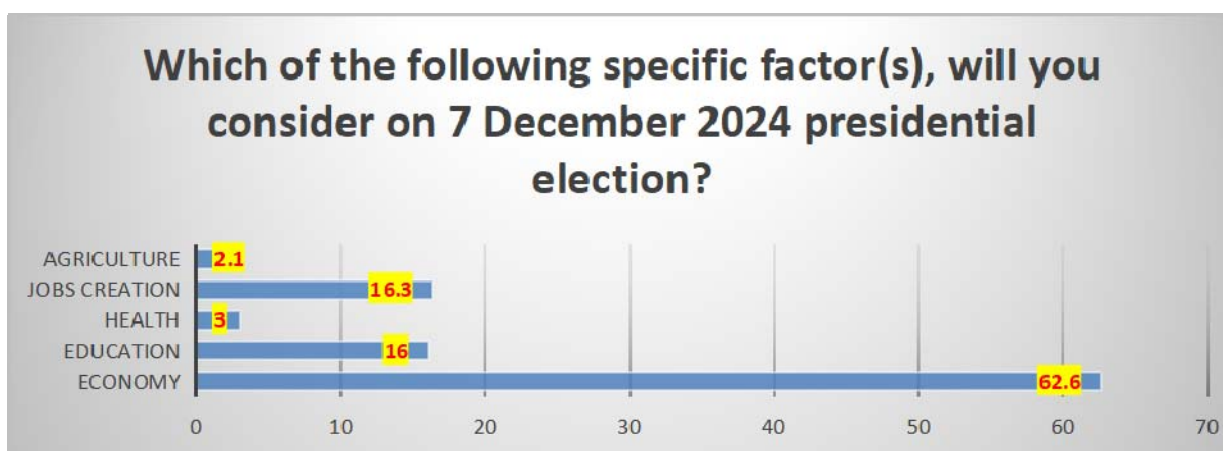

Figure 10. Specific Issues of Voters' Consideration on 7 December 2024

Source: Field Data, November 1-November 30, 2024.

Data revealed that out of the two major presidential candidates between the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP), 57.4 percent of the respondents said the choice of the NDC in the 2024 general elections was a result of the influence of Professor Jean Naana Opoku Agyemang and 27.5 percent of the respondents indicated that their choice for the NPP was influenced by Dr. Matthew Opoku Prempeh. Only 15.1 percent of the respondents indicated that their choice is influenced by other vice-presidential candidates.
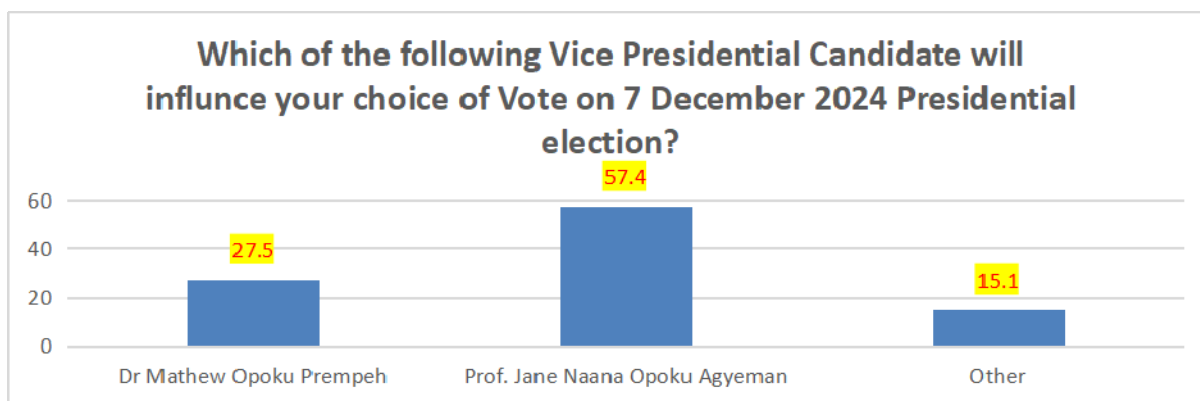
Figure 11. Respondents' Choice of Vice-Presidential Candidate

Source: Field Data, November 1-November 30, 2024.

The study, which surveyed 600 respondents across six swing constituencies in Ghana in the 2024 presidential election, showed a clear preference for the NDC presidential candidate, with 57.4 percent of the respondents expressing support. In contrast, 27.5 percent favoured the New Patriotic Party (NPP) candidate, and 15.1 percent indicated they would vote for other candidates.

Figure 12. Respondents' Choice of Presidential Candidate on 7 December 20204

Source: Field Data, November 1-November 30, 2024

5.1 Key Findings

A majority of voters (particularly older demographics) rely heavily on past government performance, especially in economic management and anti-corruption efforts. Floating voters who constitute a decisive bloc are most swayed by short-term economic conditions, including inflation and job availability. Voting intentions diverge sharply between urban and rural areas, with the former emphasizing governance reforms and the latter focusing on agricultural policies and infrastructure. A significant portion of voters base their decisions on past

government performance, particularly in areas like economic management, corruption, and service delivery.

Potential voters show a stronger preference for future-oriented policies, including job creation and digital transformation. Though NDC and NPP identification remains strong, swing voters are increasingly influenced by short-term economic conditions and candidate personality. Voting intentions vary significantly across regions, with urban voters prioritising economic policies, while rural voters focus on infrastructure and agricultural support.

6. Discussion

The study underscores a critical tension between memory and expectation in democratic decision-making. By empirically dissecting voter behaviour, it contributes to broader debates on electoral dynamics in emerging democracies, offering strategic insights for political actors, researchers, and civil society.

The findings confirm a spatial divide in voting behaviour, aligning with global trends where younger voters favor forward-looking agendas (Bratton, 2013). However, Ghana's economic struggles amplify retrospective accountability, reinforcing Fiorina's (1981) theory. The strong economic voting effect suggests that opposition parties must frame credible alternatives to capitalize on dissatisfaction (Fiorina, 1981; Aldrich,1993). The findings have provided valuable insights into Ghana's upcoming 2024 presidential elections, indicating a likely win for the National Democratic Congress (NDC). The survey, based on the rational choice model, explores the factors driving voter behavior, particularly among swing voters who remain unaffiliated with any political party.

The study, which surveyed 600 respondents across six swing constituencies, shows a clear preference for the NDC presidential candidate, with 57.4 percent of respondents expressing support. In contrast, 27.5 percent favored the New Patriotic Party (NPP) candidate, and 15.1 percent indicated they would vote for other candidates. With a 95 percent confidence level and a ±5peecent margin of error, the survey projects a 52.4 percent to 57.4 percent victory margin for the NDC candidate in the December 2024 election, suggesting that the contest could be decided in the first round without the need for a run-off. Voter turnout is expected to be high, with 75 to 80 percent of registered voters likely to cast their ballots.

The study identified several key issues influencing voter decisions. The economy was the dominant concern, with 62.6 percent of respondents ranking it as the most important factor. This was followed by job creation (16.3%), education (16%), and health (3%). The survey also found that voters place significant weight on past performance (34.5%), party policies (23.3%), and the personality of the candidates. The implementation of the Free Senior High School (SHS) policy remains a crucial issue for voters. The survey found that 71 percent of respondents rated the policy's implementation as either "excellent" or "very good." However, only 8 percent considered it "poor," and the vast majority, 89 percent, opposed any revisions to the policy.

The findings highlight a dynamic interplay between memory and expectation in Ghanaian politics. Political parties must balance legacy appeals with forward-looking agendas to secure

electoral success. The study also underscores the growing influence of undecided voters, suggesting that campaign strategies will play a decisive role in the election outcome. The study also reveals that while partisan loyalty remains strong, electoral outcomes will increasingly hinge on a candidate's ability to balance accountability for past actions with credible plans for future progress. Political parties must tailor their campaigns to address both retrospective grievances and prospective aspirations, particularly among undecided and youth voters.

Finally, the findings highlight a dynamic interplay between memory and expectation in Ghanaian politics. Political parties must balance legacy appeals with forward-looking agendas to secure electoral success. It underscores the growing influence of undecided voters, suggesting that campaign strategies could play a decisive role in the election outcome.

7. Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

This study involved a cross-sectional survey of 600 randomly selected respondents across six swing constituencies. The sample was chosen at a 95% confidence level with a 5% margin of error. Based on the responses, the projected voter turnout for the December 7, 2024, election is estimated at 80% (±5%). Among the respondents, 57.4% expressed support for the NDC presidential candidate, while 27.5% favored the NPP candidate, and 15.1% backed other candidates. Key factors influencing voter decisions included performance, policies, candidate personality, party unity, the economy, education, healthcare, employment, agriculture, and vice-presidential nominees. The findings suggest that, all else being equal, the NDC candidate is likely to win the presidential election with a projected margin of 52.4% to 57.4%. The chosen sample size was statistically sound, given the 95% confidence level and 5% margin of error. Additionally, the results indicate that the election will likely be decided in a single round, with no need for a runoff. Voter turnout is expected to range between 75% and 80% (±5%). The study highlights that voter choices in Ghana's December 2024 election will be shaped by factors such as past governance records, party manifestos, candidate appeal, party cohesion, economic conditions, education policies, healthcare, job creation, agricultural development, and vice-presidential selections.

The key conclusion is that results show that Ghana's 2024 election underscores the tension between memory and aspiration in democratic choice. While retrospective judgments remain powerful, a growing cohort of voters demands future-oriented leadership. The 2024 Presidential election contest was not merely a choice between political parties but a referendum on the past versus the future. It provides empirical insights into voter behaviour, offering valuable lessons for policymakers, electoral analysts, and democracy advocates in Ghana and beyond. Based on the findings, the incumbent government in future Ghanaian presidential elections needs to emphasize economic recovery plans to mitigate retrospective punishment. Political parties must craft hybrid strategies that address both past grievances and future promises to secure electoral success. Also, the opposition candidates should present clear, credible policy alternatives to attract prospective voters. Finally, there is a need to enhance civic education to improve issue-based voting in Ghana.

Acknowledgment and Sponsoring Information

References

Afrobarometer (2023). *Ghana Round 9 Survey Data*.

Aldrich, J. H. (1993). Rational Choice and Turnout. *American Journal of Political Science*, *37*(1), 246–278. https://doi.org/10.2307/2111531.

Asekere, G. (2021). The 2020 general elections in Ghana: an analysis of the issues, voting pattern and impact. *Social Sciences*, *10*(1), 15–27. https://doi.org/10.11648/j.ss.20211001.13

Bob-Milliar, G. M. (2014). Party Youth Activists and Low-Intensity Electoral Violence in Ghana. *African Studies Quarterly*, *15*(1), 1–24.

Bratton, M. (2013). *Voting and democratic citizenship in Africa*. Lynne Rienner. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781685854171.

Bratton, M., Dulani, B., & Masunungure, E. (2016). Detecting manipulation in authoritarian elections: Survey-based methods in Zimbabwe. *Electoral Studies*, *42*, 10–21. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2016.01.006.

Bratton, M., & van de Walle, N. (1997). *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139174657.

Bukari, G. A., Adua, J. Y. & Alhassan, M. (2023). How did voters decide in the 2012 and 2016 presidential elections in Ghana? the implications for future elections. *Journal of Applied Economics and Finance*, *10*(4), 41–48. https://doi.org/10.11114/aef.v10i4.6566.

Bukari, G. A., Arah. M. L., & Botchway, T.P. (2025). The new electoral marketplace and voting: conceptual and empirical insights. *Journal of Politics and Law*, *18*(1), 15–23. https://doi.org/10.5539/jpl.v18n1p15.

Bukari, G. A., Eliasu, M., & Adam, O. O. (2024). The nexus between citizen participation and engagement in elections and development in Ghana: empirical evidence from voters in four electorally-swing constituencies. *Journal of Science, Technology and Development*, *2*, 16–27. https://doi.org/10.47881/409.967.

Bukari, G. A., Millar, K., & Akolga, A. (2025). Effects of Party Brand Image on Voter Choice: Empirical Evidence from Ghana. *Macrothink Institute: International Journal of Social Science Research*, *13*(1), 205–226. https://doi.org/10.5296/ijssr.v13i1.22744.

Bukari, G. A (2023). Intra-party electoral competition and democratic consolidation : insights

from parliamentary primary elections in Ghana. *Ghana Journal of Sociology and Anthropology,* Vol 8 pp 60-86.

Bukari, G. A. (2022). Political economy of elections and voting behaviour in Ghana's fourth republic, 1992-2020. *Africa Journal of Public Sector Development and Governance, 5*(1), 86-108.

Downs, A. (1957). *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Harper & Row.

Dunning, T., et al. (2019). *Information, Accountability, and Cumulative Learning: Lessons from Metaketa I*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108381390.

Fiorina, M. P. (1981). *Retrospective voting in American national elections*. Yale University Press.

Fridy, K. S. (2013). The elephant, umbrella, and quarreling cocks: Disaggregating partisanship in Ghana's Fourth Republic. *African Affairs*, *112*(446), 1–21.

Gyimah-Boadi, E., & Debrah, E. (2021). *Ghana's Elections 2020: A Post-Mortem.* CDD-Ghana.

Ichino, N., & Nathan, N. L. (2013). Crossing the Line: Local Ethnic Geography and Voting in Ghana. *American Political Science Review*, *107*(2), 344–361. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055412000664.

Jebuni, T. S., & Bukari, G. A. (2025). Music, Dance, and Messaging in The Ghanaian Political Arena. *UDS International Journal of Development*, *11*(2), 1186–1196. https://doi.org/10.47740/824.UDSIJD6i.

Kramon, E. (2016). *Money for Votes: The Causes and Consequences of Electoral Clientelism in Africa*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108149839.

Lewis-Beck, M. S., & Stegmaier, M. (2000). Economic determinants of electoral outcomes. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *3*, 183–219. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.3.1.183.

Lindberg, S. I., & Morrison, M. K. (2008). Are African voters ethnic or clientelistic? Survey evidence from Ghana. *Pol. Sci. Q.*, *123*, 95. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1538-165X.2008.tb00618x.

Nugent, P. (2007). *Big Men, Small Boys and Politics in Ghana*. Accra: Frimpong.

Polsby, N. W., Wildavsky, A. B., & Hopkins, D. A. (2008). *Presidential elections: Strategies and structures of American politics*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Riker, W. H., & Ordeshook, P. C. (1968). A Theory of the Calculus of Voting. *American Political Science Review*, *62*(1), 25–42. https://doi.org/10.2307/1953324.

Schedler, A. (2013). *The Politics of Uncertainty: Sustaining and Subverting Electoral Authoritarianism*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199680320.001.0001.

Stokes, S. C. (2005). Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina. *American Political Science Review*, *99*(3), 315–325. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055405051683.

Weghorst, K. R., & Lindberg, S. I. (2013). What Drives the Swing Voter in Africa? *African Affairs*, *112*(446), 1–27.

Copyrights