

Political Economy of Elections and Voting Behaviour in Ghana's Fourth Republic

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Empirical Evidence

By

Gbensuglo Alidu Bukari

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This book is first and foremost dedicated to the God Almighty (Allah) for His guidance throughout my professional career, and especially my PhD programme. Secondly, I would like to also dedicate the book to my late parents – Tangia Banyisah Bukari (father) and Fati Bukari (mother) – for their vision and unflinching support for my education. Finally, the book is dedicated to my nuclear family.

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PREFACE

This book is a reduced version of my Doctor of Philosophy degree thesis submitted to the University of Ghana, Ghanaian-German Centre for Development Studies. The book covers only the survey-based component of the larger thesis. The larger thesis was made up of three components: a micro-level analysis (survey) using data from 600 randomly-selected voters from four electorally-swing districts, a meso-analysis of electoral outcomes using district-level ‘average voter’ data and macro-level analysis of the impact of elections on the economy of Ghana measured by aggregate indices such as inflation and interest rates. The report assembled in this book is largely based on the survey component and the underlying literature review that drove the larger study. Further, this book contains new additions including summaries of selected publications released after 2017. The book is a report on Ghanaian elections in the Fourth Republican era that looks at the determinants of voter participation and electoral choices based on micro-level data (survey data) from a random sample of 600 respondents in the four closest electorally-swing districts in the Brong Ahafo and Central regions. It examines several hypotheses concerning electoral behaviour within the multi-party democratic framework, in electoral areas, where ethnicity appears not to be a dominant factor influencing voter choices, in order to unravel the other key factors influencing voter choices beyond ethnicity. The random survey of 600 respondents in the four electorally-swing districts in the Brong Ahafo and Central regions was conducted during the period, of April to October 2016, and was concluded before the 7 December 2016 national election. The single most important motivating factor that would attract people to vote for a candidate in an election was his/her articulation of development-oriented issues. Other factors influencing the choice of candidates by voters included the perception of the ability of the candidate to develop and improve the economy, political party affiliation and the orientation and likeability of the candidate. On the links between election and development, the study found that voters felt that their participation in voting in the national elections brought about increased levels of improved electricity supply, improved water supply and expanded road infrastructure. However, for individual and household economic welfare related to personal income, personal employment opportunities, personal and household educational opportunities and personal and household health status, the results of the analysis of voting participation and its links to these four measures of economic welfare were varied.

The organisation of the book is as follows: **Chapter 1** is the general introduction to the study. It provides the background of the political economy of elections. **Chapter 2** also presents the system of government, electoral system and cycles in Ghana. It discusses the Ghanaian executive arm of government, electoral politics and cycles of election. **Chapter 3** is an introduction to the political economy of elections based on the literature. The chapter brings out two strands in the political economy of elections. **Chapter 4** describes the nexus between the economy and elections. It reviews political business cycles, the economy and voter prospective, retrospective voting behaviour, the pocket and sociotropic vote, and economics, elections and voting behaviour in Ghana's Fourth Republic. **Chapter 5** provides the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study. The chapter documents existing literature on theoretical models of elections and political business models. The chapter compares the theoretical models and approaches of electoral studies. Based on the theoretical review, the study adopts a theoretical framework to analyse the research problem of this study. **Chapter 6** is the study philosophy and research methodology adopted for this study as well as a description of the entire research process. It describes the philosophical position of the study, approach and methodology of the study. **Chapter 7** analyses and discusses micro-level determinants of voter behaviour and choices in the Ghanaian elections based on the survey of voters in a cross-sectional study of four key swing districts of the country. It analyses and discusses the demographic characteristics of the respondents, and how these socio-economic factors influenced voter participation and choices in elections in Ghana. It establishes individual voter and group factors, and candidate and political party attributes, which influence voting behaviour and participation in national elections in Ghana using primary data gathered from the survey of 600 randomly selected respondents at the household levels. **Chapter 8** provides the empirical evidence for elections and the economic development nexus as measured by perceived changes in the economic welfare of voters. It analyses and discusses how voters respond to economic stimuli and development outcomes in an election. It focuses on how voters attribute responsibility and hold the incumbent government electorally accountable. **Chapter 9** summarises the conclusions of the study and also identifies new areas of research work that could be pursued to provide additional information to enhance the performance of democracy in Ghana's Fourth Republic in order to meet the aspirations of its citizens.

Gbensuglo Alidu Bukari, Ph.D.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The late 1980s and the early 1990s were characterised by a concerted struggle for democracy and elections, and the clamour for improved governance and development in the developing world. The first three decades of post-independence Africa (1960 to 1990) were characterised by one-party systems (civilian one-party states), military interventions, coup d'états and civil wars, amidst poverty and underdevelopment, partly as a result of the struggle for political power by countervailing groups based on ethnicity and tribe. Constitutional democracies based on multi-party governance were re-evolved in Africa in the early 1990s (Huntington, 1991) with the first transfer of power from a military government to a civilian administration occurring in the Republic of Benin in West Africa (Bratton & van de Walle, 1997). Ghana followed suit later with the promulgation of the Fourth Republican Constitution, paving the way for presidential and parliamentary elections respectively held on November 3 and December 28, 1992, and the swearing-in office of a civilian government on 7 January 1993. In the democratic political system, contested broad-based socioeconomic development depends on democratically-elected political leadership; however dissenting voices argue that elections are only a first step to broad-based development. Other conditions must exist beyond the regular holding of elections to assure the former outcome, especially in Africa, where ethnic tendencies are very strong and underpin the mobilisation of voters by political class elites of the dominant and powerful groups in society.

In Africa, the clarion call for greater freedom and justice, and the political fallouts from the 1980s Economic Recovery and Structural Adjustment Programmes (ERP/SAP) have seemingly become the pushing factors for the democratic discourse. But, amid this struggle were rather entrenched autocratic political systems dominant in the larger part of the developing world, particularly the post-colonial African's political history (Gyimah-Boadi, 2001a, 2009, 2010). Thus, this scenario was not peculiar to Africa alone; it was a general Post-World War II phenomenon in the developing world as a whole. This provided the incentive and legitimacy for popular

democratic struggles in the early 1990s in what is known in the political lexicon as the 'Third Wave' of democratisation (Huntington, 1991). The democratic struggles which triggered constitutional development, political changes and reforms in many of the Third World countries, including Africa, compelled the holding of elections and granting of greater civil and political freedoms (Huntington, 1991; Bratton & van de Walle, 1997; Gyimah-Boadi, 2004). This change of political and economic reforms in the early 1990s in Africa marked what is called “a watershed in African politics” (Bratton & van de Walle, 1997:6). The dramatic political reforms following the fall of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989, and the collapse of the then Soviet Union (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)) on 26 December 1991, coupled with the influence or pressure of the Western governments and donors converged with the activism of domestic forces in demand of democratic reforms. The period before 1991 was called the 'Cold War era' (1947-1991) after the end of World War II in 1945, and the Cold War was an 'ideological war' between the then USSR and the United States of America and its European allies. It divided the world into the Eastern bloc and the Western bloc (often referred to as the 'Bipolar World'). The Cold War ended following the fall of the 'Berlin Wall' on 9 November 1989, and the collapse of the USSR on 26 December 1990. The end of the Cold War temporarily ushered in a new so-called 'Unipolar World' with multi-party democratic governance in most parts of the world. The new governance paradigm is about process, politics and partnerships; this paradigm compels governments to expand public consultation and implement participatory democratic practices at the national and local levels through the encouragement of popular participation.

Ghana experienced its first military coup on 24 February 1966 after it ushered in a new era when it achieved political independence on 6 March 1957 (Gyimah-Boadi, 2001, 2009; Ayee, 1997, 1998; Boafo-Arthur, 2006). Thereafter, there were subsequent military coups in Ghana in 1972, 1979 and 1981. The military interventions truncated the democratic process in the country, and by the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s, Ghana had experienced many more years of military rule than constitutional rule. In 1992, following a long struggle for increased democratic participation; a political transition was achieved with the holding of democratic elections in November 1992. This political change did not happen without external and democratic pressures on the entrenched autocratic regime of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC). On the external front, the dramatic end of the Cold War era coupled with the influence or pressure of the Western governments, development partners and donors forced the PNDC regime to concede to democratic transformation. At the domestic level, civil society

groups and forces that had gone into hibernation emerged to voice their concerns for political reforms. Thus, Ghana, which was also affected by the 'Third Wave' of democratisation, underwent a radical political transformation in 1992, and the seventh democratic elections (Presidential and Parliamentary elections) under the Fourth Republic were held on 7 December 2016. Democratic elections, therefore, form the core of political reforms and thereby provided an environment within which elected governments under the 1992 Fourth Republic of Ghana fashion out economic and development policies.

Arguably, a significant move towards democracy and elections in Ghana for the fourth time in 1992 was a product of an effort of broad consultation involving a cross-section of Ghanaians, and civil society on the political future of this country. The active participation of Ghanaians in the consultative process conducted by the National Commission for Democracy (NCD) put together a report entitled *Evolving True Democracy for Ghana* (Gyan, 1995). A proposal for the *Draft Constitution of Ghana* was then developed by the committee of constitutional experts. The *Draft Constitution of Ghana* was followed by the activities of the Consultative Assembly, which embodied multi-party democratic principles and ideals essential for national development under the Fourth Republic (ibid., 1995). Consequently, a large majority of Ghanaian registered voters of 18 years and above voted to approve the *Draft Constitution of Ghana* by a measure of 92.6 percent of valid votes cast in a referendum on 28 April 1992 (Boafo-Arthur, 2006).

The Fourth Republican Constitution of 1992 was then promulgated, and the Presidential and Parliamentary elections were respectively held on 3 November 1992 and 28 December 1992. This led to the re-institution of multi-party democracy and the democratic elections that saw the inauguration of the first elected government on 7 January 1993 as the start of the Fourth Republic. After the 1992 presidential and parliamentary elections, Ghana successfully held similar elections every four years. The successful conduct of these democratic elections marked an important milestone in Ghana's democratic transition and its drive towards democratic consolidation. In particular, the 2000, 2008, and 2016 national elections effected peaceful change of democratically elected governments in the country. Ghana is, therefore, a good case to study the political economy of elections and voting behaviour in one of Africa's new democracies. What is the justification for a political economy analysis of elections and development in Ghana's Fourth Republic? To provide answers to this question, five specific central propositions are essential as follows:

- i. Multi-party democracy promotes competitive elections that are required for consolidating democracy at the national level, and when pursued at the level of local governance in Ghana, it broadens democratic space and involvement of the wider population to deal with both national and local development issues.
- ii. Political decisions are substantially influenced by electoral behaviour. Economic and social developments depend on political decisions. Hence, economic and social developments are therefore linked to voting behaviour.
- iii. The level of support for the election and re-election of the incumbent government depends on voters' perceived performance of the government. That is, whether the government has delivered both adequate short-term material payoffs to voters personally, or provided medium and long-term infrastructural and social services including security to communities in the country.
- iv. For opposition parties that want to be elected by voters, they propose alternative policies that attempt to clearly delineate the differences between them and the incumbent government (see McConnell & Brue, 2002, 497-499), for Sweezy kinked-demand curve on oligopoly theories.
- v. By the working of a multi-party national democratic system, development issues can be politicised as the various parties seek to establish political control of scarce national resources for economic and social development.

These five specific central propositions underpin the relevance and analytical framework of this study. The study explores the determinants of electoral behaviour that are linked to rational choice and the economic behaviour of voters concerning incentives offered to them by competing political parties within the cost-benefit analytical framework. The study also analyses the perception that voting decisions in Ghana are influenced by social determinants such as ethnicity, location, and religion within the structural political economy framework.

In the democratic process, although the outcome of elections is very important, the determination of the factors that condition voters' participation and choices in elections, and the relationship between elections and the economy is even more critical. This means that in a representative democracy, citizens often hold governments accountable in an election, reward them with votes in good economic times and punish them in bad economic times, respectively. Therefore, a pearl of conventional wisdom in the study of the political economy of elections is that governments manage

the economy essentially for electoral purposes (Nordhaus, 1975; Hibbs, 1977; Tufte, 1978). In the words of Nordhaus, “while political economy has increasingly concentrated upon the behaviour of markets, in some areas it is impossible to ignore the interaction between economic motivation and political decisions. The theory of political business, which analyses the interactions of political and economic systems arose, from the obvious facts of life that voters care about the economy while politicians care about power” (Nordhaus, 1975:1). Thus, the conventional position of the study is that the unresolved problems of unemployment, poverty and income inequality are the underlying practical and theoretical important issues for the study of economy and electoral behaviour. This is because a crucial component of any successful democracy is the level of citizens' participation in the democratic elections to express their preferences in terms of parties, candidates and development policies and issues. Citizens in the democratic state hold those seeking political power to control the resources in the state responsible. Whereas the governing party seeking re-election to retain political power and manages the economy to win voters' choice, the opposition party (or parties) often present alternative economic and social policies to the electorate in this regard.

A large body of literature on electoral politics has provided an analysis of the past Ghanaian elections in the Fourth Republican era from 1992 to date, but the studies could not provide adequate answers to such research questions. All these useful studies have focused on explaining democratic processes and democratic institutional development (Boafo-Arthur, 2006; Gyimah-Boadi, 2001, 2004, 2009; Ayee, 1997, 1998, 2001, 2002). That is, the available studies on Ghanaian elections focus on explaining democratic processes, and are often largely based on qualitative and descriptive analysis. Statistical modelling of the political process, regarding the interaction between elections and economics, is limited. That is, literature on Ghanaian elections under the Fourth Republic is largely qualitative, and this approach to political and electoral studies is referred to as the 'Traditionalist Approach'. It is an approach that describes democratic processes, political institutions and theories of democracy. What is largely missing in the study of elections in Ghana is the use of the 'Behavioural Approach'. The behavioural approach is the use of economic and social tools of analysis to the study of economy and voting behaviour (i.e., quantitative analysis). The existing micro-level studies in Ghana are also inadequate, as often they do not provide a direct link between voting behaviour and economic welfare (both individual welfare and aggregate or community welfare). The micro-level studies, though more informative and allow investigation into the reasons why individual voters often vote, are also

inadequate and do not provide reasons why individuals voted in a particular way. Few studies established the synergies of the influence of the economy on elections in Ghana. This study is therefore credited for its grounding in statistical approach by the use and interpretation of survey data and contributes to filling the knowledge gap.

CHAPTER 2

SYSTEM OF EXECUTIVE ARM OF GOVERNMENT, ELECTORAL POLITICS AND CYCLES

System of Government of Ghana

Ghana attained her independence from Britain on 6 March 1957, and severed her remaining political relations with the colonial government following her first presidential election on 1 July 1960. The First Republic of Ghana came into being with the inauguration of Nkrumah as president on 1 July 1960. Dr Kwame Nkrumah won the election with 1 016 076 of the valid votes representing 89 percent against his main contender, Dr Joseph Danquah who received 124 623 valid votes (Frempong, 2015). The 1960 Republican Constitution of the First Republic provided for a presidential system of government and vested all executive powers in the president. Ghana has had Four Republics: 1 July 1960 to 24 February 1966 (First Republic), 3 September 1969 to 13 January 1972 (Second Republic), 24 September 1979 to 31 December 1981 (Third Republic) and 3 January 1993 till date (Fourth Republic).

The country experienced several military interventions and abortive coups with three well-established military regimes with the first successful coup on 24 February 1966 to 3 September 1969 (first established military regime), 13 January 1972 to 24 September 1979 (second military regime) and 31 December 1981 to 6 January 1992 (third established military regime) in Ghana. Thus, the First Republic was suspended on 24 February 1966 after the Convention People's Party (CPP) government, led by Dr Kwame Nkrumah, was overthrown in a military coup d'état. Thus, between February 1966 and September 1969 Ghana was ruled by National Liberation Council (NLC) headed by Lieutenant General Joseph Ankrah and later by Lieutenant General Afrifa. In 1969, the Second Republican Constitution was inaugurated following the general elections. The Progress Party (PP) won that election with 105 of the 140 seats in parliament. The party's leader, Dr Kofi Busia, became the Prime Minister of the Second Republic of Ghana,

with General Afrifa as the first Ceremonial President. He was later replaced by Edward Akufo-Addo as Ceremonial President in 1971.

The Second Republican Constitution, unlike the First Republican Constitution, established a 'Parliamentary Executive' also called the 'Bicephalous Executive' with a President as the Head of State and a Prime Minister as the Head of Government. However, the Constitution of the Second Republic was suspended after a coup d'état by Lieutenant Colonel I.K. Acheampong on 13 January 1972. Between 13 January 1972 and 24 September 1979, Ghana was ruled first by the National Redemption Council (NLC) led by Colonel Acheampong and later by the Supreme Military Council I (SMCI) and Supreme Military Council II (SMCII) led by General Acheampong and General Akuffo respectively. Besides, the regime of General Akuffo was supplanted by a revolution on 4 June 1979 led by Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings who established the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) until 24 September 1979.

Following the promulgation of the 1979 Third Republican Constitution, elections were held on 18 September 1979. In the election, the People's National Party (PNP) led by Dr Hilla Limann won both presidential and parliamentary elections. The Third Republic was inaugurated on 24 September 1979 with Dr Hilla Limann as President of the Third Republic of Ghana. The constitution of 1979 maintained the features of the First Republican Constitution and thus re-established the Presidential System of government (Monocephalous Executive). The Third Republic was, however, suspended on 31 December 1981 following the revolution led by Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings. Rawlings established and led the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) regime to steer the affairs of Ghana until 6 January 1993. The country was returned to constitutional democracy for the fourth time following the promulgation of the 1992 Fourth Republican constitution of Ghana. The 1992 Fourth Republican constitution of Ghana like the 1960 First Republic Constitution and the 1979 Third Republic Constitution also provided office for a presidential system of government of Ghana. The three constitutions, unlike the 1969 Second Republican constitution, provided office for monocephalous executive who is both the head of the government executive the real executive functions of government, and ceremonial functions as the Head of State of the Republic of Ghana.

Electoral Politics and Cycles

Ghana returned to constitutional rule on 7 January 1993, following the promulgation of the 1992 Fourth Republican Constitution which was promulgated after the referendum on 28 April 1992. The Fourth Republican Constitution like the First Republic and Third Republican Constitutions also made provisions for the 'Monosepalous Presidential Executive System' for Ghana. In this system, the president is both the Head of State and performs ceremonial functions, and the Head of Government performs the real Executive functions (that is, the day-to-day government business) of the country. After the promulgation of the constitution of 1992, presidential and parliamentary elections were respectively held on 3 November and 28 December 1992, and the constitutional democracy of the country's Fourth Republic was inaugurated on 7 January 1993. Between 1992 and 2020, the country conducted eight successive competitive democratic elections every four years. The democratic elections held between 1992 and 2020 included the presidential and parliamentary elections in 1992 as well as four-yearly general elections in 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016 and 2020.

Ghana had a 104-seat national assembly or parliament at independence which was increased to 140 seats during the Third Republic in 1979 and to 200 seats in the Fourth Republic in 1992. By 2016, the country had 275 constituencies with 261 metropolitan, municipal and district assemblies or district councils (as of December 2021). Ghana's political system under the Fourth Republic is a hybrid system, comprising the features of both presidential and parliamentary systems of government under the constitution of 1992 (Ghana, 1992). The president is directly elected by popular vote for a four-year of two-term cycle. The members of the unicameral parliament with 275 seats are also directly elected for a four-year term by single-member constituencies using the first-past-the-post system. Ghana's four-yearly electoral cycle separates national (presidential and parliamentary) elections and local-level (for district assemblies) elections with a two-year overlap between them. For the purpose of this paper, a four-year electoral period in Ghana commences in the year in which presidential and parliamentary elections are held, irrespective of which month during the year. Every four years, on 7 December, general elections occur under the 1992 Constitution of the Fourth Republic of Ghana (see Article 112(4)). The pre-electoral period is seen as the year before the election, while the post-electoral period is the two years following the election.

Arguably, although a multiparty democracy has been adopted in 1992 by the 1992 Fourth Republican Constitution, the multiparty democratic system had largely developed into being a two-party zero-sum game dominated by National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and has won elections and formed government. Although the NDC and NPP are considered political left and political right parties respectively, they are essentially centre-right political parties. They support a mixed political economy approach based on sustaining publicly owned state enterprises and government subvention programmes such as the universal health system and the national health insurance policy for Ghana and public education. They support related social interventions to ensure social justice and equal opportunities for all Ghanaians as required in Chapter 6 of the 1992 Fourth Republican Constitution by the Directive Principles of State Policy (see Articles 34 and 35 in Ghana 1992). This means that there is little or no difference in the policies of the two main parties that have formed governments in the Fourth Republic (Anaman and Agyei-Sasu 2012; Bukari 2017; Anaman & Bukari, 2019a; Anaman & Bukari, 2021; Bukari, 2022a).

CHAPTER 3

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ELECTIONS

Two Schools of Thought

Arguably, two schools of thought or strands of study are noticeable in the literature on political economy of elections. One strand of the literature relates to economic voting behaviour (Kiewiet, 1983; Lewis-Beck & Stegmaier, 2009; Leighley, 2013; LeDuc et al., 2014); the other relates to political business cycles (Nordhaus, 1975; Hibbs; 1977, Tufte, 1978). What factors really justify the study of the political economy of elections?

The nexus between economy and elections has received scholarly attention for a very long time, beginning with scholarly works such as Kramer (1971), Nordhaus (1975), Lindbeck (1976), Hibbs (1977), Tufte (1978), Fair (1978) and Lewis-Beck (1988). In his work, *Political Control of the Economy*, Tufte argued: "When you think economics, think elections; when you think elections, think economics" (Tufte, 1978:65). Political economy focuses on ways the state and the economy interact. It is concerned with how the economy affects the state (e.g., effects of the economy on elections), and how the state affects the economy (e.g., whether an independent Central Bank reduces or increases money supply). 'Political control of the economy' (Tufte, 1978) is the most complete effort that established the relationship between presidential elections and the economy. Tufte's (1978) pioneering study of elections and the economy of the US Presidential elections generated euphoria and interest among scholars, and political economy researchers in the study of political economy of elections and voting behaviour. Political economy analysis of elections explores the interaction between national elections and the economy and examines the aggregate effect of the elections on macroeconomic performance in democracies (Kayser, 2014).

Many scholars agree that good economic performance correlates strongly with the popularity of incumbent governments and their ability to retain political power in competitive democratic elections (Downs, 1957; Fair, 1978, 1996; Key, 1966; Fiorina, 1981; Kiewiet, 1983; Lewis-Beck, 2007;

Debrah, 2009; Duch & Stevenson, 2010; Leighley, 2013; LeDuc et al., 2014). In democratic elections, voters attach so much importance to general economic welfare conditions in the country when making their voting decisions. This means that economic conditions or welfare provide insight into what precisely drives the individual voter choice, and this has an implication for democratic accountability in terms of rewarding or punishing the incumbent party seeking re-election to retain political power and administer the resources of the State (Downs, 1957; Duch & Stevenson, 2010; Lewis-Beck & Norpoth, 2007; Debrah, 2009, Nadeau et al., 2012; Lewis-Beck et al., 2013, Lewis-Beck & Whitten, 2013; Dassonneville & Lewis-Beck, 2014).

The rational average voter who considers that government is responsible and accountable for his or her economic well-being will act upon the reward-punishment hypothesis. This means that voters will reward the incumbent government seeking re-election by voting for them in good economic times, and vote against them when the economy is said to be weak, as a punishment. The voter, therefore, makes an assessment based on the available information or based on the expectation about the government's performance to make his or her decision to vote or not to vote in an election. The central argument, as expressed by scholars such as Downs (1957), Tufte (1978), Lewis-Beck (1983, 2007), Lewis-Beck and Stegmaier (2009), Debrah (2009), Leighley (2013) and LeDuc et al. (2014), is the fact that, rationally, the available information about economic and development outcomes is important to the average voter in an election in a democratic state, such as Ghana under the Fourth Republic.

Also, the reward-punishment hypothesis instigates the incumbent governing party seeking re-election to manipulate or manage the economy for electoral purposes with the sole aim to win an election and retain political power to administer the state, thereby creating what is known in the literature as 'Political business cycles' (Kramer, 1971; Nordhaus, 1975; Lindbeck, 1976; Hibbs, 1977; Tufte, 1978; Fair, 1978; Gonzalez, 2002; Brender & Drazen, 2005; Dewan & Shepsle, 2011). The incumbent government seeking re-election in this case adopts policy strategies (like the manipulation of monetary policy instruments, and special employment schemes, among others) and overspending to ensure the growth and development of a national economy. The government does this by providing public and merit goods in the pre-election or in the election year to increase its chances of victory, and thereby suffer post-election year period slow economic growth or weaker economic performance as suggested by the 'political business cycle model' (Nordhaus, 1975; Lindbeck, 1967; Hibbs, 1977; Tufte, 1978).