

Is the selection of Ghanaian policy makers based on socio-cultural and ethnic reasonings relevant in today's politics? Evidence from the Cape Coast Metropolis in Ghana

Akuffo, D.O,¹ Owusu, N.O,² Opoku, S,³

University of Cape Coast^{1,2,3}
douglasokaiakuffo@gmail.com¹; nowusu@ucc.edu.gh²; opokusamuel1027@gmail.com³

<https://doi.org/10.47963/jobed.v10i.891>

Abstract

This study examines the effect of appraisive attitudes on citizens' participation behaviour at the sub-national electoral levels in the Cape Coast Metropolis, Ghana. The study was quantitative with cross-sectional explanatory design. The study population was 1145 with a sample size of 291. The SPSS was employed for descriptive analysis and the Smart PLS was employed for structural equation modelling. It was found that all the three dimensions of appraisive attitudes (policy responsiveness, performance and integrity) used in this study have positive effects on citizen participation behaviour in the study area of the Cape Coast Metropolis in Ghana. This means Africans have come of age and the days of choosing Africa policy makers based on socio-cultural and ethnic reasoning appear to be over. Policy makers must, therefore, take into consideration the interests of the citizens and work to improve on their living conditions in order to sustain their political career.

Keywords: *Appraisive attitudes, Citizen participation behaviour, Africa elections, Policy makers, Ghana*

Introduction

Globally since the 1980s, the need for effective citizen participation in most parts of this world has risen significantly at the local, state, and national levels (Nabatchi, 2012). The calls for more direct public participation have been the result of the realisation that it can have “positive benefits to the substance, transparency, legitimacy, and fairness of policy development as well as the general view of government held by citizens” (Lukensmeyer & Torres 2006, p.5). Besides, through voting citizens get the chance to collectively go beyond deciding not only who should govern them but also how they should be governed and what system of governance best suites them (Gyimah-Boadi & Prempeh, 2012). The idea here is that the position of citizens has been moved from the position as consumers to active shapers of government policies and programmes (Cornwall & Gaventa, 2000), and this improves acceptance, ownership and compliance (Sacks, 2012). Thus, voting plays a crucial role not only in determining the prospects of policy makers, but also the welfare of citizens themselves, since it makes governance better or worse, and, in turn, makes the lives of citizens better or worse (Brennan, 2011).

However, despite the significance of public participation in democratic process, citizens’ participation behaviour in Africa does not receive much attention as other parts of the world due to the notion that the participation behaviours of Africans are not based on any other reason apart from their socio-ethnic background (Tranter, 2013). Diller (2001, p.21) points out that citizen participation is “*an individual’s duty to embrace the responsibilities of citizens with the obligation to participate alone actively, or in concert with others, in-service activities that strengthen the local community.*” This is particularly true when one considers some of the past studies that have been done in Africa. For example, in Ghana, Asingo (2015) has demonstrated that owing to the scarcity and ambiguity of political information, voters tend to resort to social identities, particularly ethnicity, for heuristic cues on how to vote. Others also argued that being aware of the influence of socio-ethnic identity, personal linkages and clientelism, Ghanaian leaders often resort to ethnic identities as the basis for forming political voters and mobilising support for their parties, and the cycle continues (Alidu & Bukari, 2020; Adams, Agomor & Youmbi, 2018). What this means is that the vital element that shapes the decision and electoral choice of the

citizens is dependent on socio-cultural and ethnic reasoning without taking into account the relevance of policy alternatives. Citizens' participation behaviour was measured in terms of the voting decisions made by voters in respect to whether they need to vote for the incumbent or another candidate during the party primaries (Xiong, 2019).

However, the recent development in the Africa democratic process has made some experts to consider the socio-cultural and ethnic reasoning of African voters to be inappropriate. This is because it has been noted that there are other factors that shape the voting choice of the electorates, considering the homogeneity of most African tribes (Vandewalle, 2020; Musah, Boah & Seidu, 2020). This argument is based on the rational choice theory, which explains that citizens' participation behaviour in such contexts of homogeneity is likely to be influenced by other factors other than socio-cultural and ethnic identity. Thus, the shrewdness of individual voters contributes to their judgement of candidates and parties along specified parameters. These judgements inform what voters think and feel about the candidates and dispose the individual voters to either vote for or reject the candidates (Bratton, 2017). Therefore, it is fair to believe that there are other factors that need to be considered in influencing citizens' participations behaviour.

Nonetheless, while globally a lot of studies have been done, they often tend to focus on the general elections at the expense of party primaries and more so at the subnational level (Bratton, 2013; Tsuruyo, 2013). In the context of Africa and Ghana, according to Aragon, (2014), there are three main explications as to why parties decide to use primaries. In the first place, primaries help to prevent expensive internal conflict. Secondly, primaries have the potentials to assist the party to have better quality selection of their candidates at the grassroots levels (selection effect). Lastly, primaries "may increase internal competition and create incentives among candidates to exert more effort during the electoral campaign (incentive effect)", (Aragon, 2014, p.2)

However, considering the various studies (Nwanganga, Nwachukwu & Mirian 2017; Anebo, 2018; Harding, 2019; Bossuroy, 2008; Debrah, 2015) that have been done on primaries, while suggesting that the voters are rational people, did not address the issues like economic conditions, the incumbents' performance and personality, which usually affect their vote choice. Additionally, the various

studies failed to consider voting during party primaries as well as the subnational level of voting. Therefore, they failed to adequately fit in explaining citizens' participation behaviour in Ghana's party primaries, particularly in mono-ethnic constituencies. In party primaries where voters choose among candidates within the same political party, especially where only one party is dominant, although certain malpractices, like 'vote-buying' and tribal sentiments, play certain roles in the selection of the potential policy maker, partisanship is minimised as a factor influencing citizens' participations behaviour (Debrah, 2015). The primary level is important in this study for the following reasons. In the first place, it is during primaries that party members or voters choose the party's candidate who will represent them at the general elections (Hazan & Rahat 2006). Besides, it is at this stage that the appraisive attitudes of candidates are brought to bear but not on the basis of being affiliated to the party (Nwanganga, Nwachukwu & Mirian 2017; Debra, 2015). Appraisive attitudes are considered to be a collection of related personal and electoral judgments of candidates and parties, as well as conditions. The dimensions of appraisive attitudes include: candidates' policy responsiveness, candidates' performance and candidates' integrity (Bratton, 2013).

In general, the appraisive attitudes of candidates were measured in terms of voters' opinion on their candidates' responsiveness, performance and integrity. This was done in line with studies carried in the area of elections (Bittner, 2011; Ntim, 2018; Gibson & Long, 2019). Policy Responsiveness was also measured using the Multifactor Policy Questionnaire (MPQ) developed by (Manza & Cook, 2010). On the other hand, Policy Responsiveness was measured in terms of the degree of congruence between candidate agenda and voters' preferences and eight (8) items were selected in line with the study of Lindberg and Morrison (2019). Again, for Performance Evaluation, it was measured in terms of the performance index developed from responses to a battery of survey questions on candidate's perceived ability to initiate and complete projects, as reported in survey responses developed by Dalton (2018).

At the level of party primaries, unlike the national parliamentary elections where candidates are chosen based on the political parties' affiliations, it is at this level that there is no distinction between candidate A and B due to the fact that they all belong to one party. The implication here is that, at this level, the voters' decision to vote for their candidates are uncertain. Thus, the tendency to

rely on social structure and political parties as institutional structures to explain citizens' participation behaviour, therefore, leaves us with a gap in knowledge as to what factors influence citizens' participation behaviour during party primaries in ethnically homogeneous politics. It is this gap that this study seeks to address by examining the effect of appraisive attitudes on citizens' participation behaviour at the sub-national electoral levels in the Cape Coast Metropolis, Ghana. Based on the purpose of the study, the study has three specific objectives which are to: examine the effects of candidates' policy responsiveness, candidates' performance and candidates' integrity on citizens' participation behaviour at the sub-national electoral levels in the Cape Coast Metropolis.

Research Hypotheses

Considering the specific objectives of the study, the following hypotheses were to be tested:

H1: Candidates' policy responsiveness has a significant positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour.

H2: Candidates' performance has a significant positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour.

H3: Candidates' integrity has a significant positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour.

In the context of significance, this study challenges the conventional mentality that participation behaviours of Africans are not based on any other reason apart from their socio-ethnic background. It, therefore, empirically challenges the ethnic census theory by proving that it is a limited paradigm of understanding voters, because it can only be applicable in ethnically heterogeneous constituencies and at the national level of elections. Indeed, even at the national level during the era of broad coalitions that bring together main actors from different ethnic communities, the ethnic census theory collapses. Thus, the study's findings contribute to proving that voters are rational actors who evaluate their candidates, using more variables beyond ethnic identities and loyalty to political parties. Policy makers can also make use of the study results as they can understand that the development of their political career cannot be based on their ethnic backgrounds alone, but rather other factors. The rest of the study includes literature review, which involves discussion on the theory underpinning

the study, the concepts of Appraisive Attitudes and Citizens' Participation Behaviour. The second part focuses on the research methodology, while the third part discusses the study findings, including the conclusions.

Literature Review

Rational Choice Theory

The rational choice theory assumes that individuals are rational actors who have the ability to measure the cost and benefit of making one choice instead of the other. This is guided by a set of reasons over and above a person's socialisation or their genetics (Lupia, McCubbins, & Popkin, 2000). This implies that a person is aware that they cannot always get what they want in a world of competing interests. Such rational people are, therefore, expected to trade-off on some of their positions, beliefs and preference (Tetlock, 2000). The theory also posits that people are generally self-interested actors, which means that people are inward looking and are primarily concerned with outcomes that work to their advantage. This also means that people always seek to maximise the utility of the outcomes of their choices (Olson, 1989). This utility maximisation is derived from a gross estimation of electing a particular candidate and, depending on the level of satisfaction they expect, go ahead to vote for the candidate. It is a form of expected utility because it is based on benefits one expects to derive from taking an action whose impact will be felt in future. In other words, a voter's decision to vote for a certain candidate is an investment and not consumptive. Finally, the theory assumes that decisions in collective action are motivated by a desire for collective good either for group members or for the wider society (Asingo, 2018). A voter realises utility and satisfaction when their candidate wins the electoral contest and brings about policies and programmes that the voter wished for (Ordeshook & Zeng, 2017; Morton & Williams, 2010).

The theory was suitable for the study because party primaries entail competition among more than two candidates and in that case the probability of rational voting behaviour in order to maximise the utility of one's ballot arises (Ordeshook & Zeng, 2017). In particular, the theory as discussed above helped to answer all the various research objectives. For example, it helped to answer the performance evaluation objective as voter rationality enabled them to evaluate past performance of incumbents, thus giving them reason to either punish them

by electing competitors or reward them by giving them their votes. The theory also has both retrospective and prospective perspectives. Retrospectively, voters tend to punish incumbents who have performed poorly and continue rewarding those that perform well. In the same way, prospectively, voters tend to evaluate candidates based on what they have achieved in their past occupations and hope that they will bring the same good performance when serving in electoral offices (Key, 2014; Fiorina, 1981). Thus, both in terms of integrity and responsiveness to the societal needs, the theory helps to explain citizens' reasonings of choosing a particular candidate.

Conceptual Review of Appraisive Attitudes and Citizens' Participation Behaviour Concept of Citizens' Participation

Currently, despite the vast scholarship on the subject of citizen participation, there is no single, widely agreed-upon definition. However, Diller (2001) points out that citizen participation is “*an individual's duty to embrace the responsibilities of citizens with the obligation to actively participate, alone or in concert with others, in service activities that strengthen the local community*” (p.21). Schlozman and Brady (1995) also described it as any voluntary action by citizens that is more or less directly aimed at influencing the management of collective affairs and administrative decision making.

In the context of this study, citizen participation is understood as the actions undertaken by people in order to solve problems and improve the well-being of citizens. In essence, citizen participation focuses on the process of the decision-making behaviour of citizens to participate in activities or affairs within their community. From an individual perspective, citizen participation tends to help citizens to increase sense of collective interests, break down walls of insularity, improve trust, and develop a higher degree of respect for others in the country (Cooper, Bryer & Meek, 2006).

On the other hand, from a macro perspective, citizen participation becomes the cornerstone of politics and governance which sustains a vibrant democracy (De Tocqueville, 1990), foster cooperation between the government and individuals, enhance government responsiveness, and lead to effectiveness of governments (Putnam, 2000). Tang and Hu (2016) stated that the driving force

behind participation behaviour of citizens is mainly based on national and local identities.

Appraisive Attitudes and its Dimensions

Appraisive attitude refers to human activity in the context of elections and it can be considered as a set of related personal and electoral judgement of candidates and parties along specified parameters (Bratton, 2013). These judgements inform what voters think and feel about the candidates and dispose the individual voters to either vote for or reject the candidates. In this study, appraisive attitudes shall mean the cognitive and affective triggers that lead to voters making the choices they make at the ballot. Thus, it encompasses both the actions and inactions of people regarding electoral participation, as well as for whom to support if one decides to engage in the voting process (Rule, 2014). The study of evaluative attitudes, therefore, constitutes an attempt at unpacking the context in which voters make decisions about candidates through assessing the candidate for elections. Thus, voting decisions do not take place in a vacuum, instead, they are based upon a candidate's life experiences. Voters' choices are likely influenced by a multiplicity of factors after evaluating these factors concerning their candidates.

In terms of dimensions, research has shown that the electorate may determine their votes on the basis of one or more of the following considerations: (1) the performance of the incumbent candidate, (2) the voters' positions or orientations on specific issues of the candidate (integrity), (3) responsiveness to the needs of the people, and/or (4) the personality of candidates, and (5) the identity or ethnic background of the candidate (Prysbly & Scavo, 2018; Ofori, 2019). In the context of this study, the first three variables were examined, since they were the ones considered to be absent in African voters' calculations.

Responsiveness Evaluation

Policy responsiveness is a goal of democratic government which shows that policy makers tend to respond to public preferences on issues that are crucial to the citizens (Soroka & Wlezien, 2010). According to Soroka and Wlezien (2005), the responsiveness apparatus often function as follows: "where the public notices and responds to policy in a particular domain, policy makers would notice

and respond to public preferences themselves; where the public does not respond to policy, policy makers would not represent public preferences” (p. 668). The idea here is that responsiveness device means policy feedback, which is “critical to the ongoing functioning of a political system” (Soroka & Wlezien, 2010, p. 15).

Thus, with responsiveness evaluation, the capacity of political systems, through the elected and appointed officials to respond to the issues affecting the citizens and expressed through public opinions are considered (Manza & Cook, 2019). The responsiveness is expressed through public policies that are congruent to the problems faced by the citizens. In this study, the concept refers to the policies that candidates promise to put in place once they get elected to office. A prerequisite for proposing policies is having knowledge of the problems that need policy intervention.

Performance Evaluation

Dalton (2018) has noted that performance evaluations are judgements about how political actor (party, candidate, or government) have been doing their jobs. Performance evaluations are often considered both retrospective and prospective. Retrospective performance evaluation refers to the voters’ perception of the incumbents’ ability to put in place mechanisms for solving the problems that the voters faced before they came to office as well how well they dealt with new problems that required action from the elected officials. Prospective evaluation refers to the expectation that voters have of challengers to deal with problems facing voters.

Traditional perspectives generally have assumed that performance evaluation systems and processes operate in rational and systematic fashion (Ferris, Munyon, Basik & Buckley, 2008). However, other perspectives have argued that performance ratings are susceptible to influence by such non-performance factors as politics and active manipulation. In their model of political influence in human resources systems, Ferris and Judge (1991) argued that the performance evaluation process is susceptible to subjective factors and “deliberate manipulations by both evaluators and evaluatees” (p. 461).

Candidate Integrity Evaluation

Candidate integrity evaluation refers to the perceptions of the candidate's personal traits. Candidate integrity has multiple indicators, as explained by Miller (2016). In this study, candidate integrity encompasses perceptions of honesty and trustworthiness. Personality traits of candidates have emerged as a decisive factor in electoral studies and are the most frequent way to assess voters' evaluations of political candidates. Traits are a central aspect in leader evaluation because they function as shortcuts for voters in understanding and processing more complex and demanding information, as '*it is easier for people to evaluate political objects on the basis of personalities, because citizens apply the same processes in their everyday life*' (Capelos, 2010, p.13). This is particularly useful for voters because it relies on the same mechanisms they apply on a daily basis when dealing with other individuals, providing a framework for categorising the variety of available political information through affective and cognitive images.

Research Methods

This study adopted the positivist approach since it relates to the philosophical system that embraces issues that can be scientifically verified and hence provides a basis for generalization (Saunders & Bezzina, 2015). Besides, the study used cross-sectional survey time horizon design. This means the collection of data focused on many units during the same period so as to obtain qualitative or quantitative data related to variables, in an effort to determine associations between the variables after the data have been analysed (Neuman & Robson, 2014; Saunders et al. (2016). Hence, correlational design was also adopted for this study.

In terms of research approach, the study employed the quantitative research approach which granted the researchers an opportunity to generalise the results of the sample to the whole population or a sub-population since it involves the larger sample which was randomly selected (Carr, 1994). Moreover, unlike qualitative research approaches which sometimes leave out contextual sensitivities (Silverman, 2013a), quantitative considers contextual influence and policy makers often give high credibility to its results (Sallee & Flood, 2012).

The study area is the Cape Coast Metropolis, which is cosmopolitan community located in the Central Region. It is characterised by high level of

literacy, economic independence people, lack of tribal sentiments and large population. All these contribute to the rationality of voters to play a major part during grassroots political party elections since vote-buying and tribal sentiments, unlike rural areas, are minimised (Debrah, 2015; Bratton, 2013). The idea here is that, during primaries, appraisive attitudes of candidates are more likely to be seen than any other places in the Central Region. This explains why the place is often perceived as a swing region (Lindberg, & Morrison, 2005; Adams, Agomor & Youmbi, 2018). The implication here is that the Member of Parliament election results from this region do not always go in favour of a particular political party. Also, the Member of Parliament candidate contest was selected over national parliamentary because it helped to contextualise the study to the most basic sub-national level of elections which, as mentioned earlier, is largely understudied. In addition, with the study conducted at the local level, the potential policy makers are in closest proximity to the delegates, which makes it easier for voters to evaluate them with greater accuracy compared to the national elections.

The population for this study consisted of all the delegates who had been members for the past 5 years and partook in the 2020 party primaries elections of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) from both the Cape Coast North and South constituencies in the Cape Coast Metropolis in Ghana. Data was acquired from the constituency offices and the total population for this study was one thousand, one hundred and forty-five (1145) delegates. Regarding the sample and sampling procedure, the simple random technique of probability sampling, which warrants drawing of a representative sample from the target population and making statistical inferences from data (Ofori & Dampson, 2011), was adopted for this study. This technique was selected because it fits best for the quantitative research approach and it granted unbiasedness in the selection of any of the study units (Saunders et al., 2016). The sample size of the study was two hundred and ninety-one (291) delegates. This was determined using Krejcie and Morgan's (1970) sample determination table. Based on a sample size of 291, a proportionate representation was calculated for each constituency. In the case of Cape Coast North, with a population of 526, a sample size of 134 was used, while with a population of 619 for the Cape Coast South, a sample size of 157 was used.

The study recorded a 91% of 291 response rate because 265 staff responded to the questionnaire in both constituencies. Among these, out of 134

sample size, 122 represented the Cape Coast North and, out of 157 sample size, 143 for the Cape Coast South. Only 9% (26) respondents failed to return the instrument. The high response rate was attributed to direct contact and follow ups between researchers and the respondents.

Descriptive Statistics

The proportion of men in the study (55.8%) was higher than that of women (44.2 percent). Overall, most respondents were between the ages of 36 and 54, indicating that most of them were adults and matured enough and, therefore, were able to understand and respond to the issues raised in the survey. Also, it was found that most respondents (81.9%) had some education, including high school and college/university. Finally, when it came to the number of years respondents had been members of the New Patriotic Party (NPP), the highest proportion (41.8%) had been a member for 6-10 years.

Measurement of Variables and Data Collection Instrument

The variables used in this study were measured relying on previous empirical literature in areas of appraisive attitudes and citizens' participation behaviour. This allowed for the design of an instrument based on validated scales. Appraisive attitudes in this study were measured using various sources. The concept of three appraisive attitudes in evaluating candidates was adopted from Prysby and Scavo (2018), and Ofori (2019); however, the measures of the individual appraisive attitudes were adopted from scales with confirmed reliability. The appraisive attitudes of candidates were measured in terms of voters' perception of their candidates' responsiveness, performance and integrity. This was done in conformance with studies conducted in the area of elections (Bittner, 2011; Ntim, 2018; Gibson & Long, 2019). Citizens' participation behaviour was also measured in terms of the voting decisions made by voters in terms of whether to vote for the incumbent or another candidate during the party primaries (Xiong, 2019).

Policy Responsiveness was also measured using the Multifactor Policy Questionnaire (MPQ) developed by Manza and Cook (2010). Policy Responsiveness was measured in terms of the degree of congruence between candidate agenda and voters' preferences and eight (8) items were selected in line

with the study of Lindberg and Morrison (2019). Lindberg and Morrison (ibid) reported a cumulative Cronbach alpha of 0.88. Again, for Performance Evaluation, it was measured in terms of the performance index developed from responses to a battery of survey questions on candidate's perceived ability to initiate and complete projects as reported in survey responses as developed by Dalton (2018). Eight (8) items were selected in line with Gibson and Long (2019). The scale is based on voter's perception of the candidate performance. Long and Gibson (ibid) reported a cumulative Cronbach's alpha of 0.84.

Again, Candidate Integrity was adapted from the scale of Miller and Shanks (2016), which explains candidate integrity as the perceptions of the candidate's personal traits. The scale was measured in terms of perception of honesty of the candidate and perception of trustworthiness of the candidate, which was made up of eight (8) items with the reliability of 0.799 in line with Bossuroy (2008). Lastly, the measurement of Citizens' Participation Behaviour was based on Zimmerman and Zahniser (1991), who designed political behaviour scale that consisted of 9 items.

In this study, with Candidates' Policy Responsiveness, Performance and Integrity of 8 items each, the result indicated that the Cronbach's Alpha values were: 0.804; 0.776 and 0.818, respectively. On the other hand, with Citizens' Participation of 9 items, the result of the Cronbach's Alpha value was 0.908. Based on the criteria of Pallant (2016), all items showed a high level of reliability.

In terms of data collection, a self-administered questionnaire was the instrument used. The questionnaire items were measured on a seven-point Likert-like scale, ranging from the lowest agreement to the highest agreement. The use of a self-administered questionnaire is justified since, based on the busy nature of the respondents, they could best provide responses in a non-supervised way. Also, using questionnaire guarantees greater uniformity, consistency and objectivity (Sekaran & Bougie, 2016). In addition, privacy and convenience of respondents can be accomplished during questionnaire completion, thereby ensuring greater anonymity (Neelankavil, 2015). Close-ended questions were used to elicit responses needed to answer the research questions and achieve the objectives set for this study.

Regarding ethical consideration, after the permission had been granted by the University the respondents were informed clearly about the aim of the study.

The respondents were subsequently informed of anonymity and confidentiality. The researchers assured the respondents that their names would not be disclosed. As such, all information received from them (respondents) would be treated with the highest degree of confidentiality. In addition to this, the researchers also informed the respondents that they were free to cease to give any response if they so wished. Finally, the researchers did not withhold any information about the study's possible risks, discomfort or benefits or deliberately deceive study subjects on these matters.

Data Processing and Analysis

The statistical tools employed for this study were Statistical Package for Services Solution (SPSS) version 24 and Smart PLS version 3. The SPSS was employed for descriptive analysis and the Smart PLS was employed for structural equation modelling based on the hypotheses of this study. PLS is quite robust regarding inadequacies, like skewness, multicollinearity of indicators and misspecification of the structural model (Cassel et al, 1999). In SEM, confirmatory factor analysis, correlation analysis, and regression analysis can be conducted at one time in a model. In line with the benefits above associated with SEM, this study relied on PLS-SEM to test the various hypotheses.

Results and Discussion

Results of the Study

Assessment of Measurement Models for the Study

The measurement model assessments included indicator loadings, Internal consistency reliability (Composite reliability), Convergent validity (AVE-Average variance extracted) and Discriminant validity (Fornell-Lacker and HTMT). For the item indicator loadings, they all loaded above the threshold of 0.6. As recommended by Hair, Risher, Sarstedt and Ringle (2019), they proved the reliability of the overall model. Regarding the Internal consistency reliability (Composite reliability), the results indicated that all latent variables in the study were reliable, as they all loaded above the 0.7 threshold, as suggested by Hair et al. (2019). Moreover, Convergent validity (AVE-Average variance extracted) was tested to show how the constructs correlates positively with alternative measures of the same construct. The items indicated that all constructs had an

AVE of more than 0.5. Finally, the discriminant validity (Fornell-Lacker & HTMT) of the constructs was tested to spell out the uniqueness in the model as demonstrated in Tables 1 and 2. Table 1 represents the convergent validity of the variables of the study, which shows how closely the scale is related to other variables and other measures of the same construct.

Table 1: Convergent Validity

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

Table 2 represents the discriminant validity of the study. Discriminant validity is demonstrated by evidence that measures of constructs theoretically should not be highly related to each other.

Table 2: Discriminant Validity

Fornell-Lacker Criterion				
	CPB	CI	CP	CPR
CPB	0.727			
CI	0.731	0.900		
CP	0.141	0.149	0.791	
CPR	0.879	0.723	0.124	0.960

Heterotrait - Monotrait Ratio (HTMT)

	CPB	CI	CP	CPR
CPB				
CI	0.654			
CP	0.134	0.146		
CPR	0.532	1.111	0.125	

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Assessing the Paths Model of the Study

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

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

	Path	T Statistics	R²	Adjusted R²	Q²	P-Value	F²
CPB			0.813	0.811	0.418		
CPR	0.204	2.229				0.026	0.017
CP	0.010	2.145				0.032	0.001
CI	0.703	3.432				0.001	0.207

Source: Field survey (2021)

Figure 1 shows the various indicator loadings of the constructs and why it necessitated for such a construct to be maintained. All indicators above 0.6 are considered to be good indicators of the measure of the model (Hair et al., 2019)

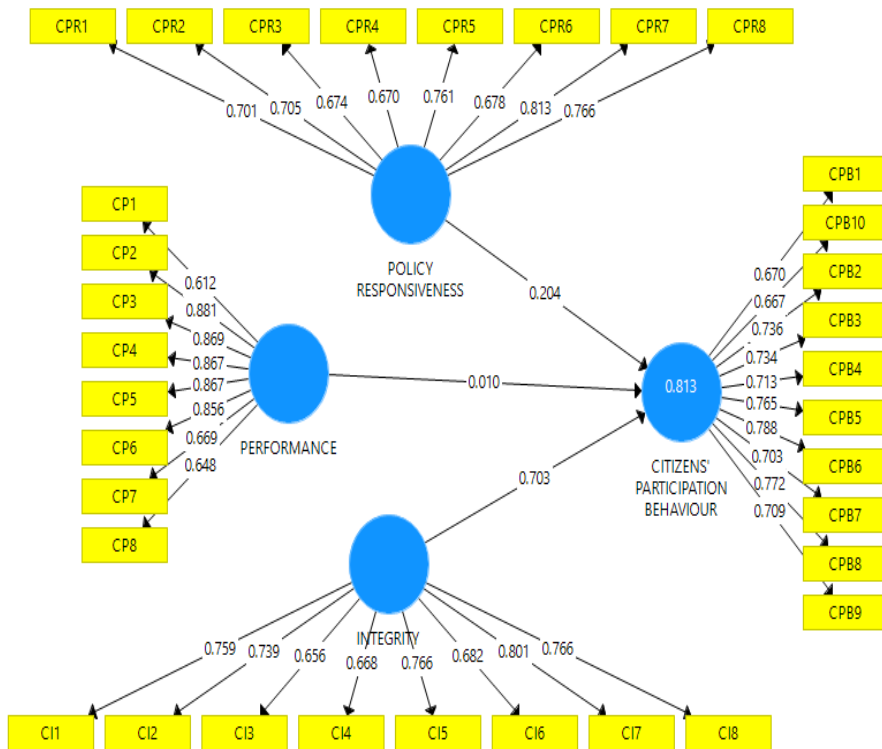


Figure 1: Outer and Inner Model Results
Source: Field survey (2021)

Research Objective One

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

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

Based on the path estimation, the results of the PLS-SEM showed that policy responsiveness had a significant positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour ($\beta = 0.204$, $p < 0.05$; Table 3, Figure 1). The results show that the degree of congruence between candidate agenda and the voters' needs within the Cape

Coast Metropolis is a key determinant of citizens' participation behaviour. Comparatively, policy responsiveness (0.204) shows the second larger effect on citizens' participation behaviour among the three appraisive attitudes. The results also show that policy responsiveness has a small effect (0.017) on citizens' participation behaviour, based on the criteria of Hair et al. (2019). Therefore, based on the direction and the significance of the path between policy responsiveness and citizens' participation behaviour, the study supports the assertion that policy responsiveness has a positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour.

Based on the fact that the p-value is <0.05 , the study supports the hypothesis that *H1: Evaluations of candidates' policy responsiveness has a significant positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour*

The results showed that the above attitude (policy responsiveness) of the candidate has an impact on the voters (delegates) in the Cape Coast Metropolis. A summary of the decision concerning objective one is presented in Table 4. The findings of this objective are supported by the rational choice theory. Based on the principle of rationality, voters tend to appraise the expectations of future performance of both incumbent candidates and their challengers through the proposed policies based on their self-interestedness and need to satisfy their needs (Key, 2014). This is in line with the findings of Ordeshook and Zeng (2017), who concluded that there was a positive effect of policy responsiveness on citizens' participation behaviour in terms of voting decisions.

Table 4: Summary of Objective 1

Hypothesis	Beta	t-value	Decision
CPR-CPB	0.204	2.229	Supported

Source: Field survey (2021)

Similarly, Tomz and Houweling (2018) concluded in their study that voters vote for the candidates whose policy positions are closest to their policy preferences and that they focus on the policies which they believe a candidate can deliver more than the policy positions that the candidates espouse.

Research Objective Two

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

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

Based on the path estimation, the results of the PLS-SEM showed that performance had a significant positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour ($\beta = 0.010$, $p < 0.05$; Table 13, Figure 3). The results show that a candidate's performance (that is, the perceived ability to initiate and complete projects on time) within the Cape Coast Metropolis is a moderate determinant of citizens' participation behaviour. Comparatively, performance (0.010) shows the least large effect on citizens' participation behaviour among the three appraisive attitudes. The results also show that performance has a small effect (0.001) on citizens' participation behaviour, based on the criteria of Hair et al. (2019). Therefore, based on the direction and the significance of the path between performance and citizens' participation behaviour, the study supports the assertion that performance has a positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour. Because the p-value is < 0.05 , the study supports the hypothesis that:
H2: Appraisal of candidates' performance has a positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour

The results showed that the performance appraisal of the candidate has an impact on the voters (delegates) in the Cape Coast Metropolis. A summary of the decision concerning objective two is presented in Table 5.

Table 5: Summary of Objective 2

Hypothesis	Beta	t-value	Decision
CP-CPB	0.010	2.145	Supported

Source: Field survey (2021)

This is supported by the findings of Geys (2006), who concluded that voters, based on the principle of rationality, evaluate past performance of incumbents, thus giving them a reason to either punish them by electing competitors or reward

them by giving them their votes. This implies that voters tend to punish incumbents who performed poorly and continue rewarding those that perform well. Thus, voters tend to evaluate candidates based on what they have achieved in their past occupations and hope that they will bring the same good performance when serving in electoral offices (Fiorina, 1981). This explains that Ghanaian voters are retrospective. As such, as perceptions of the government's general performance or handling of particular social and economic issues improve, so does the likelihood of incumbent support, and vice versa (Ellis, 2016).

Research Objective Three

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

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

Based on the path estimation, the results of the PLS-SEM showed that integrity had a significant positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour ($\beta = 0.703$, $p < 0.05$; Table 3, Figure 1). The results show that the perception of honesty and trustworthiness of the parliamentary candidate within the Cape Coast Metropolis is a key determinant of citizens' participation behaviour. Comparatively, integrity (0.703) shows the largest effect on citizens' participation behaviour among the three appraisive attitudes. The results also show that integrity has a moderate effect (0.207) on citizens' participation behaviour, based on the criteria of Hair et al. (2019). Therefore, based on the direction and the significance of the path between integrity and citizens' participation behaviour, the study supports the assertion that integrity has a positive effect on citizens' participation behaviour. With the p-value being < 0.05 , the study supports the hypothesis that:

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

The results showed that the integrity of the candidate has an impact on the voters (delegates) in the Cape Coast Metropolis. A summary of the decision for objective three is presented in Table 6.

Table 6: Summary of Objective 3

Hypothesis	Beta	t-value	Decision
CI-CPB	0.703	3.432	Supported

Source: Field survey (2021)

Discussion of Results

The general aim of this study was to examine the effect of appraisive attitudes on citizens' participation behaviour at the sub-national electoral levels in the Cape Coast Metropolis, Ghana. The findings of the study as showed in the results is such that voters are rational and hence evaluate the policy promises made by candidates and align themselves with politicians whose issue frames are of the closest proximity to theirs (Ntim, 2018; Lindberg & Morrison, 2019). This explains that voters in protecting their interest and the preference of their locality vote for the candidate(s) who promises radical reforms, especially in favour of those who are having pressing problems in their community, like the Cape Coast Metropolis (Mbote et. al., 2020).

This study shows that much credence should be given to the argument that policy issues determine and influence voters' decision in their citizen engagements. The idea here is that voters listen to the policy propositions of the candidates and measure these questions against the problems facing them and the metropolis. Accordingly, a candidate whose policy proposals indicate that they understand the problems facing the voters is elected over a candidate who proposes policy solutions for non-existing or non-pressing problems.

This is also in line with the theory of rationality, as introduced in the literature. With the rational choice theory, it was noted that people are intelligent actors who have the capability to take into account the cost and benefit of making a choice when it comes to choosing their policy makers in the context of election. They are often guided by a set of reasons that can help them in the future (Lupia, McCubbins & Popkin, 2000). This implies that rational people are expected to trade-off on some of their positions, beliefs and preference when given the chance

to select a policy maker (Tetlock, 2000). The theory also posits that people are generally self-interested actors, which means that people are inward looking and are primarily concerned with outcomes that work to their advantage. Thus, people usually seek to maximise the utility of the outcomes of their choices (Olson, 1989). In essence, in the context of this study, voters in the Cape Coast Metropolis would identify the prevalent problems in the metropolis and measure the candidates' ability to deliver on the proposed policies to solve those problems before voting.

The findings of this study are supported by the results of Bittner (2011), who saw that in the context of partisanship, the political party of the candidate might have predisposed the voter to evaluate the character of the party leader and candidate favourably. Strong (2015) gave support to the rational choice perspective of voting behaviour. He asserted that most voters will vote out incumbent parties and candidates if they have poor integrity in terms of honesty and trustworthiness (Strong, 2015). Bossuroy (2008) and Debrah (2015) all concluded that candidates' personality dimensions, such as competence, credibility and sincerity, are attributes that influence voters' choice of a political candidate before and during the election cycle.

Following this study's findings, it can be argued in the same way as Lindberg and Morrison, (2014), who argued that much of what we know about electoral and democratic political processes in established democracies may also apply to new democracies in Africa. This means voting for policy makers may no longer be based on socio-cultural identities, particularly in some regions, like the Central Region, which is considered as a swing electoral area. According to Adams and Agomor (2015), swing voters are characterized by a conscious evaluation of government and candidate performance, which is a sign of relatively 'mature' democratic voting behaviour. This is because, unlike the core voters, the swing voters do not have electoral loyalty to any candidate or political party. They are rational voters whose votes are not influenced by stable sociological factors, partisan affiliation, ethnicity, or non-evaluative factors, but rather are largely dependent on their own evaluations and judgements (Campbell, 2007; Kim, 2016).

Conclusion

This study has explored the most significant factors that influence voters' choice in Ghana. It has been found that all the three dimensions of appraisive attitudes (policy responsiveness, performance and integrity) used in this study have positive effects on citizen participation behaviour in the study area of the Cape Coast Metropolis in Ghana. The idea here is that the days when politicians can take their people for granted and assume that, based on their religion, clans or cultural identity, they would be voted to power are over.

Currently, it can be said that most Ghanaians have become astute voters, who consciously evaluate the conditions of their environment and the incumbents' integrity before and when making their voting choice. The idea here is that voters consider candidates of honesty who can deliver on the policies they promise in their manifestos as well as manage public resources with veracity so that resources go to intended purposes. A person evaluated as lacking integrity would be seen to be detrimental to the common societal interest and as such would lose citizens' votes. What needs to be remembered is that these days, the voters are mostly independent, devoid of characteristics that are likely to be strong predictors of voting behaviour other than the general interest of the community, like economic performance.

In conclusion, it can be argued that the fact that Ghanaian voters are becoming aware of the need to vote based on the good deeds of a candidate is a current phenomenon, which in the past would have been impossible. Overall, it is fair to say that Africans are coming of age and the days of choosing Africa policy makers based on socio-cultural and ethnic reasoning appear to be over. This assertion can be deduced from the evidence provided in this study where people now vote not based on ethnicity, but more on incumbents' performance, policy response to their needs and integrity.

References

- Adams, S., & Agomor, K. S. (2015). Democratic politics and voting behaviour in Ghana. *International Area Studies Review*, 18(4), 365-381.
- Adams, S., Agomor, K. S., & Youmbi, W. (2018). What Influences Swing Voters' Choices? Reflection on Ghana's Elections. *The Journal of Social, Political, and Economic Studies*, 43(3/4), 246-271.
- Alidu, S. M., & Bukari, G. A. (2020). Ethnic undercurrent and macro-level determinants of voter participation in Ghana's 2012 election: Implications for the 2020 national elections. *Legon Journal of the Humanities*, 31(1), 145-177.
- Anebo, F. K. (2001). The Ghana 2000 elections: Voter choice and electoral decisions. *African Journal of Political Science/Revue Africaine de Science Politique*, 69-88.
- Aragón, F. M. (2014). Why do parties use primaries? Political selection versus candidate incentives. *Public Choice*, 160(1), 205-225.
- Asingo, P. O. (2015). Party Strengths, Partisan Identities and Voter Mobilization in the Kenya Elections of 2013. *New Constitution, Same Old Challenges: Reflections on Kenya's 2013 General Elections*.
- Asingo, P. O. (2015). Party Strengths, Partisan Identities and Voter Mobilization in the Kenya Elections of 2013. *New Constitution, Same Old Challenges: Reflections on Kenya's 2013 General Elections*.
- Asingo, P. O. (2018). Relative deprivation, protests and voting in Kenya. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 56(1), 65-83.
- Bittner, A. (2011). *Platform or personality? the role of party leaders in elections*. OUP Oxford.
- Bossuroy, T. (2008). Ethnicity as a resource in social capital. *Typescript, Paris School of Economics, DIAL*.
- Brady, H. E., Verba, S., & Schlozman, K. L. (1995). Beyond SES: A resource model of political participation. *American political science review*, 89(2), 271-294.
- Bratton, M. (2017). Political Attitudes and Behavior Under Autocracy. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.
- Bratton, M. (Ed.). (2013). *Voting and democratic citizenship in Africa*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

- Brennan, J. (2011). The right to a competent electorate. *The Philosophical Quarterly*, 61(245), 700-724.
- Campbell, J. L. (2007). Why would corporations behave in socially responsible ways? An institutional theory of corporate social responsibility. *Academy of management Review*, 32(3), 946-967.
- Capelos, T. (2010). Feeling the issue: How citizens' affective reactions and leadership perceptions shape policy evaluations. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 9(1-2), 9-33.
- Carr, L. T. (1994). The strengths and weaknesses of quantitative and qualitative research: what method for nursing? *Journal of advanced nursing*, 20(4), 716-721.
- Cassel, C., Hackl, P., & Westlund, A. H. (1999). Robustness of partial least-squares method for estimating latent variable quality structures. *Journal of applied statistics*, 26(4), 435-446.
- Cooper, T. L., Bryer, T. A., & Meek, J. W. (2006). Citizen-centered collaborative public management. *Public administration review*, 66, 76-88.
- Cornwall, A., & Gaventa, J. (2000). From users and choosers to makers and shapers repositioning participation in social policy1. *IDS Bulletin*, 31(4), 50-62.
- Dalton, R. J. (2018). Party representation across multiple issue dimensions. *Party Politics*, 23(6), 609-622.
- De Tocqueville, A. (1990). *Alexis De Tocqueville's Journey to Ireland*. CUA Press.
- Debrah, E. (2015). Reforming Ghana's Electoral Process: Lessons and the Way Forward. *Journal of Politics and Law*; 8(1), 1-13.
- Diller, E. C. (2001). Citizens in service: The challenge of delivering civic engagement training to national service programs. *Washington, DC: Corporation for National and Community Service*.
- Ferris, G. R., & Judge, T. A. (1991). Personnel/human resources management: A political influence perspective. *Journal of management*, 17(2), 447-488.
- Ferris, G. R., Munyon, T. P., Basik, K., & Buckley, M. R. (2008). The performance evaluation context: Social, emotional, cognitive, political, and relationship components. *Human Resource Management Review*, 18(3), 146-163.

- Fiorina, M. P. (1981). Some problems in studying the effects of resource allocation in congressional elections. *American Journal of Political Science*, 543-567.
- Gyimah-Boadi, E., & Prempeh, H. K. (2012). Oil, politics, and Ghana's democracy. *Journal of democracy*, 23(3), 94-108.
- Hair, J. F., Risher, J. J., Sarstedt, M., & Ringle, C. M. (2019). When to use and how to report the results of PLS-SEM. *European business review*.
- Harding, R. (2019). What democracy does (and doesn't do) for basic services: School fees, school inputs, and African elections. *The Journal of Politics*, 76(1), 229-245.
- Hazan, R. Y. & Rahat, G. (2006). Candidate selection: Methods and consequences. In R. S. Katz and W. Crotty (Eds.), *Handbook of Party Politics*, Chapter 10, pp. 109–121. London: SAGE.
- Hoffman, B. D., & Long, J. D. (2015). Parties, ethnicity, and voting in African elections. *Comparative Politics*, 45(2), 127-146.]
- Key, V. O., & Cummings, M. C. (1966). *The Responsible Electorate: Rationality in Presidential Voting, 1936-1960*. With the Assistance of Milton C. Cummings, Jr. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Geys, B. (2006). 'Rational' theories of voter turnout: a review. *Political Studies Review*, 4(1), 16-35.
- Krejcie, R. V., & Morgan, D. W. (1970). Determining sample size for research activities. *Educational and psychological measurement*, 30(3), 607-610.
- Lindberg, S. I., & Morrison, M. K. (2005). Exploring voter alignments in Africa: Core and swing voters in Ghana. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 43(4), 565-586.
- Lindberg, S. I., & Morrison, M. K. (2019). Are African voters really ethnic or clientelistic? Survey evidence from Ghana. *Political Science Quarterly*, 123(1), 95-122.
- Lukensmeyer, C. J., & Torres, L. H. (2006). Today's Leadership Challenge-Engaging Citizens. *Public Manager*, 35(3), 26-31
- Lupia, A., McCubbins, M. D., & Popkin, S. L. (2000). Beyond rationality: Reason and the study of politics. *Elements of reason: Cognition, choice, and the bounds of rationality*, 1-20.

- Manza, J., & Cook, F. L. (2019). A democratic polity? Three views of policy responsiveness to public opinion in the United States. *American Politics Research*, 30(6), 630-667.
- Mbote, D. K., Nyblade, L., Kemunto, C., Giger, K., Kimani, J., Mingkwan, P., & Kraemer, J.D. (2020). Police discrimination, misconduct, and stigmatization of female sex workers in Kenya: associations with delayed and avoided health care utilization and lower consistent condom use. *Health and human rights*, 22(2), 199-212.
- Miller, W. E. (2016). Party identification, realignment, and party voting: Back to the basics. *The American Political Science Review*, 557-568.
- Miller, W. E., Shanks, J. M., & Shapiro, R. Y. (1996). *The new American voter* (pp. (140-46) Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Morton, R. B., & Williams, K. C. (2010). *Experimental political science and the study of causality: From nature to the lab*. Cambridge University Press.
- Musah, I., Boah, D. K., & Seidu, B. (2020). Analysis of the Performance of Two Political Parties in Ghana Using Game Theory and Linear Programming. *Applied Mathematics*, 10(2), 21-27.
- Nabatchi, T. (2012). Putting the “public” back in public values research: Designing participation to identify and respond to values. *Public Administration Review*, 72(5), 699-708.
- Neelankavil, J. P (2015). *International Business Research*. London: Routledge
- Neuman, W. L., & Robson, K. (2014). *Basics of social research*. Toronto: Pearson Canada.
- Ntim, C. G. (2018). Environmental policy, sustainable development, governance mechanisms and environmental performance. *Business Strategy and the Environment*, 27(3), 415-435.
- Nwanganga, A. P., Peter, N. C., & Udensi Mirian, I. (2017). Political Branding/Brand Personality and Voter's Choice of Candidate: An Empirical Inquiry into 2015 Presidential Election in Nigeria. *Journal of Marketing and Consumer Research*, 37(7), 1-15.
- Ofori, R., & Dampson, D. G. (2011). *Research methods and statistics using SPSS. Amakom-Kumasi: Payless Publication Limited.*
- Ofosu, G. (2019). Do fairer elections increase the responsiveness of politicians? *American Political Science Review*, 113(4), 963-979.

- Olson, M. (1989). Collective action. In *The invisible hand* (pp. 61-69). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ordeshook, P. C., & Zeng, L. (2017). Rational voters and strategic voting: Evidence from the 1968, 1980 and 1992 elections. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 9(2), 167-187.
- Pallant, J. F. (2016). Adaptation and psychometric testing of the Practice Environment Scale for use with midwives. *Women and Birth*, 29(1), 24-29.
- Prysbly, C., & Scavo, C. (2018). American Political Science Association, and Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research. SETUPS: Voting Behavior: The 2016 Election. Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. In *Culture and politics* (pp. 223-234). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Ranganath, S., Morstatter, F., Hu, X., Tang, J., Wang, S., & Liu, H. (2016). Predicting online protest participation of social media users. In *Proceedings of the AAAI Conference on Artificial Intelligence*, 30 (1), 1-7
- Rule, J. (2014). *The labouring classes in early industrial England, 1750-1850*. Routledge, UK
- Sacks, A. (2012). Can donors and non-state actors undermine citizens' legitimating beliefs? *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper*, (6158).
- Sallee, M. W., & Flood, J. T. (2012). Using qualitative research to bridge research, policy, and practice. *Theory into practice*, 51(2), 137-144.
- Saunders, M. N., & Bezzina, F. (2015). Reflections on conceptions of research methodology among management academics. *European Management Journal*, 33(5), 297-304.
- Saunders, M., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A. (2016). *Research methods for business students*, 7th Edition. Nueva York: Pearson Education.
- Sekaran, U., & Bougie, R. (2016). *Research Methods for Business 7th Edition*. John Wiley.

- Silverman, D. (2013a) *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook*, 4th edition. London: Sage
- Soroka, S. N., & Wlezien, C. (2005). Opinion–policy dynamics: public preferences and public expenditure in the United Kingdom. *British Journal of Political Science*, 35(4), 665-689.
- Soroka, S. N., & Wlezien, C. (2010). *Degrees of democracy: Politics, public opinion, and policy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Strong, J. (2015). Interpreting the Syria vote: parliament and British foreign policy. *International Affairs*, 91(5), 1123-1139.
- Tetlock, P. E. (2000). Coping with trade-offs: Psychological constraints and political implications. *Elements of reason: Cognition, choice, and the bounds of rationality*, 239-263.
- Tomz, M., & Van Houweling, R. P. (2018). Candidate positioning and voter choice. *American Political Science Review*, 303-318.
- Tsuruyo, F. (2013). *Changing local elite selection in Thailand: emergence of new local government presidents after direct elections and their capabilities* (No. 411). Institute of Developing Economies, Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO).
- Xiong, H. (2019). Public Service Motivation and Community Participation Behavior of Citizens: A Chinese Study. *Thai Journal of Public Administration*, 17(1), 35-35.
- Zimmerman, M. A., & Zahniser, J. H. (1991). Refinements of sphere-specific measures of perceived control: Development of a sociopolitical control scale. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 19(2), 189-204.