

## ANNEXES

### ANNEX I

**Table 1: Comparison of Turnout as a Proportion of Registered Voter and VAP-use presidential**

Year	Population	Voting age population	Registration	Total vote	VAP	Turnout (per registered voter)
2016	26,908,262	14,974,531	15,712,499	10,614,718	70.88 %	67.55 %
2012	24,652,402	13,682,083	14,031,793	11,226,352	82.05 %	80.01 %
2008	23,434,573	13,021,558	12,472,758	8,671,272	66.59 %	69.52 %
2004	20,757,032	11,020,508	10,354,970	8,813,908	79.98 %	85.12 %
2000	20,212,000	10,141,400	10,698,652	6,546,695	64.55 %	61.19 %
1996	17,958,000	8,799,420	9,200,000	5,980,000	67.96 %	65.00 %
1992	15,959,000	6,862,370	7,336,846	2,059,415	30.01 %	28.07 %

Source: Compiled using electoral data from IDEAS

**Table 2: Missing Electoral Data for Constituencies**

Nr.	Election Type	Year	Region	Constituency
1	Parliamentary	2000	Central	Agona East
2	Parliamentary	2000	Western	Sefwi Wiawso
3	Parliamentary	2004	Central	Gomoa East
4	Parliamentary	2004	Central	Gomoa West
5	Parliamentary	2004	Northern	Tolon
6	Parliamentary	2004	Western	Affia-Kwesimintim
7	Parliamentary	2008	Eastern	Abuakwa North
8	Parliamentary	2008	Eastern	Abuakwa South
9	Presidential	1996	Ashanti	Afigya Sekyere West
10	Presidential	1996	Ashanti	Ahafo Ano South
11	Presidential	1996	Ashanti	Ejura Sekyedumase
12	Presidential	1996	Eastern	Akwapim South
13	Presidential	1996	Eastern	Asuogyaman
14	Presidential	1996	Eastern	Fanteakwa
15	Presidential	1996	Greater Accra	Ashaiman
16	Presidential	1996	Northern	Bole
17	Presidential	1996	Northern	Gushiegu/Karaga
18	Presidential	1996	Northern	West Mumprusi
19	Presidential	1996	Upper West	Lawra
20	Presidential	1996	Volta	Akan
21	Presidential	1996	Volta	Ho East

22	Presidential	1996	Volta	Ho West
23	Presidential	1996	Western	Ahanta West
24	Presidential	1996	Western	Tarkwa Nsuaem
25	Presidential	2000	Western	Amenfi Central
26	Presidential	2004	Greater Accra	Ablekuma North
27	Presidential	2004	Greater Accra	Tema West
28	Presidential	2004	Upper West	Wa Central
29	Presidential	2004	Volta	Ho Central
30	Presidential	2004	Volta	South Tongu
31	Presidential	2004	Western	Effia Kwesimintim
32	Presidential	2008	Central	Hemang Lower Denkyira
33	Presidential	2008	Eastern	Akim Abuakwa North
34	Presidential	2008	Eastern	Akim Abuakwa South
35	Presidential	2008	Eastern	Atiwa
36	Presidential	2008	Eastern	Ayensuano
37	Presidential	2008	Northern	Damongo Daboya
38	Presidential	2012	Volta	Ahanta West

Author's Compilation

**Table 3: Constituencies within the Upper and Lower Ranges of 5<sup>th</sup> Percentile**

	Constituencies	Number of Count
Possible High Turnout Cases	Afigya Sekyere East	2
	Bawku Central	1
	Bekwai	3
	Bibiani-A. Bekwai	2
	Bole Bamboi	1
	Bosome-Freho	2
	Fomena	2
	Gusheigu	2
	Nanton	4
	Saboba	3
	Savelugu	2
Possible low Turnout Cases	Aowin-Suaman	2
	Bawku Central	1
	Bole Bamboi	1
	Jaman	2
	Jomoro	4
	Nabdam	2
	Ningo/Prampram	2
	South Dayi	2
	Tain	2
Wenchi West	2	

Author's Compilation

**Table 4: Two Points Plus and Minus the Average \_Presidential**

Constituencies	Number of Counts
Ada	4
Assin North	4
Ayawaso East	4
Biakoye	4
Builsa South	4
Dade Kotopon	4
North Tongu	4
Okaikwei North	4
Okaikwei South	4
Tema West	4
Wa Central	4

Author's Compilation

**Table 5: Overview of Constituencies as Potential High, Average and Low Turnout Cases with their corresponding Turnout from 1996 to 2012**

Cases	Constituencies	1996	2000	2004	2008	2012
National Average Turnout		78.21	61.90	85.12	69.79	79.43
Possible High Turnout Cases	Nanton	83.40	72.60	95.00	80.67	80.67
	Saboba	80.10	71.90	91.00	80.60	88.27
	Bekwai	67.80	93.59	79.79	87.70	82.10
Possible Average Turnout Areas	Ada	80.20	55.00	86.20	67.83	80.20
	Assin North	77.80	65.80	86.82	69.00	79.50
	Ayawaso East	79.30	57.30	85.30	67.80	79.20
	Biakoye	82.10	62.10	86.39	68.65	73.00
	Builsa South	78.40	64.30	85.00	73.79	79.17
	Dade Kotopon	80.60	62.20	85.30	71.80	76.34
	North Tongu	80.20	65.20	88.05	71.31	77.50
	Okaikwei North	77.50	62.20	86.80	67.50	79.47
	Okaikwei South	79.40	58.90	85.20	67.56	79.20
	Tema West	81.50	64.10	83.70	68.48	78.20
	Wa Central	82.50	58.70	75.00	72.00	81.01
Possible Low Turnout Cases	Ellembelle	64.00	56.74	80.26	62.72	79.10
	Jomoro	53.30	40.58	68.00	61.30	67.00
	South Dayi	64.00	48.50	86.82	62.81	75.00
	Gomoa East	72.30	54.90	81.09	73.43	75.10
	Gomoa West	71.20	54.30	82.08	63.96	75.30
	Jirapa	70.40	56.70	78.00	61.00	76.76
	Ketu South	76.80	52.10	88.01	62.52	71.30

Author's Compilation using data from the electoral commission of Ghana

**Table 6: Overview of voting patterns across all the emerged possible cases**

Cases	Constituencies	Counts	1996	2000	2004	2008	2012
High turnout	Nanton	4	NDC	NDC	NDC	NPP	NDC
	Saboba	4	NDC	NDC	NPP	NDC	NDC
	Bekwai	3	NPP	NPP	NPP	IND	NPP
Average Turnout	Ada	4	NDC	NDC	NDC	NDC	NDC
	Assin North	4	NDC	NPP	NPP	NPP	NDC
	Ayawaso East	4	NDC	NDC	NDC	NDC	NDC
	Biakoye	4	NDC	NDC	NDC	NDC	NDC
	Builsa South	4	NDC	NDC	NDC	PNC	PNC
	Dade Kotopon	4	NDC	NPP	NDC	NDC	NDC
	North Tongu	4	NDC	NDC	NDC	NDC	NDC
	Okaikwei North	4	NPP	NPP	NDC	NPP	NPP
	Okaikwei South	4	NPP	NPP	NPP	NPP	NPP
	Tema West	4	NPP	NPP	NPP	NPP	NPP
	Wa Central	4	NDC	NDC	NDC	NDC	NDC
Low turnout	Ellembelle	4	CPP	CPP	CPP	NDC	NDC
	Jomoro	4	NDC	NDC	NDC	CPP	NDC
	South Dayi	4	NDC	NDC	NDC	NDC	NDC
	Gomoa East	3	NDC	NPP	NPP	NDC	NDC
	Gomoa West	3	NDC	NDC	NDC	NDC	NDC
	Jirapa	3	NDC	NDC	NDC	NDC	IND
	Ketu South	3	NDC	NDC	NDC	NDC	NDC

Author's Compilation using data from the Electoral Commission of Ghana

**Table 7: Overview of the Constituencies and Number of Selected Electoral Areas**

Constituencies	Voter Population	No. of Electoral Areas	No. of Electoral Areas Selected
Nanton	21,780	19	2
Assin North	35,937	18	2
Ellembelle	48,468	36	4

Author's Compilation using data from the Electoral Commission of Ghana

**Table 8: Nanton Constituency\_Electoral Area Level Electoral Data 2012**

Electoral Area	Geographical Location	Registered Voter	NDC	NPP	PPP	Vote Cast	Turnout (%)	Voting Pattern
Digu	Rural	831	563	148	0	711	86	NDC
Gbumgbum	Rural	1353	562	604	0	1166	86	NPP
Jana	Rural	1247	606	502	0	1108	89	NDC
Jegun	Rural	444	207	199	0	406	92	NDC
<i>Kpunduli</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>1262</i>	<i>620</i>	<i>431</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>1051</i>	<i>81</i>	<i>NDC</i>
Nyamandu	Rural	342	103	189		292	85	NPP
Nyolugu	Rural	760	403	213	1	617	79	NDC
Sahikpaligu	Rural	1226	725	339	0	1064	89	NDC
Tinkurugu	Rural	524	305	128	1	434	83	NDC
Zoggu	Rural	900	501	167		668	74	NDC
Zokuga	Rural	1001	358	498	0	856	86	NPP
Zoonayili	Rural	1100	378	513	0	891	80	NPP
Kurugu	Urban	1496	431	822	0	1253	85	NPP
Sandu	Urban	884	277	460	0	737	85	NPP
Tampion	Urban	3016	1799	646	3	2448	81	NDC
Zieng	Urban	1739	473	998	0	1471	85	NPP
Limanfong-Nanton	Urban-Nanton Township	1378	88	513	0	601	46	NPP
<i>Nayilifong</i>	<i>Urban-Nanton Township</i>	<i>1702</i>	<i>96</i>	<i>1216</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>1312</i>	<i>77</i>	<i>NPP</i>
Wanzama Fong	Urban-Nanton Township	575	47	399		446	78	NPP
Total		21,780	8542	8985	5	17532	81	

Author's Compilation using data from the Electoral Commission of Ghana

**Table 9: Assin North Constituency\_Electoral Area Level Electoral Data 2012**

ELECTORAL AREA	Locality	Registered Voter	NDC	NPP	Total Vote	Turnout	Voting Pattern
Anhweasu	Rural	3674	1163	352	1625	0.44	NDC
Awoabo/Asirim	Rural	1362	659	409	1132	0.83	NDC
Bediadua	Rural	5193	1642	475	2288	0.44	NDC
Ghana Camp/Atintan	Rural	2089	1020	585	1713	0.82	NDC
Ninkyiso	Rural	808	470	136	682	0.84	NDC
Sienkyiem	Rural	3391	927	466	1500	0.44	NDC
<i>Wawase</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>1429</i>	<i>651</i>	<i>393</i>	<i>1140</i>	<i>0.80</i>	<i>NDC</i>
Achiano	Urban	3589	919	542	1600	0.45	NDC
Akonfudi	Semi-Urban	2521	814	1019	1962	0.78	NPP
Asempa/Dansame	Urban	2842	722	1464	2291	0.81	NPP
Basofi Ningo/Gangan	Semi-Urban	4816	1444	440	2025	0.42	NDC
<i>Breku/brasiakoo</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>1685</i>	<i>524</i>	<i>764</i>	<i>1337</i>	<i>0.79</i>	<i>NPP</i>
Dadiesoaba	Urban	1159	381	438	868	0.75	NPP
Dominase/nduasoo	Semi-Urban	2055	574	944	1614	0.79	NPP
Endwa	Semi-Urban	1834	750	771	1514	0.83	NDC
Kushea	Urban	3754	515	1055	1652	0.44	NPP
Odumasi	Semi-Urban	3876	1120	809	2036	0.53	NDC
Praso	Urban	1941	555	822	1441	0.74	NPP
Total		35937	14850	11884	28537	0.79	

Author's Compilation using data from the Electoral Commission of Ghana

**Table 10: Ellembelle Constituency\_Electoral Area Level Electoral Data 2008**

Electoral areas	Locality	Voters Population	NPP	NDC	Vote s cast	Valid votes	Turnout	Voting pattern
Special Voting		42	23	19	42	42		NPP
A. B. Bokazo	Rural	1760	668	423	1105	1091	0.63	NPP
Adubrim	Rural	1045	192	386	595	578	0.57	NDC
Akoto	Rural	628	147	262	415	409	0.66	NDC
Akropong	Rural	1062	176	450	639	626	0.6	NDC
Ampian-Refugee camp	Rural	1129	311	386	700	697	0.62	NDC
<i>Asenta</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>1425</i>	<i>565</i>	<i>273</i>	<i>842</i>	<i>838</i>	<i>0.59</i>	<i>NPP</i>
Asenta Kotokro	Rural	1398	381	488	622	869	0.44	NDC
Atuabo	Rural	942	248	299	554	547	0.59	NDC
Awiebo Nyiake	Rural	1544	529	646	1186	1175	0.77	NDC
Awiebo Solo	Rural	447	93	172	266	265	0.60	NDC
Ayawora	Rural	418	101	118	220	219	0.53	NDC
Basake	Rural	1175	427	245	683	672	0.58	NPP
Kamgbunli	Rural	1128	256	597	854	853	0.76	NDC
Kwasikrom	Rural	3119	525	1191	1750	1716	0.56	NDC
Mantukwa	Rural	299	6	219	228	225	0.76	NDC
Menezzor	Rural	999	376	378	763	754	0.76	NDC
New Aiyinase	Rural	1887	328	763	1101	1091	0.58	NDC
<i>Ngalekye</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>1758</i>	<i>427</i>	<i>604</i>	<i>1039</i>	<i>1031</i>	<i>0.59</i>	<i>NDC</i>
Nyame Bekyere	Rural	910	144	417	564	561	0.62	NDC
Salman	Rural	1249	265	409	681	674	0.55	NDC
Sanzule	Rural	1160	390	299	698	689	0.60	NPP
Tandan	Rural	1181	346	378	733	724	0.62	NDC
<i>Aiyinase South</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>1730</i>	<i>476</i>	<i>497</i>	<i>985</i>	<i>973</i>	<i>0.57</i>	<i>NDC</i>
Asasetre Ebowu	Urban	1221	414	302	727	716	0.60	NPP
Asasetre Nzezemlenu	Urban	1800	552	600	1167	1152	0.65	NDC
Ayinase North	Urban	3898	1045	1037	2091	2082	0.54	NPP
Eikwe	Urban	1495	652	279	941	931	0.63	NPP
<i>Esiama Ahunlunu</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>1381</i>	<i>422</i>	<i>407</i>	<i>833</i>	<i>829</i>	<i>0.60</i>	<i>NPP</i>

Esiama Ekpoli	Urban	2059	672	545	1226	1217	0.60	NPP
Esiama Muzukro	Urban	929	172	418	595	590	0.64	NDC
Kikam	Urban	2049	686	323	1014	1009	0.49	NPP
Nkroful Elunibo	Semi Urban	2168	670	381	1062	1051	0.49	NPP
Teleku Bokazo	Semi Urban	2520	1069	527	1607	1596	0.64	NPP
Total		48468	13731	14719	28745	28450	0.59	

Author's Compilation using data from the Electoral Commission of Ghana

**Table 11: Estimated Sample Size**

Constituencies	Voters Population	The proportion of the Total of 3 Constituencies*	Total	Plus (5%)	Gender Structure		Age Structure		
					No. of Women (%)	No. of Men (%)	18-30 (%)	31-50 (%)	51+ (%)
Nanton	21, 780	21%	125	131	52 (40%)	79 (60%)	85(65%)	35(27%)	11 (8%)
Assin North	35, 937	34%	202	212	114 (54%)	98 (46%)	104(49%)	74(35%)	34 (35%)
Ellebelle	48, 468	46%	273	287	152 (53%)	135 (47%)	141(49%)	92(32%)	54 (19%)
Total	106,185	100	600	630	318 (51%)	322 (49%)	330 (52%)	201(32%)	99 (16%)

Author's compilation. \*These are approximations

## ANNEX II

**Survey Questionnaire PhD Study**  
**Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies (BIGSAS),**  
**University of Bayreuth, Germany**  
**Research Topic: To Vote or Not to Vote: Understanding the Ghanaian Voter**

### Section A: Introduction

Respondent No.	Fieldworker No.

*Interviewer: Select appropriate code for Region. Write names for District, Constituency and Town/Village in the box*

Region	District	Constituency	Town/Village

Good day. My name is \_\_\_\_\_. I am an independent researcher from the University of Bayreuth. I do not represent the government or any political party. I am studying why some people decide to go and vote on election day while others do not. I would, therefore, like to discuss these issues with you.

Your answers will be confidential. They will be put together with 600 other people I am talking to get an overall picture. It will be impossible to pick you out from what you say, so please feel free to tell us what you think. This interview will take about 45 minutes. There is no penalty for refusing to participate. Do you wish to proceed? *[The interview proceeds only if the answer is positive]*

We can do this interview in Twi, Dagbani, Nzema or English. Please, tell me which language you would like to use.

DATEINTR	Day	Month	Year
Date of Interview (Enter Day, Month and Year)			

STRTIME	Hour	Minutes
Time the interview started (Enter hour and minute using the 24hr clock)		

**Begin Interview**

### Section B: Demographic Data

Let's begin by recording a few facts about yourself.

1	Are you a Ghanaian?	
a.	Yes	1
b.	No	2

2	How old are you? (If the respondent is aged less than 18, please stop)	

3	Which of the Ghanaian Languages do you speak? Multiple Response allowed	
a.	Akan	1
b.	Ewe	2
c.	Ga	3
d.	Dagbani	4
e.	Hausa	5
f.	Nzema	6
g.	English	7

h.	Others	8
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	Gender	
a.	Female	1
b.	Male	2

4	What lineage are you (Do you inherit from your father's side or mother's side?)	
a.	Patrilineal	1
b.	Matrilineal	2

5	Do you have a job that pays cash income?	
a.	Yes, Full time	1
b.	Yes, Part-time	2
c.	No, Looking for a job	3
d.	No, but not looking for a job	4
e.	No, Schooling	5
f.	No, I am retired	6
g.	No, Because I am disabled	7
h.	Don't know (Do not read)	88

	What is the highest level of education?	
a.	Basic	1
b.	Junior High School	2
c.	Senior High School	3
d.	Form four	4
e.	Vocational School	5
f.	Polytechnic	6
g.	University	7
h.		88

6	What is your main occupation? (If retired or disabled, what was your last main occupation?) [Do not read options. Code from responses.]	
a.	Never had a job	1
c.	Housewife/ Homemaker	3
d.	Agriculture/Farming/Fishing/Forestry	4
e.	Trader/Hawker/Vendor	5
f.	Unskilled manual worker	6
g.	Artisan skilled manual worker-electrician, mechanic, carpenter etc.	7
h.	Supervisor/Foreman	7
i.	Security service	8
j.	Mid-Level Professional (e.g., banker/finance, doctor, lawyer, engineer, accountant, professor, senior-level government officer)	9
k.	Upper-Level Professional (e.g., banker/finance, doctor, lawyer, engineer, accountant, professor, senior-level government officer)	10
l.	Other	11
m.	Don't know (Do not read)	88

7	What is your religion, if any? (Do not read options.)	
a.	Christian	1
b.	Muslim	2
c.	Traditional Religion	3
d.	Others	4
e.	None	5

f.	Refused to Answer (Do not read)	66
g.	Don't know (Do not read)	88

## PART I

### Section C: Registration and Voting Behavior

I would like to ask a couple of questions regarding registration and voting.

8	Some people were not able to register as voters for the 2016 elections. Please which of the following statement is true in your case?	
a.	I registered to vote	1
b.	I could not register (If no, please skip to Part II question no. Q (73 )	2

9	Before your last registration, have you ever registered in previous registration exercises?	
a.	Yes If when.....	1
b.	No	2

10	We recently had the 2016 general elections. And, it is a citizens' free decision to vote or not to vote. So, with regard to this 2016 election, which statement is true for you?	
a.	I voted in the 2016 election	1
b.	I decided not to vote (If no, please skip to Section H)	2
c.	I was prevented from voting	3

11	Regarding previous elections, could you please tell me which of the following statement is true in your case? [If the respondent argues that they had not reached the voting age yet, the answer 'not voted' applies.] Multiple Choice	
a.	I voted in 2012 when Mahama was elected	1
b.	I voted in 2008 when Ata Mills was elected President	2
c.	I voted in 2004, when Kufour was reelected and therefore continued to be President	3
d.	I voted in 2000 when Kufour was elected President for the first time	4
e.	I voted in 1996 when Rawlings was reelected	5
f.	I voted in 1992 when Rawlings was elected	6
g.	Not Voted	7

### Section D: Assessment of Institutional Group of Variables (Please do not read out)

#### I. Registration Requirement and Processes

Thank you for this information about your own registration and voting. Now, I would like us to talk a bit more about the registration requirements and processes since some people find difficulties when registering whereas others do

12	What in general would you say about your last registration process?	
a.	Very Easy	1
b.	Easy	2
c.	Difficult	3
d.	Very Difficult	4
e.	Don't know (Do not read)	88

13	What do you think of the time it took you to register	
a.	Very enough	1
b.	Enough	2
c.	A bit more time than I expected	3
d.	Too much time	4

14	How much time did it take you to go through the registration process? (Please allow the respondent to give an impression of the time if they are unable to do that when you give the options)	
Response		
a.	10-20 minutes	1
b.	20-40 minutes	2
c.	Above 40 minutes	3
d.	Don't Remember	88

15	When you wanted to register to vote, what identification documents did you use?	
a.	Ghanaian Passport	1
b.	Drivers' license	2
c.	National Identification card	3
d.	An old voter ID Card	4
e.	Sight Identification	5
f.	Others Requirements:	6
g.	Don't Remember	88

## II. Election Day

Thank you for this information on the registration process. Now, I would like you to tell me your thoughts about the Election Day in general.

16	What in general would you say about the recent voting process?	
a.	Very Easy	1
b.	Easy	2
c.	Difficult	3
d.	Very Difficult	4
e.	Don't know (Do not read)	88

17	What do you think about the fact that elections are held within a day?	
a.	I think it is enough	1
b.	There is a need for an additional day	2
c.	It does not matter	3

18	Do you think more people would go out and vote if elections took place on holiday?	
a.	Yes	1
b.	No	2
c.	I don't Know	3

19	Would you personally prefer that elections take place on holiday?	
a.	Yes	1
b.	No	2
c.	It does not make a difference	3

20	In some countries, the law forces people to vote. Do you think that if that law is brought to Ghana, the number of people who do go to vote will increase?	
a.	Yes	1
b.	No	2
c.	It will not make a difference	3

21	What do you think about the time it takes you to get to the polling station?	
a.	Too much	1
b.	Okay	2

c.	A bit more time than expected	3
d.	Too much time	4

22	How much time did it take you to get to the polling station? (Please allow the respondent to give an impression of the time if he/she is unable to do that when you give the options)	
Response		
a.	10-20 minutes	1
b.	20-40 minutes	2
c.	Above 40 minutes	3
C	Don't Remember	88

23	What do you think about the time it takes you to stand in a line to vote?	
a.	Too much	1
b.	Okay	2
c.	A bit more time than expected	3
d.	Too much time	4

24	How much time did it take you to stand in a line to vote? (Please allow the respondent to give an impression of the time if he/she is unable to do that when you give the options)	
Response		
a.	10 - 30 minutes	1
b.	31 - 60 minutes	2
c.	Above 60 minutes	3
C	Don't Remember	88

25	Will the time it took you to vote in the last election influence your decision to go to vote in the next election?	
a.	Yes, negatively: It will discourage me from voting again	1
b.	Yes, positively: It will encourage me to vote again.	2
c.	No, it will not influence my decision to vote	3

26	On the election day, did you have to neglect something important to go to vote?	
a.	Yes If yes, what...	1
b.	No	2

### III. Concurrent Election

27	In some other countries, the president and MPs are not elected on the same day. So imagine the presidential election takes place this week and the parliamentary election takes place next to two months. Do you think this will be too much of an effort to go to vote on both occasions?	
a.	Yes	1
b.	No	2

## Section E: Assessment of the level of influence by Political Variables

Having told me your thoughts on the registration and voting processes, I would like us to briefly talk about the political parties in the country; please this is not about the party you like.

### I. Political Fragmentation

28	What do you think about the number of political parties that run for the last election?	
a.	Too Many	1
b.	Just the Right Number	2
c.	Too Few	3
d.	Don't know (Do not read)	88

29	What number would you say is okay?	
a.		

30	Do you think the parties are different in terms of their ideas and projects?	
a.	Very different	1
b.	Somewhat different	2
c.	Somewhat the same	3
d.	Very much the same	4
e.	Don't know (Do not read)	88

## II. *Assessment of presence and activities of political parties*

31	Which political parties were present in this area during the electoral campaign? (Leave time for spontaneous answers and tick the first box; if no spontaneous answers come, continue :) Maybe the somehow big parties such as... (Now read options in arbitrary order and tick the latter box).			
		Spontaneous		When quoted
a.	CPP	11		21
b.	NDC	12		22
c.	NDP	13		23
d.	NPP	14		24
e.	PNC	15		25
f.	PPP	16		26
g.	Don't know (Do not read)	88		89

32	What things did CPP do in your electoral area before the election?	
a.	Rallies	1
b.	House to house visit	2
c.	Visiting your Church / Mosque	3
d.	Distributing goods and items	4
e.	Organizing charity programs	5
f.	Others things, please list	6

33	What things did NDC do in your electoral area before the election?	
a.	Rallies	1
b.	House to house visit	2
c.	Visiting your Church / Mosque	3
d.	Distributing goods and items	4
e.	Organizing charity programs	5
f.	Others things, please list	6

34	What things did NDP do in your electoral area before the election?	
a.	Rallies	1
b.	House to house visit	2
c.	Visiting your Church / Mosque	3
d.	Distributing goods and items	4
e.	Organizing charity programs	5
f.	Others things, please list	6

35	What things did NPP do in your electoral area before the election?	
a.	Rallies	1
b.	House to house visit	2
c.	Visiting your Church / Mosque	3
d.	Distributing goods and items	4
e.	Organizing charity programs	5
f.	Others things, please list	6

36	What things did PNC do in your electoral area before the election?	
a.	Rallies	1
b.	House to house visit	2
c.	Visiting your Church / Mosque	3
d.	Distributing goods and items	4
e.	Organizing charity programs	5
f.	Others things, please list	6

37	What things did PPP do in your electoral area before the election?	
a.	Rallies	1
b.	House to house visit	2
c.	Visiting your Church / Mosque	3
d.	Distributing goods and items	4
e.	Organizing charity programs	5
f.	Others things, please list	6

38	Did you in any way participate in these campaign activities?	
a.	Yes	1
b.	No	2
c.	Don't know (Do not read)	88
d.	Don't want to answer (Do not read)	99

39	Which one of the activities did you find beneficial for the community?	
a.	Rallies	1
b.	House to house visit	2
c.	Visiting your Church / Mosque	3
d.	Distributing goods and items	4
e.	Organizing charity programs	5
f.	Others things, please list	6

40	Did any of the things done by the parties convince you to go to vote?	
a.	Yes	1
b.	No	2

41	Did your participation in these activities in any way influence your decision as to which party to vote for?	
a.	Yes	1
b.	No	2

42	At what point in time did you decide to vote during the 2016 election?	
a.	I always knew I would be voting	1
b.	I decided to vote at the beginning of the year	2
c.	I decided to vote sometime just before the campaign period	3
d.	I took the decision only a few days before the election day	4
e.	Don't know (Do not read)	88

43	When did you make your decision as to whom to vote for?	
a.	I always knew who I will be voting for.	1
b.	I took that decision at the beginning of the year	2
c.	I took that decision sometime before the campaign period	3
d.	I took that decision only a few days before the election day	4
e.	At the same moment in time that I decided to go to vote	5
f.	Don't know (Do not read)	88

44	Have you at any point in time decided not to go to vote, and then you changed your mind and went to vote?	
a.	Yes If yes, why...	1
b.	No	2

45	Did you vote for your preferred candidate?	
a.	Yes	1
b.	No, I choose someone else with better chances	2
c.	Don't want to answer (Do not read)	99

### III. Availability of Information

I would like you to tell me about how you got information about the election.

46	How was it for you when you wanted to get information about the party (s) programs?	
a.	Very easy	1
b.	Easy	2
c.	Somewhat Difficult	3
d.	Very Difficult	4

47	Where do you get information about the election and the parties from? Think of the following (Multiple choice possible):	
	Options	
a.	Radio	1
	TV	2
b.	Newspaper	3
c.	Internet-Facebook	4
d.	Information Vans	5
e.	Party Rallies	6
f.	House to House Visit	7
g.	Information during association meetings	8
h.	Information through family members	9
i.	Information through friends	10
j.	Posters and flyers distributed by competing parties in the elections	11

k.	Others	12
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48	Did the information you got through the medium listed in Q47 influence your decision to go to vote?	
a.	Yes	1
b.	No	2
c.	Don't know	88
d.	Don't want to answer (Do not read)	99

## Section F: Social Variables

I would like us to talk about how you, your family and friends do discuss election-related topics.

### I. Family

49	Do you usually discuss political topics at home?	
a.	Yes, always	1
b.	Sometimes	2
c.	No	3

50	How many of your family members do you feel comfortable discussing politics with?	
a.	All of them	1
b.	Some of them	2
c.	None of them	3

51	Which of your family members voted?	
a.	Everyone who is of the voting age	1
b.	Some of them who are of the voting age	2
c.	None of them	3
d.	Don't know (Do not read)	88
e.	No Answer (Do not read)	77

52	Do you discuss your vote choice with family members?	
a.	Yes, all of them	1
b.	Yes, some of them	2
c.	No, none of them	3

### II. Friends

53	Do you discuss politics with friends or neighbours?	
a.	Yes, often	1
b.	Yes, several times	2
c.	Yes, once or twice	3
d.	No, but would do if I had the chance	4
e.	No, would never do this	5
f.	Don't know (Do not read)	88

54	How many of your friends do you feel comfortable discussing politics with?	
a.	All of them	1
b.	Some of them	2
c.	None of them	3

55	When discussing politics with your friends, are you often of the same view?	
a.	Yes, always	1
b.	Sometimes	2
c.	Rarely	3
d.	No	4

56	Do all your friends do go to vote	
a.	Yes, all of them	1
b.	Yes, most of them	2
c.	Yes, some of them	3
d.	Very few of them	4
e.	No, none of them	5

57	Would you say your friends encouraged you to vote?	
a.	Yes If Yes, how? .....	1
b.	No	2

58	Do you discuss your vote choice with friends?	
a.	Yes, all of them	1
b.	Yes, some of them	2
c.	No, none of them	3

**Section G: CONCLUSION**

Finally, I would like to collect some final thoughts from you.

59	Do you think that it does matter if people do not vote?	
a.	Yes	1
b.	No	2
c.	It does not make a difference	3
d.	Don't know (Don't readout)	88

60	What do you think about the extent of electoral participation in Ghana? Is it...?	
a.	Very High	1
b.	High	2
c.	Okay	3
d.	Low	4
e.	Very Low	5
f.	Don't know (Do not read)	88

61	Can you give me three major reasons why you think a lot of people do go to vote on Election day? (multiple answers possible)	
a.		1
b.		2
c.		3

62	If the respondent cites multiple reasons in question 61, ask again: And what is, according to you, the most important reason for people to go and vote?	
a.	[Repeat the answer code from the previous question.]	

63	Can you give me three main reasons why you went out to vote? Multiple Response allowed	
a.		1
b.		2
c.		3
64	If the respondent cites multiple reasons in question 63, ask again: And what is, according to you, the most important reason for people to go and vote?	
a.	[Repeat the answer code from the previous question.]	
65	With regards to the just-ended election, please which of the following statement describe your situation?	
a.	I voted for a woman	1
b.	I voted for a man	2
c	Don't remember	3
d.	Don't want to answer (Do not read)	99
66	Regarding past elections, which of the following statement is true in your case	
a.	I have voted for a woman before	1
b.	I have never voted for a woman before	2
c	Don't remember	3
c	Don't want to answer (Do not read)	99
67	Some people do care about gender when deciding to go to vote. Please tell me which of these statements describe your situation	
a.	I do not care if either a man or a woman is voted for	1
b.	I do care if a woman is voted for because politics is mostly for men	2
c.	Don't want to answer (Do not read)	99
68	How do you feel towards any particular political party?	
a.	Very close	1
b.	Somewhat close	2
c.	Not very close	3
d.	Refused to Answer (Do not read)	66
e.	Don't know (Do not read)	88
69	(Interviewer: if 'Yes' to Q (68) Which party is that?	
a.	Convention People's Party (CPP)	1
b.	National Democratic Congress (NDC)	2
c.	National Democratic Party (NDP)	3
d.	New Patriotic Party (NPP)	4
e.	People's National Convention (PNC)	5
f.	Progressive People's Party (PPP)	6
g	Other [Specify]:	7
70	If presidential elections were held tomorrow, which party's candidate would you vote for? [Do not read options. Code from response]	
a.	Convention People's Party (CPP)	1
b.	National Democratic Congress (NDC)	2
c.	National Democratic Congress (NDP)	3
d.	New Patriotic Party (NPP)	4
e.	People's National Convention (PNC)	5
f.	Progressive People's Party (PPP)	6
g.	Other [Specify]:	7
h.	Would not vote	8
i.	Refused to Answer (Do not read)	66

j.	Don't know (Do not read)	88
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Thank you very much for your time and for sharing your thoughts with me.

END OF INTERVIEW FOR RESPONDENT WHO VOTED

## PART II: Interview Continues for Non-Voters

### Section H: Assessment of Institutional Group of Variables

#### I. Registration Requirement and Processes

Thank you for this information about your own registration and voting. Now, I would like us to talk a bit more about the registration requirements and processes since some people find difficulties when registering whereas others do not.

71	What in general would you say about your last registration process?	
a.	Very Easy	1
b.	Easy	2
c.	Difficult	3
d.	Very Difficult	4
e.	Don't know (Do not read)	88

72	What do you think of the time it took you to register	
a.	Very enough	1
b.	Enough	2
c.	A bit more time than I expected	3
d.	Too much time	4

73	How much time did it take you to go through the registration process? (Please allow the respondent to give an impression of the time if he/she is unable to do that when you give the options)	
Response		
a.	10-20 minutes	1
b.	20-40 minutes	2
c.	Above 40 minutes	3
C	Don't remember	4

74	When you wanted to register to vote, what identification documents did you use? (Skip to Q 72)	
Options		
a.	Ghanaian Passport	1
b.	Drivers' license	2
c.	National Identification card	3
d.	An old voter ID Card	4
e.	Others Requirements:	5

75	If no Q (8), why have you never registered? Please do not read out the option (Restricted to those who have not registered)	
Reasons		
a.	I did not turn 18 during the last registration	1
b.	I did not want /had any interest to register	2
<i>I could not provide the following registrations documents</i>		
c.	Ghanaian Passport	3
d.	Drivers' license	4
e.	National Identification card	5
f.	An old voter ID Card	6
g.	I was not in town during the registration period	7
h.	I could not take time off work to register	8

i.	The registration period was not enough	9
j.	I was prevented from registering	10
k.	I could not find a place to register	11
l.	Others: Please give a reason	12

## II. Election Day

Thank you for this information about your own registration. Now, I would like you to tell me your thoughts about the Election Day in general.

76	What in general would you say about the recent voting process?	
a.	Very Easy	1
b.	Easy	2
c.	Difficult	3
d.	Very Difficult	4
e.	Don't know (Do not read)	88

77	What do you think about the fact that an election is held within a day?	
a.	I think it is enough	1
b.	There is a need for an additional day	2
c.	It does not matter	3

78	Do you think more people would go out and vote if elections took place on holiday?	
a.	Yes	1
b.	No	2
c.	I don't Know	3

79	Would you personally prefer that elections take place on holiday?	
a.	Yes	1
b.	No	2
c.	It does not make a difference	3

80	In some countries, the law forces people to vote. Do you think that if that law is brought to Ghana, the number of people who do go and vote will increase?	
a.	Yes	1
b.	No	2
c.	It does not make a difference	3

## III. Concurrent Election

81	In some other countries, the president and MPs are not elected on the same day. So imagine the presidential election takes place this week and the parliamentary election takes place next to two months. Do you think this will be too much of an effort to go to vote on both occasions?	
a.	Yes	1
b.	No	2

## Section I: Assessment of the level of influence by Political Variables

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Having told me your thoughts on the registration and voting processes, I would like us to briefly talk about the political parties in the country; please this is not about the party you like.

### I. Political Fragmentation

82	What do you think about the number of political parties that run for the 2016 election?	
a.	Too Many	1
b.	Just the Right Number	2
c.	Too Few	3
d.	Don't know (Do not read)	88

83	Do you think the parties are different in terms of their ideas and projects?	
a.	Very different	1
b.	Somewhat different	2
c.	Somewhat the same	3
d.	Very much the same	4
e.	Don't know (Do not read)	88

## II. Assessment of presence and activities of political parties

84	What are the political parties that were present in this area during the electoral campaign? (Leave time for spontaneous answers and tick the first box; if no spontaneous answers come, continue :) Maybe the somehow big parties such as... (Now read options in arbitrary order and tick the latter box).			
		Spontaneous		When quoted
a.	CPP	11		21
b.	NDC	12		22
c.	NDP	13		23
d.	NPP	14		24
e.	PNC	15		25
f.	PPP	16		26
g.	Don't know (Do not read)	88		89

85	What things did CPP do in your electoral area before the election?	
a.	Rallies	1
b.	House to house visit	2
c.	Visiting your Church / Mosque	3
d.	Distributing goods and items	4
e.	Organizing charity programs	5
f.	Others things, please list	6

86	What things did NDC do in your electoral area before the election?	
	Options	
a.	Rallies	1
b.	House to house visit	2
c.	Visiting your Church / Mosque	3
d.	Distributing goods and items	4
e.	Organizing charity programs	5
f.	Others things, please list	6

87	What things did NDP do in your electoral area before the election?	
a.	Rallies	1
b.	House to house visit	2
c.	Visiting your Church / Mosque	3
d.	Distributing goods and items	4
e.	Organizing charity programs	5
f.	Others things, please list	6

88	What things did NPP do in your electoral area before the election?	
a.	Rallies	1
b.	House to house visit	2
c.	Visiting your Church / Mosque	3
d.	Distributing goods and items	4
e.	Organizing charity programs	5
f.	Others things, please list	6

89	What things did PNC do in your electoral area before the election?	
a.	Rallies	1
b.	House to house visit	2
c.	Visiting your Church / Mosque	3
d.	Distributing goods and items	4
e.	Organizing charity programs	5
f.	Others things, please list	6

90	What things did PPP do in your electoral area before the election?	
a.	Rallies	1
b.	House to house visit	2
c.	Visiting your Church / Mosque	3
d.	Distributing goods and items	4
e.	Organizing charity programs	5
f.	Others things, please list	6

91	Did you in any way participate in these campaign activities?	
a.	Yes	1
b.	No	2
c.	Don't know (Do not read)	88
d.	Don't want to answer (Do not read)	99

92	Which one of the activities did you find beneficial for the community?	
	Options	
a.	Rallies	1
b.	House to house visit	2
c.	Visiting your Church / Mosque	3
d.	Distributing goods and items	4
e.	Organizing charity programs	5
f.	Others things, please list	6

93	At what point in time did you decide not to go to vote during the 2016 election?	
a.	I always knew I would not be voting.	1
b.	I took the decision not to vote at the beginning of the year	2
c.	I took the decision not to vote sometime just before the campaign period	3
d.	I took the decision not to only a few days before the election day	4
e.	Don't know (Do not read)	88

94	Have you at any point in time decided to vote, and then you changed your mind not to go to vote?	
a.	Yes If yes, why...	1
b.	No	2

95	Did you have a preferred candidate?	
a.	Yes	1
b.	No	2
c.	Don't want to answer (Do not read)	99

96	Did your preferred candidate have a better chance of winning?	
a.	Yes	1
b.	No	2
c.	Don't want to answer (Do not read)	99

### III. Availability of Information

I would like you to tell me about how you got information about the election.

97	How easy was it for you to get information about the party programs?	
a.	Very easy	1
b.	Easy	2
c.	Somewhat Difficult	3
d.	Very Difficult	4

98	Where do you get information about the election and the parties from? Think of the following (Multiple choice possible):	
	Options	
a.	Radio	1
	TV	2
b.	Newspaper	3
c.	Internet-Facebook	4
d.	Information Vans	5
e.	Party Rallies	6
f.	House to House Visit	7
g.	Information during association meetings	8
h.	Information through family members	9
i.	Information through friends	10
j.	Posters and flyers distributed by competing parties in the elections	11
k.	Others	12

### Section J: Social Variables

I would like us to talk about how you, your family, and friends do discuss election-related topics.

99	How many of your family members do you feel comfortable discussing politics with?	
a.	All of them	1
b.	Some of them	2
c.	None of them	3

100	Do you usually discuss political topics at home?	
a.	Yes, always	1
b.	Sometimes	2
c.	No	3

101	Which of your family members voted?	
a.	Everyone who is of the voting age	1
b.	Some of them who are of the voting age	2
c.	None of them	3
d.	Don't know (Do not read)	88
e.	No Answer (Do not read)	77

102	Do you discuss your vote choice with family members?	
a.	Yes, all of them	1
b.	Yes, some of them	2
c.	No, none of them	3

103	Do you discuss politics with friends or neighbours?	
a.	Yes, often	1
b.	Yes, several times	2
c.	Yes, once or twice	3
d.	No, but would do if I had the chance	4
e.	No, would never do this	5
f.	Don't know (Do not read)	88

## II. Friends

104	How many of your friends do you feel comfortable discussing politics with?	
a.	All of them	1
b.	Some of them	2
c.	None of them	3

105	When discussing politics with your friends, are you often of the same view?	
a.	Yes, always	1
b.	Sometimes	2
c.	Rarely	3
d.	No	4

106	Do all your friends do go to vote	
a.	Yes, all of them	1
b.	Yes, most of them	2
c.	Yes, some of them	3
d.	Very few of them	4
e.	No, none of them	5

107	Would you say your friends discouraged you from the vote?	
a.	Yes If Yes, how? .....	1
b.	No	2

**Section K: CONCLUSION**

Finally, I would like some final thoughts from you

108	Do you think that it does matter if people do not vote?	
a.	Yes	1
b.	No	2
c.	It does not make a difference	3
d.	Don't know (Don't readout)	88

109	What do you think about the extent of electoral participation in Ghana? Is it...?	
a.	Very High	1
b.	High	2
c.	Okay	3
d.	Low	4
e.	Very Low	5
f.	Don't know (Do not read)	88

110	Can you give me three major reasons why you think a lot of people do go to vote on Election day?	
a.		1
b.		2
c.		3

111	If the respondent cites multiple reasons in question 110, ask again: And what is, according to you, the most important reason for people to go and vote?	
a.	[Repeat the answer code from the previous question.]	

112	Can you give me three major reasons why you think a lot of people do go to vote on Election day?	
a.		1
b.		2
c.		3

113	If the respondent cites multiple reasons in question 112, ask again: And what is, according to you, the most important reason for people to go and vote?	
a.	[Repeat the answer code from the previous question.]	

114	Some people do care about gender when deciding to go to vote. Please tell me which of these statements describe your situation	
a.	I do not care if it is either a man or a woman who is voted for	1
b.	I do care if a woman is voted for because politics is most for men	2
c.	Don't want to answer (Do not read)	99

115	Do you feel close to any particular political party?	
a.	Very close	1
b.	Somewhat close	2
c.	Not very close	3
d.	Refused to Answer (Do not read)	66
e.	Don't know (Do not read)	88

116	(Interviewer: if 'Yes' to Q (115) Which party is that?)	
a.	Convention People's Party (CPP)	1
b.	National Democratic Congress (NDC)	2
	National Democratic Party (NDP)	3
c.	New Patriotic Party (NPP)	4
d.	People's National Convention (PNC)	5
e.	Progressive People's Party (PPP)	6
f.	Other [Specify]:	7

117	If presidential elections were held tomorrow, which party's candidate would you vote for? <i>[Do not read options. Code from response]</i>	
a.	Convention People's Party (CPP)	1
b.	National Democratic Congress (NDC)	2
c.	National Democratic Congress (NDP)	3
d.	New Patriotic Party (NPP)	4
e.	People's National Convention (PNC)	5
f.	Progressive People's Party (PPP)	6
g.	Other <i>[Specify]</i> :	7
h.	Would not vote	8
i.	Refused to Answer (Do not read)	66
j.	Don't know (Do not read)	88

**Thank you very much for your time and for sharing your thoughts with me.**

## ANNEX III

PhD Study  
Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies (BIGSAS),  
University of Bayreuth, Germany  
Research Topic: To Vote or Not to Vote: Understanding the Ghanaian Voter

### Interview guide for Assemblyman

1. In general, what can you say about the interest level of the people in this area regarding the just-ended election?
2. In comparison to previous elections, what would you say about the 2016 election?
3. In your view, are there differences in the level of interest across the different age groups, men and women, education, urban and rural centres, what are they?
4. Some people decide to go out on Election Day and vote, while others prefer to abstain and remain at home. What do you think are the typical reasons behind either decision?
5. What do you think that voting does for our country's democratic system?
6. Please tell me about the preparation of your party in general towards the just-ended election. Specifically, what are the things that were done by your party to ensure that all its supporters came out on Election Day to vote?
7. Do you think there are swing voters (people who do not belong to any political parties) in your electoral area?
  - a. And is it important for efforts to be made to ensure that these people also come out to vote/ to vote for your party? Why?
  - b. What are the things that your party is doing to ensure that this kind of voter came out to vote on Election Day?
8. Are you aware of the activities of any other political party in your area?
  - a. What are the things that these parties are doing to get people to vote for them?
9. How has the chief in this community been involved in electoral issues?

### Interview Guide for Political Parties

1. What do you make of the interest level of the people concerning the 2016 elections?
2. In your view, are there differences in the level of interest across the different age groups, men and women, education, urban and rural centres, what are they?
3. Let talk about your party's activities in the lead to the election. How did you reach out to the people? What was your message? How did the people receive the campaign message?

4. Did you have specific strategies for mobilising the various age groups?
5. What was the mobilisation activities of the other political parties in your constituency?  
How did they reach out to the people? What was their message?
6. Let us talk about the role of chiefs in organizing people, and motivating them to vote, taken their civic duties as citizens.
7. Did they play an influential role in telling people whom to vote for?
8. So for the NPP as a party, how important is voter participation in the elections?

Interview Guide for District Office of the Electoral Commission and National Commission for Civic Education

1. In general, what can you say about the interest level of the people in this area regarding the just-ended election?
2. In comparison to previous elections, what would you say about the 2016 election?
3. In your view, are there differences in the level of interest across the different age groups, men and women, education, urban and rural centres, what are they?
4. What would you say drives the interest level when it comes to your constituency?
5. Let us talk about some of the activities of the political parties. What were some of the activities they embarked on?
6. What were some of the activities undertaken by your office before the election?
7. I want to find out from you, what has been the role of chiefs in the elections in the communities? What would you say is the influence level when it comes to the chief and the elections, as to which party wins?
8. In certain places, there were incidences of some chiefs openly declaring support or showing support for a political party. Did such a case happen here?

Interview Guide for Chief

1. During the 2016 election, what can you say about the interest level within your community towards the election?
2. When you compare the 2016 to 2012 election, would you say there was a difference in the interest level?
3. Are the difference in motivation across the group, male or women, etc.?
4. Which parties are active in your community?
5. What was the mobilisation activities carried out by these parties?
6. When you compare the 2016 to 2012 election, would you say there was a difference in the mobilisation efforts by the parties?

7. As the chief of your community, when it was getting to the election, what were some of the things you did to encourage people to come out?
8. Do you think as a chief you influence people as to whom they should vote for?

## ANNEX IV

**Table 12: Overview of Data Collected During 1st Round**

Constituencies	Voter (%)	Non-Voter (%)	Missing (%)	Total (%)
Nanton	121 (20%)	2 (2%)	1 (3.6%)	124 (20%)
Assin North	222 (38%)	5 (50%)	6 (21.4%)	233 (37%)
Ellembelle	248 (42%)	3 (30%)	21 (75%)	272 (43%)
Total	591 (94%)	10 (1.6%)	28 (4.4%)	629

Author's compilation

**Table 13: Comparison of Estimated and Actual Sample Size**

Constituencies	Estimated Sample Size	Plus 5 (%)	Round 1 (%)	Round 2 (%)	Total Before Clean-Up (%)	After Clean-Up (%)
Nanton	125	131 (21%)	124 (19.56)	28 (29.47)	152 (20.85)	137 (23.7)
Assin North	202	212 (34%)	235 (37.07)	52 (54.74)	287 (39.37)	227 (39.3)
Ellembelle	273	287 (46%)	275(43.38)	15(15.79)	290 (39.78)	213 (36.9)
Total	600	630	634	95	729	577

Author's compilation

**Table 14: List of Interviewees**

Interviewee Nr.	Designation	Location Of Interview	Constituency	Date Of Interview
1	Local Official	Breku	Assin North	30.11.2016/24.01.2017/14.02.2019
2	Party Executive	Nanton Township	Nanton	14.01.2017
3	Local Official	Kpunduli	Nanton	15.01.2017/25.07.2017/20.12.2018
4	Community Leader	Dohi	Nanton	15.01.2017
5	Public Official	Savulugu	Nanton	16.01.2017
6	Community Leader	Guntingli	Nanton	16.01.2017
7	Constituency Party Executive	Tamale	Nanton	16.01.2017
8	Community Leader	Kpunduli	Nanton	16.01.2017
9	Community Leader	Nanton Township	Nanton	17. 1.2017
10	Constituency Party Executive	Nanton Township	Nanton	17.01.2017
11	Local Official	Tamale	Nanton	17.01.2017
12	Public Official	Nanton	Nanton	17.01.2017
13	Electoral Area Party Executive	Nanton Township	Nanton	18.01.2017
14	Market Women	Tampion	Nanton	19.01.2017
15	Community Leader	Tampion	Nanton	19.01.2017
16	Public Official	Assin Fosu	Assin North	25.01.2017
17	Local Leader	Breku	Assin North	26.01.2017
18	Constituency Party Executive	Breku	Assin North	26.01.2017
19	Constituency Party Executive	Breku	Assin North	26.01.2017
20	Community Leader	Wawase	Assin North	27.01.2017/10.08.2017
21	Electoral Area Party Executive	Wawase	Assin North	27.01.2017
22	Constituency Party Executive	Anokyi	Ellembelle	07.02.2017
23	Community Leader	Ayinase	Ellembelle	07.02.2017/30.08.2017
24	Public Official	Nkrofu	Ellembelle	07.02.2017
25	Community Leader	Ekoi	Ellembelle	07.02.2017 /28.01.2019
26	Constituency Party Executive	Ayinase	Ellembelle	08.02.2017
27	Community Leader	Ayinase	Ellembelle	08.02.2017

28	Constituency Party Executive	Asenda	Ellembelle	08.02.2017
29	Public Official	Nkrofu	Ellembelle	09.02.2017
30	Public Official	Nkrofu	Ellembelle	09.02.2017
31	Constituency Party Executive	Accra	Ellembelle	16.02.2017
32	Public Official	Accra	National	21.02.2017
33	National Party Executive	Accra	National	21.02.2017
34	Public Official	Assin Fosu	Assin North	01.03.2017
35	Non-Voter	Kpunduli	Nanton	25.07.2017
36	Non-Voter	Kpunduli	Nanton	26.07.2017
37	Electoral Area Party Executive	Wawase	Assin North	27.01.2017
38	Non-Voter	Krofofrondo	Assin North	08.08.2017
39	Non-Voter	Assin-Breku	Assin North	09.08.2017
40	Community Informant	Ngalekye	Ellembelle	29.08.2017
41	Non-Voter	Anokye	Ellembelle	29.08.2017
42	Non-Voter	Ngalekye	Ellembelle	29.08.2017
43	Local Official	Esiama	Ellembelle	30.08.2017
44	Non-Voter	Via phone	Nanton	21.08.2017
45	Local Official	Tamale	Nanton	20.12.2018
46	Voter	Kpunduli	Nanton	22.09.2019
47	Voter	Kpunduli	Nanton	22.09.2019
48	Voter	Kpunduli	Nanton	22.09.2019
49	Voter	Kabonyanga	Nanton	22.09.2019
50	Voter	Kabonyanga	Nanton	22.09.2019
51	Voter	Kabonyanga	Nanton	22.09.2019
52	Voter	Via Phone	Ellembelle	07.07.2020

**Table 15: Socioeconomic and Demographic Data across the three Study Areas**

Indicators		Savulugu-Nanton District	Assin North Municipal	Ellembelle District	National
Population Size		139,283	161,341	87,501	24,658,823
Gender	Females	51.5 %	50.3%	51.6%	51.2%
	Males	48.5%	49.7%	48.4%	48.8%
Age Structure	0-14 yrs	43.5%	42%	39.4%	38.3%
	15-34 yrs	32.2%	32.5%	35.1%	35.1%
	35-49 yrs	12.6%	13.8%	13.7%	14.4%
	50-64 yrs	6.3%	7.6%	6.9%	7.4%
	65+ yrs	5.4%	4.2%	6.7%	4.6%
Literacy Rate		30.6%	80.0%	73.85%	74.1%
Employment sector	Private Informal	96.4%	91.1%	86.9%	86.2%
	Private formal	1.2%	3.2%	5.9%	6.8%
	Public sector	1.6%	5.2%	6.3%	6.2%
	Others	0.4%	0.5%	0.8%	1.1%
Main Occupation	Skilled agricultural	74.1%	59.4%	35.2%	41.7%
	Service and Sales	5.7%	13.9%	22.5%	21.0%
	Craft and related trades	6.4%	11.8%	18%	15.2%
	Others	13.8%	14.9%	24.3%	22.1%

Source: Author's Compilation with data from the Summary report of the final result from the 2010 Population and Housing Census as well as the District Analytical report of the 2010 Population and Housing Census for the Savulugu-Nanton district, Assin North Municipal and Ellembelle districts.

**Table 16: Overview of Ghana’s Party Finance Regulation**

	Allowed	Not Allowed
Ban and Limit on Private Income	Foreign interests donation to candidates	Foreign interests donation to political parties
	Anonymous donations to candidates	Anonymous donations to political parties
	Corporate donations to political parties	
	Corporate donations to candidates	
	Trade Unions donation to political parties	
	Trade Unions donations to candidates	
	No limit on the donated amount over a time period	
Public Funding	Provision Made	No Provision Made
	Provisions for free or subsidized access to media for political parties	No direct public funding to political parties
	Provisions for free or subsidized access to media for candidates	No provisions for other financial advantages to encourage gender equality in political parties
Regulation of Spending	Limit	No Limit
	Ban on vote-buying	No limits on the amount a political party can spend
		No limits on the amount a candidate can spend
Reporting Oversight and Sanctions	Regulation	
	Supposed to report on their finances regularly	
	Report on their finances concerning election campaigns	
	Reports are supposed to be made public	
	Reports are supposed to reveal the identity of donors	

Source: Author’s compilation using data from Political Finance Database (International IDEA)

<https://www.idea.int/data-tools/country-view/111/55>

**Table 17: Composition of Ghana's Parliament, 1992 - 2016<sup>1</sup>**

Years	Number of Parliamentary Seats by Parties				
	NDC	NCP	Indep	EGLE	
1992	NDC	NCP	Indep	EGLE	
	189	8	2	1	
1996	NDC	NPP	PCP	PNC	
	133	61	5	1	
2000	NPP	NDC	Indep	PNC	CPP
	100	91	4	3	1
2004	NPP	NDC	PNC	CPP	Indep
	128	94	4	3	1
2008	NDC	NPP	Indep	PNC	CPP
	116	107	4	2	1
2012	NDC	NPP	Indep	PNC	
	148	122	4	1	
2016	NPP	NDC			
	169	104			

Author's Compilation using data from the EC

**Table 18: Voting Patten in Presidential Elections across Tamale Central and Yendi**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Constituency</i>	<i>1party</i>	<i>1vote</i>	<i>1share</i>	<i>2party</i>	<i>2vote</i>	<i>2share</i>	<i>winner margin</i>
2004	Tamale Central*	NDC	37,894	0.64	NPP	19,832	0.34	0.31
2008	Tamale Central	NDC	40,640	0.64	NPP	21,136	0.34	0.31
2012	Tamale Central	NDC	42,820	0.65	NPP	22,993	0.35	0.30
2016	Tamale Central	NDC	40,157	0.62	NPP	23,981	0.37	0.25
1996	Yendi	NPP	13,913	0.61	NDC	8,229	0.36	0.25
2000	Yendi	NPP	11,247	0.51	NDC	8,825	0.40	0.11
2004	Yendi	NPP	15,782	0.55	NDC	12,162	0.42	0.13
2008	Yendi	NPP	15,348	0.53	NDC	12,948	0.45	0.08

<sup>1</sup> CPP (Convention People's Party), EGLE (Every Ghanaian Living Everywhere), Indep (Independent Candidates) NCP (National Convention Party), NDC (National Democratic Congress), NPP (National Patriotic Party), PCP (People's Convention Party) and PNC (People's National Convention).

2012	Yendi	NPP	26,989	0.55	NDC	20,658	0.42	0.13
2016	Yendi	NPP	28,831	0.56	NDC	22,444	0.43	0.13

Source: Author's Compilation using data from the EC. \*Tamale central constituency was one of the created constituencies in 2004 through demarcation electoral boundaries due to population growth

## ANNEX V

### NDC 2016 Official Campaign Song\_ John 3 16

#### *Intro*

This is our country; this is Ghana's time once again for greatness

John 8x John Mahama eeee eye zu

Eye niniko 3x Onyame aka enti ye nene ko oooo

John 3: 16 (3x)

Senia Nyame do Ghana nti, odi nee doba Mahama amayen se yentu ma mu, ye be nya enigyi ooo

#### *Chorus*

Onyame asem endi atro oo ewo John 3:16,

Ye tu ama nuoooo, Onyame asem enti etuaa manu ooo

John Rawlings, John Attah Mills, John Dwramani Mahama,

Nyamea sem nee, ewo John 3:16, ebe be mu 2016

#### *Chorus*

Onyame asem endi atro oo, ewo John 3:16,

Ye tu ama nuoooo, Onyame asem enti etuaa manu ooo

Eye zu oooo, oooo John Mahama, oooo

The Tamchion ooo

NDC yee, eye zu,

eye za za eye za

eye zu zu, eye zu

eye za za, eye za

Tu wa ba nu ma Mahama oooo

Onyame nti namaka nuooo

Vote for John Mahama ooo

For God so love the world,

Onyame nti namaka nuooo

That He gave his only begotten son

John Mahama, John Mahama, John Mahama

Oooo, oooo

Eyen tu ma nuee } 3x

eye zu }

eye za za ,eye za

Ejuma pa nsu nei, eye zu

Akuan nei, eye za

Free education, free uniform, free shoes, free boot, free everything

Tu wa ba nu ma Mahama oooo

Onyame nti namaka nuooo

Vote for John Mahama ooo

John the Rawlings, John the Attah Mills, John the Mahama  
Abrantie John with a nice  
Obo eguma 2x  
Ooooo oooo (3x)  
Eye zu John Mahama Eye za  
Epuntuo ni nie  
Eye zu Abotre ni nie, eye za  
Eju ma pa ni nie, ooooo,  
John Mahama oooo 3x  
Nyen tu ma nue  
Eye zu, za za za eye za  
Zu, zu zu, eye zu  
Za za za, eye za, zu, zu zu  
Tu wa ba nu ma Mahama oooo  
Onyame nti namaka nuooo  
Vote for John Mahama ooo  
Onyame nti namaka nuooo  
Ooooo oooo (2x)  
Eye zu, eye za (6x)

Source: Link to video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iIRzOK62noE>  
Accessed on 03.08.2020