CERTIFICATION

I, certify that the research project is original and was carried out by ADEKUNLE DANIEL PRAYER, with the matriculation number 223354 under my supervision, in the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ibadan.

Prof. Adigun Agbaje.

12 March 20

Date.

Department of Political Science

Faculty of Social Sciences

University of Ibadan

Ibadan.

DETERMINANTS OF VOTER BEHAVIOUR IN STUDENT HALL ELECTIONS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN, NIGERIA

 \mathbf{BY}

ADEKUNLE, DANIEL PRAYER

MATRICULATION NUMBER: 223354

BEING A PROJECT WORK SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, FACULTY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE (B.SC. HONS) DEGREE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE.

CERTIFICATION

I, certify that the research project is original and was carried out by **ADEKUNLE DANIEL PRAYER**, with the matriculation number **223354** under my supervision, in the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ibadan.

Prof. Adigun Agbaje

Department of Political So

Date

Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.

DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to the Sovereign God, who dwells in the midst of the Cherubims for His mighty hands and presence during the process of this project work. I also dedicate this to my wonderful parents, Mr and Mrs Adekunle, for their unwavering support throughout my academic journey.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply grateful to God Almighty, whose grace sustains me throughout this endeavor.

My profound gratitude goes to my supervisor, Prof Adigun Agbaje, for his prompt attention to problems and his constructive criticism of this project work.

I also want to thank my parents for their support and prayers and those gems that God gave me as siblings for their love, support, and advice. To my friends and colleagues, thanks for your support and love. Finally, a big thank you to myself, for the capacity to weather the storm and stand tall till the end, His grace carried me.

ABSTRACT

This study investigated the determinants of voter behavior in students' halls of residence elections, employing a quantitative methodology to analyze the factors influencing electoral participation and candidate preference with Independence Hall as the case study of a student residential community at the University of Ibadan. This study seeks to understand the relative importance of individual characteristics, hall environment, and candidate-related factors in shaping student voting decisions. Data was collected through questionnaires administered to 150 resident students of Independence Hall, gathering information on demographics, political awareness, social integration, perceptions of hall government, and evaluations of candidates.

The key findings revealed a complex interplay of factors influencing student electoral behavior. The research demonstrated a surprisingly weak correlation between general political awareness and actual participation in hall elections. While a significant proportion of students exhibit high levels of political knowledge and engagement with political issues regarding the hall of residence, this awareness does not necessarily translate into voting in hall elections. This suggests a disconnect between broader political consciousness and the perceived relevance or importance of hall-level governance.

The study identified a strong positive association between the political atmosphere of the hall and voter turnout. Halls characterized by active political discourse, visible campaigning, and a sense of collective identity tend to exhibit higher rates of electoral participation. This finding underscores the importance of social context and peer influence in shaping student political behavior. The presence of strong social networks and a culture that values political engagement appears to be a critical factor in mobilizing student voters. Furthermore, the analysis reveals that a student's perception of the hall as having real political power influences their decision to vote.

Also, the research confirmed the significant role of candidate manifestos in shaping student voting preferences. Students consistently report prioritizing candidates whose platforms address issues of direct relevance to their daily lives within the hall, such as accommodation quality, welfare services, social activities, and security. The perceived clarity, feasibility, and alignment of candidate promises with student needs are key drivers of voter choice. Candidates who effectively articulate a vision for improving hall life and demonstrate a clear understanding of student concerns are more likely to garner support. In addition to this, a student's understanding of the manifesto has a direct impact on a candidate's electability. Students tend to veer towards a manifesto they can understand, and what is clear to them.

The findings highlighted the need for targeted interventions to bridge the gap between general political awareness and local electoral engagement, foster a more vibrant political culture within halls, and encourage candidates to develop and communicate clear, relevant, and actionable manifestos. Practical recommendations for enhancing student political participation include targeted voter education campaigns that emphasize the importance of hall governance, initiatives to promote dialogue and debate on key issues, and strategies for strengthening the link between hall government and student needs. Ultimately, this research aims to promote a more engaged, informed, and representative student community within halls of residence, thereby contributing to the development of future civic leaders.

Keywords: Voter Behaviours, Hall of Residence Elections, Political Awareness, Political

Culture, Manifestos.

Word counts: 501 words

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| Contents | Page |
|---|------|
| TITLE PAGE | i |
| CERTIFICATION | ii |
| DEDICATION | iii |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | iv |
| ABSTRACT | V |
| TABLE OF CONTENTS | vi |
| | |
| CHAPTER ONE | 1 |
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| 1. 0 Background | 1 |
| 1.1 Statement of the Problem | 5 |
| 1.2 Objectives of the Study | 6 |
| 1.3 Key Concepts | 7 |
| 1.4 Scope of the Study | 7 |
| 1.5 Significance of the Study | 7 |
| 1.6 Survey Questions | 8 |
| 1.7 Limitations of the Study | 9 |
| 1.8 Ethical Consideration | 9 |
| 1.9 Chapters Outline | 10 |
| | |
| CHAPTER TWO | 11 |
| LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK | 11 |
| 2.0 Introduction | 11 |
| 2.1 Literature Review | 11 |
| 2.2 Review of Empirical Studies | 12 |
| 2.3 Theoretical Framework | 26 |

| 2.4 Research Gap | 31 |
|--|----|
| | |
| CHAPTER THREE | 32 |
| RESEARCH METHODOLOGY | 32 |
| 3.0 Introduction | 32 |
| 3.1 Research Design | 32 |
| 3.2 Area of Study | 32 |
| 3.3 Population of the Study | 32 |
| 3.4 Sample and Sampling Techniques | 33 |
| 3.5 Research Instrument | 33 |
| 3.6 Validity of the Research | 33 |
| 3.7 Method of Data Collection | 33 |
| 3.8 Method of Data Analysis | 34 |
| 3.9 Ethical Considerations | 34 |
| | |
| CHAPTER FOUR | 35 |
| DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION | 35 |
| 4.0 Structure and Purpose of the Questionnaire | 35 |
| 4.1 Demographic Information | 35 |
| 4.2 Answering of Research Questions | 38 |
| 4.2.1 Political Attitudes and Values | 38 |
| 4.2.2 Political Engagement and Participation | 41 |
| 4.2.3 Influence of Hall Political Culture | 44 |
| 4.2.4 Voting Intentions and Key Influences | 47 |
| 4.3 Discussion of the Findings | 49 |

| CHAPTER FIVE | 51 |
|------------------------------|----|
| CONCLUSION | 51 |
| 5.0 Summary | 51 |
| 5.1 Conclusion | 51 |
| 5.2 Recommendations | 52 |
| 5.3 Limitations of the Study | 52 |
| 5.4 Suggestions | 52 |
| REFERENCES | 53 |
| QUESTIONNAIRE | 55 |

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. 0 Background

Voting behaviors have a huge effect on the outcome of any election and this plays out everywhere in the world, from politics in the religious settings, campus politics and national politics at large. Factors like values, beliefs, demography, culture, and candidates are reasons for the voting behaviors exuded by voters. Voting behaviors hold immense significance in understanding the behaviors of people and it helps in predicting political events. Voting is a cornerstone of democratic societies, so understanding the dynamics, challenges, and motivations of student participation is crucial for ensuring a representative and engaged electorate. It is important to know that students represent a pivotal demographic poised to become the future electorates. Their voting patterns and motivations hold significant implications for the political landscape. Examining their voting behaviors provides invaluable insights into the evolving political consciousness of a generation shaped by different factors ranging from technological, and social to individual factors. Hall of Residence elections, while operating on a smaller scale than national elections, offer valuable insight into political processes. Analyzing student voting behavior in these elections provides insights into the evolving political consciousness of a generation, shaped by complex factors, and holds significant implications for the future political landscape. For instance, by looking at how students vote, we can see how their views are changing, in the sense that, if many students vote for candidates who promise to improve sustainability in the hall, it shows that they care about environmental issues. This can give us clues about what future voters might prioritize in larger elections.

Hall elections typically function at the level of residence halls or student accommodations within universities, where students elect representatives to voice their concerns and manage activities within their living environments. Understanding the determinants of voting behavior in this setting sheds light on how socio-economic, cultural, psychological, and environmental factors influence students' participation in democratic processes, even in micro-level elections. This background examines several determinants of voting behavior in hall elections, including demographic factors, social influence, political engagement, campaign dynamics, and the role of campus culture. The Importance of Studying Voting Behavior in Hall Elections helps in understanding representation and Student Governance as Hall elections serve as a critical avenue for students to engage in governance and to have their voices heard in university

administration. Student representatives generally address issues related to accommodation quality, social activities, and welfare concerns. Understanding voting behavior in this context is crucial for several reasons:

- 1. Engagement in Democratic Processes: Hall elections provide a platform for students to participate in democratic practices, which can influence their engagement in larger electoral processes in the future. These elections provide a training ground for future leaders. Students gain experience in campaigning, organizing, and engaging with their peers on important issues. This experience results into valuable skills applicable to future political engagement, fostering civic responsibility and developing leadership qualities. For example, a prominent figure who emerged from such a background is Senator Dino Melaye, he was actively involved in student politics during his university days, where he honed his skills in public speaking and advocacy. His early experiences in campaigning laid the groundwork for his later political career, where he became known for his vocal stance on various national issues.
- 2. Representation and Voice: Hall of Residence elections provide students with a direct mechanism to choose representatives who advocate for their interests and concerns. These representatives act as a bridge between the student body and hall administration, addressing issues relating to living conditions, facilities, and campus policies. When students feel that their voices are heard and their needs are addressed by their representatives, they are more likely to feel connected to their peers and the environment around them. This process strengthens the democratic principles of representation and participation. For example, if a hall representative listens to students' concerns about the cleanliness of common areas or the need for more social activities, and then takes action to address these issues, it can lead to a more engaged student body. This not only improves the living conditions but also encourages students to participate more actively in their community.
- 3. Predictive Value: By studying the factors influencing student voting decisions in Hall of Residence elections, we gain a better understanding of the broader factors affecting voter behavior in general. These insights can help predict voting behavior and aid in the analysis and interpretation of national and regional elections. This can be in a way that Hall elections provide a controlled environment to test theories about voter behavior. Researchers can experiment with different campaign strategies or information

dissemination techniques to see how they impact voting patterns. For instance, they might examine how different types of campaign strategies influence student votes. The results could offer insights into the effectiveness of similar techniques in national. Donald P. Green (2004) a professor of political science at Yale University, an expert on elections and campaign finance and Alan S. Gerber (2004) a professor of political science and director of the Center for the Study of American Politics at Yale University in their book "Get Out The Vote - How to increase voter turnout" talks about the utilization of controlled experiments.

4. Influencing University Policy: Student representatives can air student grievances, but their influence extends beyond simply voicing complaints; it involves actively participating in the process of creating and implementing policies that affect the entire university community contributing to policy formulation and administrative decisions that affect broader university life. Issues relating to student organizations, campus events, recreational facilities, mental health services, the affordability of living on campus, and the effectiveness of student support systems.

This research is important in identifying factors that serve as determinant of the voting patterns among university students and when the barriers have identified, practical solutions can be proffered to promote turnout from students. This ranges from voter's education initiatives, simplified registration, accessible voting options and promoting civic engagement.

The University of Ibadan, Nigeria's premier institution of higher learning, is not only known for its academic excellence but also a vibrant hub of student life and political engagement. The Halls of Residence, which are particularly central to this, are more than just dormitories; they serve as communities where students live, interact, and often form lasting bonds. Election in the University of Ibadan, starting from the Student Union election at the University is based on Hall, as students often vote on the Hall line, likewise, elections for leadership positions within these halls hold considerable importance for the student body. However, the study will be focusing on the election in Independence Hall. The study will focus on elections in Independence Hall, one of the prominent halls at the University of Ibadan. Independence Hall embodies a strong brotherhood and a great sense of community. Its very name, "Independence," resonates with the spirit of Nigeria's own independence movement, a legacy that has shaped its character and identity over the years. It was founded when Nigeria was gained independence, so it was named to honor that. Over time, many generations of students have called it home,

contributing to the university's intellectual and social environment. Many events, debates, and discussions have happened there, and many former residents have become leaders in various fields. It is important to study factors that contribute to the voting patterns of the residents of this hall as these elections contribute to the overall political awareness of the student body, preparing them for civic participation beyond the campus walls. The experience of participating in or observing these localized elections can cultivate a greater understanding of the democratic process.

Voting behaviors which is seen in turnout rates in campus election among young voters are often explained by a series of common assumptions that young people are not interested in politics; that they have low levels of political efficacy; that they are less informed about politics and how government works; that they don't have access to the resources necessary to vote; or that they are less likely to overcome the procedural barriers related to voting (Bergan et al. 2021, McDonald, 2009). Yet, many of these assumptions are easily disproved by existing research. Public opinion polls frequently show that young people are, in fact, as interested in politics as older generations (Bergan et al. 2021). Further, though some assert that this is a of problem political socialization, there is little evidence that youth civic education interventions that currently exist are effective at increasing turnout, regardless of associated increases in political knowledge and efficacy (Hart and Youniss, 2018). There are many factors that contribute to the voting behavior of students in the campus election, the level of education can also be a major determinant, according to study carried out by Tshegofatso Mogaladi and Motlatso Mlambo (2022) in South Africa Student Representative Council (SRC)the disparity in turnout according to level of education among male students, with those at the postgraduate level significantly more likely to vote, could be a reflections of the level of consciousness among this part of the student cohort of students; and may possibly be an indicator of broader societal politics in the country which are male-dominated and in which the level of education among political leaders and public representatives has become an increasingly contentious issue. In essence, the study results indicate that male students who were enrolled for postgraduate studies were more likely to vote than male undergraduates, which could be attributed to a more sophisticated political understanding on the part of the postgraduate students.

The discourse surrounding voting behaviors encompasses both challenges and advantages. This study will not only reveal the barriers and obstacles that students face when engaging in the voting process but will also highlight the positive determinants that encourage voter

participation among them. By examining these dual aspects, the research aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the factors influencing voting behaviors in the university setting, especially in the Hall of Residence election.

In conclusion, studying students' voting behaviors hold significant potential to contribute to the development of a more engaged, informed, and inclusive democracy. By identifying both the challenges and the encouraging factors that affect student participation in elections, the study will aid in fostering an environment that promotes active civic engagement among young voters. Ultimately, such insights can inform strategies to enhance democratic participation, ensuring that the voices of all students are heard and represented in the decision-making processes that affect their lives and communities.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Voting is a fundamental component of democratic participation, serving as a crucial means for individuals to express their preferences and influence decision-making processes that affect their lives. In the context of a university setting, particularly during hall elections, the significance of voting behavior among students becomes important. Hall elections at institutions such as the University of Ibadan provide a unique environment to explore how students engage in political processes, shaping their identities as active citizens. However, understanding the determinants of voting behaviors among students in hall elections presents various challenges and complexities that warrant thorough investigation.

Despite the inherent importance of participation in hall elections, there exists an observable gap in the literature regarding the factors that influence voting behaviors in this specific context. Previous research on voting behavior has predominantly focused on national elections, often overlooking the dynamics present at the local or institutional levels. This oversight limits the understanding of how unique social, cultural, and institutional factors within universities impact student engagement in democratic processes. As a result, this study seeks to investigate the determinants of voting behaviors among students in hall elections at the University of Ibadan, focusing on the Great Independence Hall.

The importance of Hall elections is vital for fostering democratic practices within educational institutions. They offer students an opportunity to elect representatives who will voice their concerns and advocate for their interests within the university community. Moreover, hall elections serve as a training ground for leadership, civic participation, and political engagement, helping students develop essential skills that will aid them in their future

democratic endeavors. Effective participation in hall elections not only enhances the governance of the student community but also nurtures a culture of accountability among elected representatives. However, several challenges hinder effective voting participation among students. These challenges can be attributed to a myriad of factors, including sociocultural, psychological, and institutional influences that shape their attitudes toward voting. One significant issue that emerges in the context of hall elections is voter apathy. Many students exhibit a lack of interest in participating in hall elections, often viewing the process as inconsequential or believing that their votes will not significantly impact the outcomes. This perception of futility can lead to decreased voter turnout, undermining the legitimacy of elected representatives and the overall democratic process within the hall. Also, various studies have addressed voting behavior in broader contexts, there remains a notable gap in the literature regarding the specific determinants of voting behavior among students in hall elections within Nigerian universities. As institutions like the University of Ibadan represent a vital segment of Nigeria's future leaders, understanding the nuances of student voting behaviors is critical for fostering an engaged and informed citizenry.

Moreover, the research will contribute to the academic discourse on youth political engagement in Nigeria, offering a model for similar studies in other universities and contexts. By focusing on the determinants of voting behaviors in Hall elections.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

- 1. These include: to identify the key issues and concerns that students consider when making voting decisions and also, explore the priorities and values that drive students' voting choices.
- 2. It aims to explore the role of political culture in shaping voting preferences. Campus culture from the Hall traditions, faculty influences, political environment, staff influences and campus influences on students' voting patterns.
- 3. Identify strategies for promoting student political participation.
- 4. To recommend how to improve student engagement in campus elections.

1.3 Key Concepts

There is a need to define key terms and concepts in this study so that analysis will gain ground in shared understanding and also be established in a robust framework

- 1. Voting behaviors refer to the actions and decisions of individuals when they participate in elections, including their preferences, motivations, and the processes through which they make choices about candidates or issues.
- 2. Determinants of voting behavior are the various factors that influence how and why individuals vote.
- 3. Voter turnout is the percentage of eligible voters who cast their votes in an election. It is a critical measure of political engagement and electoral participation.
- 4. Swing voters are individuals who do not have a consistent voting pattern and may cast their votes for candidates from different parties in different elections. They are often seen as crucial in determining election outcomes, particularly in closely contested races.

1.4 Scope of the Study

This study will focus on the electoral process within the Hall elections at the University of Ibadan, specifically honing in on Great Independence Hall. The research will closely examine the determinants of voting behaviors among students who have actively participated in these elections, either by casting their votes or by campaigning for candidates vying for various positions. By narrowing the focus to Great Independence Hall, the study aims to provide an indepth analysis of student engagement during the electoral process, exploring various dimensions such as motivations for voting, campaign strategies employed by candidates, and the overall impact of these activities on the student community. Through this targeted exploration, the research seeks to show the significance of Hall elections in fostering democratic participation among students, enhancing governance within the hall, and contributing to the broader understanding of electoral behaviors within university settings

1.5 Significance of the Study

Understanding the voting behavior of students, particularly in Hall of Residence elections, provides vital insight into the broader landscape of political engagement among young adults. Hall elections serve as a microcosm of the democratic process, offering students a platform to express their preferences, exercise their rights, and engage in governance within a smaller community. Examining the determinants of voting behavior in this context has far-reaching

implications not only for the immediate university environment but also for the development of informed and active citizens in society. Studying voting behaviors encourages students to become informed about the systems that govern their lives. Awareness of how elections function, from the processes of campaigning to the mechanics of casting votes, is crucial for cultivating informed voters. By participating in elections, students learn the significance of their voice within a democratic framework. Hall elections introduce students to the electoral process, fostering habits of participation that can carry over into broader political engagement in adulthood. Early exposure to voting teaches students about the importance of civic responsibility and the impact of their choices. Also, investigating why students vote or why they abstain reveals insights into issues of representation and inclusivity. For instance, understanding the barriers encountered by underrepresented groups helps universities create more equitable electoral processes that ensure all voices are heard. It also has an implication on student leadership development as Hall elections provide a unique environment for developing leadership skills among students. By studying voting determinants, educators and student advisors can identify areas where leadership training may be needed, helping to cultivate confident leaders.

This study can also help to highlight specific issues that matter to students. If it is clear that certain topics dominate election discourse (e.g., mental health support, housing, academic resources), university administrations can develop policies that proactively address these needs. It can serve as feedback for governance as the results of this study concerning determinants of voting behaviors and preferences act as feedback for the administration regarding current policies or initiatives. If students' express discontent in hall elections, it can signal to university authorities that change is necessary

1.6 Survey Questions

The survey questions will be tailored around

1. Demographics and voting history

- a. What year are you currently in?
- b. Have you voted in a previous hall of residence election?
- c. How often do you participate in campus events and activities?

2. Political awareness and engagement

- a. How aware are you of the current candidates in the Hall of Residence election?
- b. How often do you discuss politics or current events with your roommates and friends?

3. Candidate perceptions and issues

- a. What are the most important qualities you look for in a Hall of Residence representative?
- b. What are the most important issues to you in the election?

4. Social influences and peer network

- a. How often do you see or discuss political information on Social media related to the Hall of Residence election?
- b. How much do you feel a sense of belonging and community in your Hall of Residence?

5. Voting intention and motivation

- a. How likely are you to vote in the Hall of Residence election?
- b. What is your main reason for voting?

1.7 Limitations of the Study

Several limitations are anticipated in the course of the study

- 1. Complexity of voting behaviors
- 2. Response bias
- 3. Limited sample size
- 4. Access to participants

1.8 Ethical Consideration

This research will strictly adhere to the ethical standards of research. This includes ensuring the confidentiality of those interviewed except granted permission to include their details to ensure no harm befalls the participants and obtaining informed consent from all participants. Also, ethical approval will be sought from the relevant institutional review board.

1.9 Chapters Outline

The study is organized into five (5) chapters.

- 1. **Chapter One** is an introduction that consists of the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, key concepts, literature review, methodology, scope of the study, significance of the study, survey questions, limitations, ethical consideration and chapters outline
- 2. **Chapter two** is the literature review and theoretical framework and review of prior studies on the subject matter
- 3. **Chapter three** is the research methodology, which involves Research design, population and samples size and data analysis techniques
- 4. **Chapter Four**: Data analysis and presentation, presentation of collected data and the interpretation as linked to the hypothesis.
- 5. Chapter five concludes the work

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

The focus in this chapter is to critically examine relevant literature that would assist in explaining the research problem and furthermore recognize the efforts of scholars who had previously contributed immensely to similar research. The chapter intends to deepen the understanding of the study and close the perceived gaps.

2.1 Literature Review

Determinants of voter behavior encompass a wide range of factors that influence how individuals engage in the electoral process. This includes their preferences for certain candidates or political parties, which can be shaped by personal beliefs, values, and experiences. Motivations for voting can vary significantly among individuals. Some may feel a strong civic duty to participate in democracy, while others might be motivated by specific issues that resonate with them, such as healthcare, education, or social justice. Additionally, social influences, such as family, friends, and community norms, can play a crucial role in shaping an individual's decision to vote and whom to support. The processes through which individuals make choices about candidates or issues can also be complex. This may involve gathering information from various sources, such as news media, debates, and campaign materials, as well as reflecting on past experiences and the perceived impact of policies. Cognitive biases and emotional responses can further complicate decision-making, leading individuals to favor certain candidates or parties based on feelings rather than purely rational analysis. Voting behaviors are at the heart of every democratic society, as they shape the composition of governments and determine the policies that govern the lives of the citizens. However, the choices individuals make at the ballot box are influenced by a myriad of factors that impact their decision-making process. Exploring and understanding these factors is crucial for comprehending voter behavior and the dynamics of election. Voting behaviors are influenced by a combination of personal beliefs, social interactions, and the context of the election, all of which affect how people choose to participate in voting.

Hall of Residence elections in Nigerian universities are closely tied to the history of student government and activism in the country. These elections typically involve the selection of student leaders who represent the interests of residents in university hostels or halls of residence. In the early years of Nigerian universities, particularly during the 1960s and 1970s, student governance was relatively informal, and the concept of Hall of Residence elections was

not as structured as it is today. However, as student activism grew, particularly during periods of political unrest and military rule, the need for organized representation became more pronounced. Several factors contributed to this relatively unstructured environment, one of it is the newly established Institutions. Many Nigerian universities were relatively new institutions during this period. The focus was primarily on establishing academic programs, building infrastructure, and recruiting faculty. Formalized student governance structures were often secondary priorities. The emphasis was on establishing the core academic functions of the universities before focusing on systems that allow for student representation. Also, the issue of resources also contributed to this, as universities faced resource constraints, both human and financial resources. Allocating resources to develop electoral systems for hall representatives may have been considered a wrong priority compared to pressing needs such as improving teaching facilities or expanding library resources. The demands of organizing elections in a less developed infrastructural context were insignificant. Also, administrative authorities' intervention which showed how the university administrative authorities exert significant control over student affairs. This may have limited the autonomy of students to establish independent governance structures within their halls of residence. The administration often viewed student governance as a potential source of disruption and may have been less inclined to support the formalization of election processes.

The 1980s and 1990s witnessed a surge in student activism across Nigeria, often fueled by periods of political instability, military rule, and socioeconomic disparities. The need for organized student representation became increasingly critical, this shift laid the groundwork for the more formalized Hall of Residence elections that developed in later decades. In recent years, Hall of Residence elections have continued to evolve, with many universities adopting more democratic processes and regulations to ensure fair elections. These elections are now often conducted under the auspices of student unions or associations, which help to organize the electoral process and ensure that students have a voice in their governance.

2.2 Review of Empirical Studies

According to the work of Taufiq Wijaya Giry (2024) and Halking (2024) study on Student Political participation in the 2023 Medan State University Election in Indonesia. They argued that the competitive struggle for the people's voice to be able to play a role in deciding and gaining power is to carry out political participation. Based on data from the Indonesian Democracy Index (IDI) One of the assessment indicators to measure the level of democracy is the aspect of citizens' political rights, namely the right to political participation (Poldagri,

2019). This is in line with the views of Adi Suryadi Culla, a lecturer at the Unhas Master of Political Science Program, who said that "without public participation democracy is meaningless" (Falcao, 2015). The implementation of democracy in Indonesia is the holding of general elections. Elections are a democratic process used to elect representatives directly by citizens (Dwi, 2023). In the elections, citizens have the right to determine their choice to elect candidates who will occupy positions as state officials, be it legislative institutions (DPR RI, Provincial DPRD, Regency City DPRD and DPD) or executive institutions (President and Vice President) (KPU RI, 2023). Elections are carried out with the principles of election organizers, namely independent, honest, fair, legal certainty, orderly, open, proportional, professional, accountable, effective, and efficient (Agusta, 2023). Democracy can be carried out in various elements of community life; one example is democracy in the scope of the campus.

The campus is a formal institution as a place for teaching and learning activities and a vehicle for developing intellectuality to form intellectuals who have good morals. In addition, the campus is also a medium for finding a student's identity. The campus is illustrated as a miniature state because in it there is a system of freedom of opinion and expression, has a campus institutional government order that comes from student representatives who sit in government seats on campus both as a Student Representative Body (BPM), Student Senate (Sema) and others. (Rozi, 2022). In the election of students who will join the Student Senate (Sema) or Student Representative Body (BPM), the campus as a miniature state also uses a democratic system, namely during the general election of students more commonly known as the General Election (Pemira).

Medan State University is one of the state campuses that applies a democratic system in determining the student senate and student representative body, namely in the form of elections (Pemira). On December 14, 2023, Medan State University held Pemira simultaneously online to elect student officials who will occupy positions in the University Student Senate (SemaF) and Faculty Student Representative Body (BPMF). The student organization (ormawa) is a mediator that bridges the aspirations between students and higher education leaders from the faculty to the university level. Every year the ormawa always undergoes management regeneration or change of management. One of the moments of management change is marked by the Pemira. Pemira (Election) is an activity carried out by students as a form of democratic candidates for leaders practice elect student (Fernandes, etal.. 2022). Pemira (election) is held "from students, by students and for students". Meanwhile, the bureaucracy or campus plays a role in financing and facilitating these activities. Students can

learn to understand the real urgency of the importance of learning political participation on campus through election activities. The General Election (Pemira) is an event for students to exercise their political rights to elect someone who is considered appropriate and worthy as a representative to sit in the student senate at both the university and faculty levels. Every student has the freedom to determine and exercise their voting rights without fear of threats in any form.

Based on the implementation guidelines issued by the rectorate, it states that "Pemira (General Election) is held every 1 (one) year at the faculty and university levels. Pemira (General Election) is organized by the Pemira Organizing Committee in each Faculty". Pemira organizing committee is an organization that is responsible for the implementation of Pemira. The Pemira Organizing Committee is formed by student representatives who are coming to class or representatives who are elected based on the Committee election meeting. Pemira organizer which is held two or three weeks before the Pemira is held. Based on preliminary data submitted by the Pemira Organizing Committee, there was a decrease in student interest in using their voting rights in Pemira. A total of 1,650 students in 2022 used their voting rights or 62% of the total students at the Faculty of Social Sciences, when compared to 2023, only 903 students, or 35% of students used their voting rights at Pemira. With the General Election (Pemira), many things are highlighted, such as the start of Pemira means that the campus has implemented the principles of democracy in determining the next leadership regeneration. The existence of Pemira teaches the practice of democracy and student political participation in the Medan State University environment before students plunge into society and carry out actual political practices. In addition, Pemira can assess how the role of students in facing a democratic party on campus is packaged in a political

Student Political Participation in the 2023 Medan State University General Election, which is analyzed from the theory of conventional political participation which states that the forms of conventional political participation include voting and public discussion, as well as joining and forming individual communication with public officials. Political participation is based on indicators of voting and public discussion in Pemira (Election) 2023 there are two categories to find out how student political participation is. The first is seen based on the level of student participation to participate as contestants in Permira. The second is seen based on how student participation in using their voting rights. Based on interviews that have been conducted, several things cause low student interest in becoming contestants in Pemira. Among them are because they are not interested in the organizations offered and already have other duties and

responsibilities, and do not want to because they have not had the right time. As stated by Aprianta Tarigan the factor of having a lot of college assignments and also already participating in the organization were the reasons for the low contestants in Pemira. Then based on the results of low student political participation referring to the statement issued by the chairman of the Pemira Committee who said that the low political participation of students in using their voting rights was caused by low student interest and student apathy in the empire caused by online elections. When referring to research conducted by Sari Firmansyah who examined student political participation in the election of the president and vice president of BEM Rema IKIP PGRI Pontianak with research conducted offline with a presentation of 78.71% with a good category. Syarif Firmansyah also said that based on the results of his research, students who are still influenced by the impact of technology will change students to recognize less political participation in the presidential and vice-presidential elections held at Pontianak.

This is very contrary to the political participation in Medan State University, especially in the Faculty of Social Sciences, where political participation only reached 35% with a total of 903 participants out of a total of 1650 students. This is reinforced by the data submitted by Mr. Eron who stated that the low level of political participation was not only felt by the Faculty of Social Sciences but there was another faculty, whose participation level was even much lower than Faculty of Social Sciences. "Gabriel Almond states that the factors that influence political participation consist of the level of education, gender differences, socioeconomic status, mass media, and campaign activities." (Nofitra & Ishak, 2016). Based on the theory put forward by Gabriel Almond the factors that influence political participation at the level of education which illustrates that educated people have a high level of political participation. However, based on the data found that students who are seen as educated people are still many who do not participate or do not want to participate in the General Election (Pemira), regardless of the obstacles experienced, educated people should take part in political participation. Then mass media and campaigns to influence political participation based on the data obtained that the mass media is very influential in increasing political participation. This is in line with the facts in the field that is based on Zahra's view that influence is very influential in increasing political participation, and increasing political participation takes time not in a hurry. This is also supported by the argument conveyed by Saparudin Berutu, that at the time of the election yesterday a system upgrade was carried out, but information related to the mechanism and tutorial was submitted to H-2 of the activity. Based on the decision of the circular letter issued by WR 3 in the field of Student Affairs Chapter 1 Article 1 states that -"Direct elections are

carried out democratically and transparently, honestly and fairly with direct, general, free, and secret balloting." (Implementation Guidelines authorized by WR 3)

However, based on the facts in the field stated by the chairman of the Committee during the election, of course, there was fraud committed by certain individuals. Based on this case, the committee could not provide sanctions or punishment due to the absence of written rules regarding the sanctions given and the committee testified that for all procedures it was returned to the bureaucratic leadership by hoping that the election to run smoothly must be done offline. Regarding fraud committed by certain accounts and reports from students related to fraud. It cannot be processed through the lack of evidence from victims. Student political participation in the General Election at Medan State University in 2023 is divided into two aspects, namely participation before the election, namely becoming a contestant, and during the election, namely exercising the right to vote. At the time before Mr. Mira, students did not nominate as contestants because they had other activities and were not interested. Meanwhile, during the election, political participation to exercise their right to vote was very low with the acquisition of 35% of data or only 903 people participating. The low political participation generated in Pemira 2023 was caused by obstacles felt by various parties. The obstacles felt by students are related to the system used in conducting elections, namely online and the upgrade of the system (upgrade) with the result that many students cannot log in and finally the students cannot use their voting rights. This is also motivated by student apathy and low student curiosity by not wanting to try to find out for themselves or even prepare to exercise their voting rights.

Conclusions drawn from the study of students' political participation in the 2023 Medan State University Election include the use of an online Voting System. The use of an online voting system is seen as a significant barrier. This suggests that the mode of voting itself created challenges for student participation and this has a great effect on their voting behaviors. The upgrade of the online system directly caused technical issues, specifically the inability of many students to log in. Such system failures may have reduced confidence in the process, leading students to conclude it was futile to try to vote.

Also, student attitudes and motivation are key factors, suggesting a general lack of interest or engagement in the election process among students. This indicates a deeper issue beyond the technical problems. Apathy suggests a lack of connection with or belief in the relevance of the election. The students are described as "not wanting to try to find out for themselves" about the process or "prepare to exercise their voting rights and this shows a lack of initiative, a

disengagement from civic duties, and a possible lack of awareness about the importance of their participation.

Now, looking at the interrelation of factors that affected the students of Medan State University in the 2023 election. It can be seen that the technical Issues exacerbating the apathy. The technical issues with the system likely worsened the pre-existing apathy among students. When they experienced difficulty logging in, their low initial motivation likely turned into frustration and a sense of futility. Students who were not already motivated to vote were likely less willing to try to resolve the login problems, and this creates a vicious cycle that leads to frustration and discouragement, further reducing interest and participation.

It can be inferred that the following determinants of voter behavior among students. The first one is the system Accessibility. The ease or difficulty of accessing the voting system is a major determinant. If the system is flawed or difficult to use, students are less likely to participate. Also, the technical reliability and stability of the voting system are crucial. Technical failures can act as major barriers to participation, undermining trust in the process. Also, the perceived Importance and the apathy suggest that students may not perceive the Pemira elections as important or relevant to their lives. This lack of perceived importance significantly reduces their motivation to participate and the phrase "not wanting to try to find out for themselves" suggests a lack of awareness or a failure of the communication channels to adequately inform students about the process and its importance.

According to the study of Abigail Wade Despres on Voting at University of Maine: An empirical study of Student turnout trends and motivations. This study began by first grounding itself in empirical data, specifically utilizing information from the National Study of Learning, Voting, and Engagement (NSLVE). The NSLVE represents a focused effort by the Institute for Democracy and Higher Education to illuminate the intricacies of student voter participation within university settings. Its primary objective is to equip universities with a granular understanding of their student body's electoral engagement. This is achieved by providing detailed data on registration and voting rates, disaggregated by key demographic factors like gender, race, and academic major. Abigail Wade Despres used the 2012 and 2016 data to identify areas of low turnout within the university, noting that men were voting at lower rates than women, and she also identified that specific majors also had relatively low turnout rates. The study then articulates its rationale for the selection of its three independent variables: political efficacy, perceived campus environment, and political engagement. These were not

chosen arbitrarily, rather, they are the direct result of the prior empirical findings from Abigail Wade Despres' research and an in-depth analysis of the existing academic literature. The research did not start from a blank slate; instead, the variables were derived from a rigorous approach that combined empirical observation with established theoretical frameworks.

Political Efficacy, as a significant connection to turnout at the University of Maine. Political efficacy, which is an individual's belief in their ability to affect the political process, becomes a critical variable. Students who feel they have little to no impact are less likely to participate and this aligns with political science literature, which posits that individuals' sense of efficacy is a significant predictor of their likelihood to engage in political activities, including voting.

Also, the perceived Campus Environment, which reflects how students experience the university's culture, climate, and engagement with political discourse, becomes a key consideration. This captures the degree to which students feel that it is inclusive or exclusive in encouraging civic engagement. A climate that supports dialogue is more likely to encourage students to participate. This aligns with sociological and educational theories emphasizing the influence of the social environment on student attitudes and behavior.

Lastly, recognizing a lack of student participation, and in conjunction with other observations, the research is drawn to an investigation of political engagement. This refers to an individual's overall level of interest, awareness, and active participation in politics. Political engagement encompasses activities beyond simply voting, such as attending political events, discussing political issues, and volunteering in campaigns. This recognizes that voting is not an isolated act, but is part of a broader continuum of political engagement

Abigail Wade Despres decided to make use of a mixed-methods approach, signaling a recognition of the limitations inherent in relying solely on either quantitative or qualitative research designs. However, by combining these approaches, Abigail Wade Despres aims to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the complex relationships between their chosen variables. This approach is not simply about gathering both numerical data and textual information; rather, it is about strategically integrating different data types to gain a more holistic and valid perspective on the research problem. Abigail Wade Despres opted for a specific sequential mixed-methods design, denoted as (QUAN \rightarrow qual). This notation clarifies the priority and sequence of the methodological components. In this design, quantitative data collection and analysis take precedence over the qualitative elements. This means the quantitative findings guide the overall interpretation, and the qualitative data is primarily used

as a means to enhance, illuminate, and enrich the interpretations derived from the quantitative analysis. This design is not a simple parallel process but rather a deliberate sequence where the quantitative phase sets the stage for the qualitative phase. It acknowledges the strength of each type of data while giving priority to the quantitative. Abigail Wade Despres opted for a specific sequential mixed-methods design, denoted as (QUAN \rightarrow qual). This notation clarifies the priority and sequence of the methodological components. In this design, quantitative data collection and analysis take precedence over the qualitative elements. This means the quantitative findings guide the overall interpretation, and the qualitative data is primarily used as a means to enhance, illuminate, and enrich the interpretations derived from the quantitative analysis. This design is not a simple parallel process but rather a deliberate sequence where the quantitative phase sets the stage for the qualitative phase. It acknowledges the strength of each type of data while giving priority to the quantitative.

The initial phase of the research centers on quantitative survey research, which indicates that a structured questionnaire was administered to participants, which is a standard method for collecting large amounts of quantitative data. This structured approach allows for statistical analysis using a variety of measures like descriptive statistics: The researchers employed descriptive statistics to summarize the characteristics of the sample. This would include measures such as means, medians, modes, standard deviations, and frequencies. Descriptive statistics provide a clear picture of the distributions of the variables under consideration and the overall context of the data. Additionally, inferential statistics were used to make generalizations from the sample data to the broader population. Inferential statistics such as regression analysis and correlation analysis would help to test hypotheses about the relationships between variables and determine the extent to which the findings are statistically significant.

Following the quantitative phase, the study then integrated a qualitative element through the use of open-ended questions. These questions allowed participants to elaborate on their experiences, perspectives, and attitudes in their own words. This approach shifts the focus from numerical measurements to nuanced understandings of the phenomenon being investigated. The primary function of the qualitative data was to amplify and enrich the interpretations that were developed in the quantitative phase. This means that the quantitative data would provide a broad picture, while the qualitative data would provide in-depth details about that broad view. The use of open-ended questions allowed the researchers to gain a deeper understanding of the "why" behind the numbers. Instead of just knowing that a relationship exists, the qualitative

data aims to reveal how and why that relationship occurs. She then referred to the quantitative data to compare emerging patterns between the two sets. Making use of SPSS 27 (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) indicates that the study utilized a standard statistical software package commonly used in social science research. This choice underscores a commitment to well-established analytical tools and practices.

Abigail Wade Despres began with frequency analyses, which serve as descriptive statistics. Frequency distributions provide an understanding of the number of occurrences of each specific value of their variables. These analyses allow for an examination of how the responses are distributed within the sample, including how many students fall into each category for various demographic characteristics or variable measures. Correlation analysis is used to examine the relationships between variables. Correlation coefficients measure the strength and direction of the linear association between two variables. The use of correlations allows her to determine the degree to which changes in one variable are associated with changes in another. She also employed a multivariate model. This technique allows for the simultaneous examination of multiple independent variables on a dependent variable. Abigail Wade explicitly states their objective of obtaining a sample that was as large as possible while being representative of the undergraduate population in terms of Gender, college, major, race, sexual orientation, and Age. The original sample of 318 participants provided an initial basis for analysis. She clearly discloses the sample size to allow other researchers to evaluate the validity of their statistical approach. The initial sample revealed a significant oversampling of women. This would have been problematic as it would likely have introduced bia. The initial demographics showed that 66.7% were female, 25.2% were male, and 8.1% identified with a variety of non-binary gender options. Such a large skew towards women would severely limit the generalizability of the findings. To address the sampling bias, Abigail Wade Despres reweighted the data using SPSS 27. This technique involved adjusting the weights of responses based on their gender identification. Also, responses from male-identified participants were given a weight of 1.98. This effectively increased the representation of male students. For the female participants were given a weight of 0.75. This reduced the influence of female responses in the final results. After re-weighting, the sample was adjusted to a revised size of 342, with 46.5% male and 45.9% female. The weight adjustment is an attempt to make the sample better reflect the position of the University. This revised gender distribution was then aligned with demographic data provided by the Office of Institutional Research and Assessment (OIRA). This independent measure of data helps to establish the robustness of the sample. The university reported 47.1% female and 52.6% male for its undergraduate student body in 2020, confirming that the study had successfully brought its sample in line with the university's actual demographics. However, she emphasized that the university did not offer non-binary options, while they included a wide variety of gender identification options in their survey. This underscores the researcher's attentiveness to the full range of identities within the student population, as well as the limitations of official demographic data.

Abigail Wade Despres' study shows three outcomes that serve as determinants of voter behavior. One of which is political efficacy as a determinant of voter turnout among University of Maine students. This aligns perfectly with the motivation to participate of voters during the election process. If individuals feel their voice doesn't matter, or that their actions have no bearing on political outcomes, they are less likely to invest the time and effort required to vote and the study confirms this principle as students at the University of Maine, who lacked political efficacy were less inclined to engage in the act of voting. Importantly, the survey indicates that respondents generally express high levels of political efficacy when it comes to their interactions with governmental processes. This means that these students, on average, believe that they can have an impact on local or more immediate political decision-making and that they have a good understanding of how government works. This suggests a positive level of civic awareness and engagement at the local level. The critical insight is that this confidence in their capacity to make an impact shift when the scale moves to national institutions. The survey indicates a clear decrease in efficacy regarding their ability to affect political outcomes at the national level. This is a crucial discrepancy. This points towards the fact that students feel that the national government is too big and opaque and that their individual influence at this level is limited or non-existent.

However, to interprete the study, the first thing to notice is the differential levels of efficacy suggest the need for targeted engagement strategies. Simply encouraging students to vote might not be enough. Campaigns should aim to show students how their vote can have an impact, focusing on how local action can be impactful and emphasizing the importance of state elections. It is crucial to address the root causes of perceived powerlessness regarding national politics. This might involve fostering a greater understanding of the workings of national government, highlighting real examples of citizen impact at the national level, and fostering critical media literacy to make students aware of political agendas and strategies. The findings suggest that students feel a greater sense of efficacy when they see a clear link between their actions and outcomes. Smaller-scale governments are easier to understand and are more

accessible, and this may be the reason why students feel they can make an impact on them. The opacity and scale of national institutions likely contribute to the sense of disconnect.

According to the study Akinbolaji Wiwoloku Ethnic sentiments influence on elections through pre-voting and voting behavior in Africa: A case study of Nigeria elections. He focused on how ethnicity remains a strong reason why voters in a multicultural society vote for candidates in an election, and using the presidential elections gives the study a more robust chance to achieve a good measurement of ethnic voting in Nigeria. Since Independence, Nigeria has been plagued with civil war and military coups, causing unrest that has heightened political mistrust and tussling among dominant ethnic groups in Nigeria. There has never been a unified Nigeria, it is a regional nationality under a conscious flag called Nigeria. The writer JP Clark put it this way: "The colonizer had put people that could not understand each other's language into the same room. How can we hear each other speak underline meaning extends to the fact that the three tribes are more different than the same, in ideology and way of life and consequently plan and expectations? Perhaps the earlier sign ignored by all parties involved in the independence is the reluctance of Northern Nigeria to collect independence when the southern part was already in full agitation for self-governance. The paintings on the wall were real and from the early days of that independence period. When Nigeria gained independence, it was thought to be heavily impacted by ethnic and linguistic factors driven by religious differences. Candidates who gained seats at any level had a larger percentage of votes from their ethnic groupings, religious groups, towns, villages, or regions (Isiaq, 2008). As a result, little or no thought was given to the candidates' personalities or the content of their manifestos. Ethnicity, regionalism, and the fear of dominance all played important parts in the conflict. Nigeria's first republic, ethnicity, regionalism, and fear of dominance all had a significant impact on voting behavior (1960-1966). The Northern People's Congress, Action Group, and National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon were the major political parties during the first republic. Fear of dominance also affected electorates' decisions. Minority ethnic groups in the three and, subsequently, four areas voiced fear of dominance by majority ethnic groupings.

The 2015 presidential election in Nigeria was not completely devoid of ethnic alignment, though they strongly held the view that the voting behavior of the electorates was more influenced by national problems and party identity than ethnic factors. Animashaun (2015), Owen and Usman (2015), Ewi (2015), and Orji (2017) have all focused on explaining why Jonathan lost and Buhari won in the 2015 presidential election. The incumbent President Goodluck Ebele leads the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP). Jonathan lost power to the

All-Progressives Congress nominee, Muhammadu Buhari (APC). The election was particularly notable in that Jonathan peacefully passed over power to Buhari, a transfer that was free of litigation and post-election violence. Scholars appear to agree that the March 15, 2015, elections were intensely contested, largely fair, and less violent than previous in Nigeria's electoral history. Indeed, popular votes were tabulated, and it was dubbed a" win for democracy" (Ewi, 2015). As a result, the election represented a significant step forward in Nigeria's domestication of liberal democracy since the third wave of multiparty democratic elections that swept over Africa in the 1990s.

From the study, it can be deduced that political divisions associated with the issue of political elites using ethnicity as a means of creating conflict among the citizens for manipulation to gain power are paramount in Nigeria's politics, and this corresponds very well with the country's major ethnic lines. It gives ethnicity its critical importance in the complexities of Nigeria's power politics and voting behavior. Thus, it was deduced that every one of these respondent rationales is mostly influenced based on a fight for control and allocation of resources through the state bureaucracy, not simply in the form of basic preconceptions about gaining advantages through unethical favoritism, but also in the sense that political concerns and disagreements over economic allocation and management become important election issues. All these are often utilized by the elite and political leaders to have more power in the guise of ethnic power. Especially through propaganda news and stories. Akinbolaji Wiwoloku made use of the theory of sociological and constructive approach, thus revealing how symbols, culture, and traditions of each of the ethnic groups were the main tools for the elite to influence and drive bloc vote from each ethnic region. Also, the 2015 presidential election was thus influenced largely by ethnic sentiments. Where ethnic domination was a more convincing reason why the electorate voted. It was discovered however that propaganda and rumors were also used by the politicians to allow for sentiment, especially along ethnic and religious lines. This is a testament to the recognition by the political elite of the existence of these ethnic sentiments.

According to the study by Richard Boateng Antwi (2013) How do voters decide? A study of determinants of voting behavior in Ghana. His study investigated the question, "What factors influence voting behavior in Ghana?". He conducted intensive research on the swing voters and core voters in Ghana and how they influence the outcome of the election in Ghana. Campbell (2007) describes swing voters as those who are relatively uncertain about who they will vote for in an election. They are not firmly committed to a particular candidate or party

and may change their vote preference from one election to another. Studies on swing voters have become significant in recent years because of the crucial impact they have on electoral outcomes. Core voters are individuals who consistently support a particular political party or ideology. They are strongly attached to a specific party's values, policies, or leaders, and they are very unlikely to vote for a different party, regardless of the specific circumstances of an election. According to Adams and Agomor (2015), swing voters are characterized by a conscious evaluation of government and candidate performance. This is a sign of democratic voting behavior. To Lindberg and Morrison (2005) the proportion of swing voters in Ghana is sufficient to sustain a high level of competition and the prospect of peaceful transitions of power in the future, which is a hallmark of a functioning democracy. The swing voters may shift their electoral support back and forth from one party to another depending on fluctuations in the voters' economic circumstances. It is worth studying swing votes in Ghana, where the two major parties have managed to develop stable, multi-ethnic bases of support. While each party has its strongholds which are regionally and ethnically defined, a candidate cannot win the presidency without appealing to the unattached voters.

He explored the issues that dominated the pre-independence, the first, second, third and fourth Republic elections in Ghana and also, focusing on the significance of ethnicity in the Ghana's electoral politics over the years. Ghana is a multi-ethnic country with over 90 different ethnic groups. These groups are often classified into five major linguistic and ethnic groups. According to the 2010 housing and population census, Akan is the predominant ethnic group in Ghana (47.5%), followed by the Mole Dagbani (16.6%), the Ewe (13.9%), and the Ga-Dangme (7.4%). The Mande form the smallest ethnic group (1.1%) (Ghana Statistical Service 2012). However, Ghana's census data reveals that the ethnic groups are not confined to specific geographical areas. Over the years, internal migrations and movements have rendered most regions and areas less homogenous. Although some ethnic groups are predominant in specific regions, no one region is fully ethnically homogeneous. The various regions have become associated with specific political parties because of their consistent voting patterns. While some regions have been committed to either NPP or NPC party, others are grouped under the swing voters.

Under the Fourth Republic, most of the emerging political parties are seen as following one of the two historical political traditions. Political parties and voters in Ghana have been organized and mobilized along these traditions. The politics of the Fourth Republic has been dominated by two main political parties, the New Patriotic Party (NPP), an offspring of the UGCC/Progress Party of the Danquah/Busia tradition, and the National Democratic Congress (NDC), founded by Jerry John Rawlings. Since the formation of the NDC, it is commonly held that a Rawlings tradition has been established in Ghanaian politics, drawing its support from the already established older traditions (Gyimah-Boadi 2009). The NDC often claims a connection, through its socialist ideology, to the Nkrumah's tradition. Indeed, most of the top members of the NDC identify as Nkrumahists; for example, the late John Atta Mills, who served as vicepresident from 1996 to 2000 and president from 2008 to 2012, was a known CPP member. It is widely believed that because the NDC draws most of its support from Nkrumahist supporters, they have contributed to the dwindling electoral fortunes of the traditional Nkrumahist parties, the CPP, and the People's National Convention (PNC). In sum, the two main parties under the Fourth Republic, the NPP and NDC, have respectively laid claims to the basic orientation of the Danquah-Busia and the Nkrumah traditions (Nugent 1999). Currently there are approximately twenty-four registered political parties in Ghana; however, only the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) have been able to win presidential elections. The other smaller political parties do not have the electoral strength to challenge the dominance of the NPP and NDC. Ghana's political system thus represents a de facto two-party system. The NPP and NDC together have always won more than 80 percent of the presidential votes in all of the seven elections held under the Fourth Republic. These two parties have been the main contenders in all elections, and consequently, the three alternations in power since 1992 have been between them. The NDC ruled from 1992 to 2000 and again from 2009 to 2016. On the other hand, the ruling NPP was in power from 2000 to 2008. After losing the 2008 and 2012 elections, the NPP regained political power, having won the elections on December 7, 2016 (Electoral Commission of Ghana 2016). The NPP and the NDC have the elephant and umbrella as their political symbols respectively. In terms of ideology, the NPP is seen as classically liberal, pro-market and probusiness. The NDC is regarded as social democrats, a party for the socially disadvantaged groups. However, it is important to note that none of these parties has lived up to every tenet of their respective ideologies when in power. When governing, both parties have implemented a mixture of capitalist and socialist policies. Therefore, political ideology, or issue orientation, is not the distinctive factor defining these two political parties. Though contentious, Gyimah-Boadi and Asante (2006) assert that it is ethnic affiliation rather than ideological persuasion that has been the draw for the NPP and NDC. This assumption is underlined by the fact elections are highly competitive in the four swing regions of Ghana. These regions have never voted for the same political party for three consecutive elections. Thus, the swing regions are the key to

determining who wins Ghanaian presidential elections. Indeed, it is the variations in the electoral outcomes from the swing regions that has made possible the alternations of power in the elections of 2000, 2008, and 2016. It is argued that voters in the swing regions make a conscious evaluation of the candidates, the incumbent party's performance, and their personal economic conditions when determining their vote choice (Lindberg and Morrison 2005).

The analysis shows that the pre-independence elections, as well as those under the First, Second and Third Republics, were influenced by various factors including ethnic and regional cleavages, personality of the candidates, party ideology and campaign promises. Ethnic politics was found to be more pronounced in some elections than in others. Therefore, even decades ago, ethnicity was not the main determinant of voter choice in Ghana; instead, it is one of a host of variables including ideology, campaign issues, and economic conditions, which altogether influenced electoral politics in Ghana prior to the inception of the Fourth Republic.

The study further found that economic and most importantly, ethnic variables are minor features of voting behavior in Ghana, they do not influence how the majority of the electorate vote. These findings challenge conventional view of Ghana's elections that presume that elections are based on ethnic line. Also, it suggests that majority of the Ghanaian people are evaluative voters who make voting decisions upon careful assessment of competence of candidates. It draws attention to importance of personality and pragmatic policies in winning elections. This helps politicians to be concerned about public credibility and perception

2.3 Theoretical Framework

1. Rational Choice Theory

This theory was first conceptualized by economist Anthony Downs in 1957, outlines a model for decision making which is based on individual cost-benefit analysis. The more perceived benefits and fewer associated costs tied to a decision, the more likely it is to be made. It suggests that individual behavior is driven by an underlying pursuit of what they perceive to be their best interests. Rational Choice Theory suggests that voters will make a decision based on a cost-benefit analysis. This means voters will weigh the benefits of voting, such as policy outcomes, as voters may believe that voting for a particular candidate will lead to policies that are beneficial to them. This could be related to economic policies, social welfare, healthcare, education, and also the cost of voting, which includes time and effort, opportunity costs, etc.

Fundamental to this theory is the assumption that the individual prefers outcomes with a higher utility to those with a lower utility and makes decisions to receive more highly valued outcomes (Aldrich, 1993). Voters under this theory view their vote as a chosen investment of sorts, utilized only if the perceived benefits from that investment outweigh the associated costs (Fredderson, 2004). The rational choice theory asserts broadly that the reason people do not turn out to vote is that they don't perceive enough value in the action of voting to make overcoming the associated barriers to voting "worth it."

Application of this Theory to the Research

This theory can be applied to this study because according to Rational Choice Theory, individual behavior, including voting, is fundamentally driven by the desire to maximize one's perceived self-interest. Voters will therefore engage in a cost-benefit analysis, carefully considering the potential benefits of voting such as policy outcomes they believe will be beneficial to them.

2. Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory is conceptualized by Tajfel and Turner (Tajfel 1978; Tajfel and Turner 1986), it explains how individuals categorize themselves and others into social groups, which can influence their behaviors and attitudes. It posits that our sense of self is not solely based on individual characteristics, but also on the social groups we identify with. These groups can be based on various factors like nationality, ethnicity, religion, occupation, or, relevant to our discussion, affiliations within a university campus. In a university setting, students form numerous social groups which can influence their political preferences and voting behavior. Affiliations like departmental or faculty affiliations, clubs and organizations affiliations, and ethnic and religious affiliations contribute to the decision making of voters during an election. Voting can become a way for students to express and reinforce their social identities. By supporting candidates and platforms that align with their group or identity, students solidify their support or allegiance to that group. In campus elections, information is not always easily accessible or understood and this theory argues that individuals can make decision-making easier in the sense that instead of evaluating all the facts, students might default to voting for someone affiliated with their group. This reduces cognitive effort and simplifies complex electoral decisions. For instance, In Hall elections, the candidates often come from various blocks or wings within the same hall. Residents of a particular block may favor a candidate who also resides in the same block regardless of other candidates' qualifications. They see this

as an opportunity to boost their block's representation and influence within the hall. They might feel a bond to their block that overrides the need for objective evaluation, fostering a sense of "us versus them" about other blocks. Residents of the block will vote overwhelmingly for their fellow blockmates, even if there are other candidates with better plans.

Application of this Theory to the Research

Social Identity Theory can be applied to this research "determinants of voter behavior at the hall election in University of Ibadan, Nigeria". This theory suggests that people vote in alignment with the social groups they associate with. The decision to vote for or vote against a candidate is based on their associations. This theory will give us insight to the reasons why voters vote based on associations.

3. Behavioral Economics Theory

Economic theories of voting behavior attempt to explain how individuals make voting decisions using the principles of rational choice theory. Unlike purely sociological or psychological approaches, these theories emphasize the cost-benefit analysis voters undertake before casting a ballot. It is shaped by the field-defining work of University of Chicago scholar and Nobel laureate Richard Thaler, behavioral economics examines the differences between what people "should" do and what they actually do and the consequences of those actions. Behavioral economics is grounded in empirical observations of human behavior, which have demonstrated that people do not always make what neoclassical economists consider the "rational" or "optimal" decision, even if they have the information and the tools available to do so. The application of behavioral economics to voting behavior builds upon the broader foundation of the field, but with a specific focus on how psychological biases and heuristics influence electoral decisions. It offers insights into voting behavior, highlighting the psychological, social, and emotional factors that influence voters' decisions. One key concept is the idea of "bounded rationality," which suggests that voters, like all humans, have limited cognitive abilities and often rely on mental shortcuts or heuristics when making decisions These mental shortcuts can lead to systematic biases and errors in voting behavior. For example, voters may be more influenced by recent events or vivid memories rather than considering the broader policy implications of their vote. This is known as the "availability heuristic". In the study of Alan Gerber and Donald Green, these political scientists have conducted extensive research on the effectiveness of different get-out-the-vote strategies,

demonstrating the influence of social pressure and other behavioral factors on voter turnout. Their work exemplifies the application of behavioral insights to increase voter participation.

The definition of behavioral economics is a method of economic analysis that applies psychological aspects of human behavior to decision-making. Rodgers, Fox, and Gerber (2012) conclude that "behavioral approaches" play an increasingly prominent role in research on political communications and on best practices among political professionals. In the study by Rodgers, Fox, and Gerber (2012), the authors explain that traditional economists conceive voting as "a quasi-rational decision made by self-interested individuals." They assume that people rationally weigh the trouble they might go through to vote against the probability of the effect of their vote in the overall election. However, this is a problematic mindset and clearly traditional economic models cannot fully rationalize the reasoning of voting. Caplan (2008) agrees, "Voter irrationality is precisely what economic theory implies once we adopt introspectively plausible assumptions about human motivation." He also states that ignorance and irrationality among voters are argued to be the reason why democracy fails and addresses the behavioral aspect of the motivation being voting, painting a more realistic picture of democracy than traditional economists.

Furthermore, nudges are used to implement behavioral concepts. Thaler (2012) defines a "nudge" as any small feature that influences behavior. To add to that, he explains that there are and should be certain influencers, which he refers to as choice architects. These choice architects may be political candidates or other people trying to increase voter turnouts.

One of the core principles of behavioral economics theory:

Framing effect which refers to the way information is presented and how that influences voters' perceptions and decisions. The framing of issues, candidates, or policies can affect how individuals interpret information and ultimately how they vote. For example, a candidate running for a position in the Hall of Residence frames their campaign around the idea of "enhancing student life" by focusing on issues like improving dining options, organizing more social events, and increasing funding for student organizations. This positive framing may resonate well with students living in the Hall of Residence, as it directly addresses their daily experiences and needs. Conversely, if another candidate frames their campaign around "fighting against the administration's neglect" of student concerns, this could evoke a sense of urgency among students. The way these candidates frame their messages can significantly influence how students perceive the issues and ultimately how they vote.

Application of this Theory to the Research

Economic behavior theory, as applied to voting, suggests that voters act as rational individuals seeking to maximize their self-interest. This means voters engage in a cost-benefit analysis, weighing the perceived benefits of voting, such as preferred policy outcomes or personal satisfaction, against the perceived costs, such as time, effort, and information gathering. Voters will therefore choose the option whether to vote or for whom to vote that they believe will bring them the greatest net benefit.

Reviewing these studies that have been done over time regarding determinants of voter behavior. However, I will leverage on these findings to refine my approach. The existing study treats issues like technology barriers and engagement as independent variables directly influencing voter turnout. This limits a complete understanding of the root causes. My research will treat technology barriers and engagement not as independent variables, but as symptoms of deeper cultural values, beliefs, and norms. The research will focus on Political culture and social identity as determinants of voter behavior.

Lucian Pye (1965) Political culture is the set of attitudes, beliefs, and sentiments, which give order and meaning to a political process and which provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behavior in the political system. Political culture, which is the shared political views of an entire con this context, will be conceptualized as the framework within which people understand, experience, and participate in politics. The existing study treats technology barriers and engagement as independent variables directly influencing voter turnout. This limits a complete understanding of the root causes because the underlying causes were ignored. By focusing on technology and engagement as the primary drivers, this model overlooks the deeper societal, cultural, and economic factors that shape access to technology and the level of engagement. These factors are not accounted for and are left out of the analysis. For example, the level of engagement is not a self-evident phenomenon; it can be influenced by a person's level of trust in government, their perception of political efficacy, their lived experiences, social networks, or their cultural values. My research will treat technology barriers and engagement not as independent variables, but as symptoms or manifestations of deeper cultural values, beliefs, and norms. Political culture, in this context, will be conceptualized as the framework within which people understand, experience, and participate in politics.

By looking at political culture, my research aims to reveal the shared norms and values, prevailing attitudes, and diversity within the halls which encompass the traditions of the hall,

unspoken rules, and expectations, common sentiments shared among students towards political issues and candidates and to see how students in the hall of residence interact politically, "do they openly debate? or "are they complacent when it comes political issues or is there activism rooted in the traditions of the hall?. The hall of residence can be seen as a community, so by looking at the political culture of the hall, we will tend to see how the hall of residence develops its own set of norms about what is acceptable in terms of political behavior, sometimes, these can be explicit or unspoken, because norms are enforced through mechanisms like social approval and disapproval and individuals who conform to these norms will be accepted in the hall.

In conclusion, the reason why the focus will be on political culture is to show the influence of Hall culture on voting behavior and how individuals can be susceptible to these influences. By engaging students in different levels in the hall, it will show the change over time in the political culture in the hall, since political culture is not static. It changes based on Hall's leadership, events, and composition of the student body. Lastly, this study will show us the limitation of the hall influence, while it is a very powerful one, the students can also be influenced by broader university and external factors. By understanding these dynamics, effective interventions to promote civic engagement among students and identify avenues for change.

2.4 Research Gap

Despite valuable contributions to the field, there is a gap in current research. There are many research works on determinants of voter behavior among students' elections, but there are not enough studies that have focused on students' elections in the Hall of Residence on university campuses and much work has not been done to deal with the issues of political culture in hall of residence in university campuses.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The chapter presents the methods and procedures used in carrying out the study and are presented under the following subheadings: Research Design, Population of the study, sample and sampling technique, reliability and validity of the instrument and method of data collection and analysis.

3.1 Research Design

The study adopted a descriptive survey research design, which is suitable for assessing the perceptions of students regarding undergraduate involvement in politics. This design allows for the collection of quantitative data to analyze patterns, opinions, and attitudes systematically. A cross-sectional survey design was chosen to efficiently capture Independence Hall residents' attitudes and voting behaviors at one time. This provided a snapshot of the factors influencing their choices in hall elections. This design is ideal for getting a broad overview of key factors of voter behaviour.

3.2 Area of Study

The study was conducted exclusively within Independence Hall, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

Independence Hall was selected as the area of study due to its prominent status as one of the largest male halls of residence at the University of Ibadan. It presents a diverse population of students from various faculties and levels of study, making it a suitable microcosm for examining voter behavior within a university residential setting.

3.3 Population of the Study

The target population of the study comprises undergraduate students currently residing in the Independence Hall, University of Ibadan. This includes students from various faculties, departments, and levels of study, as their experiences and opinions are crucial for understanding their perception of undergraduate's political involvement. A stratified random sampling technique will be employed to select participants. This technique involves dividing the population into strata based on blocks within the hall (Block A - which comprises of the freshmen, Block B and C which are the combination of stale and some final students, while the Block D mainly comprises final year students. Stratifying the hall of residence is important because there will be different opinions from different students depending on the duration of

their stay in the hall and stratified sampling helps to account for these variations and ensures that the sample accurately reflects the overall population of the resident students in the hall.

3.4 Sample and Sampling Techniques

The sample included 150 undergraduate students randomly sampled from the Independence Hall, University of Ibadan, to participate in the study.

The sample size was determined using Yamane's formula for calculating sample size when the population is known. This formula is suitable as the estimated population size (total number of resident students) is obtainable from university records. Yamane's formula is:

- $n = N / (1 + N(e)^2)$
- Where:
 - \times n = Sample Size
 - \times N = Population Size (Total number of resident students)
- \times e = Margin of Error (Set at 5% or 0.05)

3.5 Research Instrument

The primary research instrument for this study was a structured questionnaire. The questionnaire was titled: Determinants of voter behavior at elections in student halls of residence, university of Ibadan. It comprised of two sections. Section 1 requests information on participants' demographic information (Age, department, faculty, class level). Sections 2 to 5 have questions ranging from political attitudes and values, political engagement and participation, influence of Hall of Residence political culture, and voting intentions. All items were to be rated on a scale of Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree and never and very often.

3.6 Validity of the Research

The validity of an instrument is regarded as the extent to which an instrument or test is capable of achieving certain aims. The validity of the instrument was done by the project supervisor, an expert in the department of political science to ensure it suitability to retrieve or collect information needed for the study.

3.7 Method of Data Collection

The researcher administered the questionnaire to undergraduate students in the hall of residence, who formally consented to participate in the study. A total of 150 questionnaires

was distributed and respondents were given adequate time to complete the questionnaires. To ensure integrity and adherence to ethical research standards, participants were assured of strict confidentiality of their responses, with the emphasis that the data will be solely used for research purposes. Also, to mitigate potential biases and protect participants privacy, data collection was conducted in a manner that preserves anonymity by avoiding collection of personal identifying information.

3.8 Method of Data Analysis

The collected data was analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The data was analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics. Descriptive statistics, which has to do with frequencies, percentages, means, and standard deviations, will be used to summarize the demographic characteristics of the sample and the responses to the questionnaire items.

Inferential Statistics was used to examine relationships between variables through the use of chi-square tests, which was used to examine the relationships between categorical variables like political attitudes and values, political awareness, and participation.

Also, the independent samples t-tests were used to compare the means of two groups on continuous variables. Multiple regression analysis was used to examine the combined effects of multiple independent variables on voter behavior. This helped to identify the most significant predictors of voting in hall elections.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

Participants were provided with a detailed information sheet explaining the purpose of the study, the procedures involved, the potential risks and benefits, and their right to withdraw at any time without penalty. Consent was obtained from all participants before they completed the questionnaire.

The questionnaire was administered in person within the halls of residence. Data collection was conducted during a period when student elections are not actively taking place to minimize potential bias. Participants were assured that their responses will be kept strictly confidential and used for research purposes only. Names and other identifying information were not collected. The data was analyzed in aggregate form, and no individual responses will be identified or reported.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Structure and Purpose of the Questionnaire

The questionnaire was structured into five sections which include Demographics (Section 1) which was used to collect information on students' age, gender, department, and academic level. Political Attitudes and Values (Section 2) which assessed students' perceptions of political importance, engagement, and trust in governance. Political Engagement and Participation (Section 3) measured the extent of political activity, such as discussions, debates, voting, and social media participation. And Influence of Hall Political Culture (Section 4) examined the role of peer influence, student leaders, and political traditions in shaping voter behavior. Voting Intentions (Section 5): investigated students' willingness to vote and factors influencing their choices. This structure aligns with the Civic Voluntarism Model (CVM), which suggests that political participation is shaped by resources, engagement, and mobilization (Verba *et al.*, 1995).

4.1 DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Table 4.1a: Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

| S/N | Demographics | Category | Frequency | Percentage |
|-----|--------------|----------|-----------|------------|
| 1 | Level | 100 | 30 | 20.0 |
| | | 200 | 48 | 32.0 |
| | | 300 | 29 | 19.3 |
| | | 400 | 30 | 20.0 |
| | | 500 | 7 | 4.7 |
| | | 600 | 6 | 4.0 |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |

 Table 4.1b: Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

| 2 | Faculty | Agriculture | 8 | 5.3 |
|---|---------|----------------------|-----|-------|
| | | Art | 17 | 11.3 |
| | | College of Medicine | 3 | 2.0 |
| | | Dentistry | 2 | 1.3 |
| | | Education | 17 | 11.3 |
| | | Environmental Design | 3 | 2.0 |
| | | LAW | 8 | 5.3 |
| | | Management Science | 3 | 2.0 |
| | | Pharmacy | 5 | 3.3 |
| | | Public Health | 1 | 0.7 |
| | | RNR | 2 | 1.3 |
| | | Sciences | 25 | 16.7 |
| | | Technology | 32 | 21.3 |
| | | The Social Sciences | 11 | 7.3 |
| | | Veterinary Medicine | 13 | 8.7 |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |

Table 4.1c: Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

| 3 | Gender | Male | 150 | 100 |
|---|--------|--------------|-----|-------|
| 4 | Age | 16-20 years | 49 | 32.7 |
| | | 20-25 years | 77 | 51.3 |
| | | 26-30 years | 24 | 16.0 |
| | | 31 and above | - | - |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |

The majority of respondents were from the 200 level (32%) and 100 level (20%). This distribution suggested a balanced representation of students across different years of study, although there was a noticeable drop in participation from higher levels such as 500 (4.7%) and 600 level (4.0%). Students from diverse departments participated, with the most significant representation from Electrical/Electronic Engineering (8%) and Veterinary Medicine (8.7%). Faculties such as Sciences (16.7%) and Technology (21.3%) were prominently represented, indicating a potential interest in the political process among these groups. All respondents were male, and the majority fall within the age groups of 16-20 (32.7%) and 20-25 (51.3%). This homogeneous gender representation was because a male hostel was chosen for this research.

4.2 ANSWERING OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS

4.2.1 POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND VALUES

Table 4.2: Political Attitudes and Values

| S/N | Political Attitudes and Values | Category | Frequency | Percentage |
|-----|--|-------------------|-----------|------------|
| 1 | Politics is important to me personally | Strongly Agree | 46 | 30.7 |
| | | Agree | 67 | 44.7 |
| | | Neutral | 21 | 14.0 |
| | | Disagree | 6 | 4.0 |
| | | Strongly Disagree | 10 | 6.7 |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |
| 2 | 7 | Strongly Agree | 62 | 41.3 |
| | involved in political processes | Agree | 67 | 44.7 |
| | | Neutral | 17 | 11.3 |
| | | Disagree | 1 | 0.7 |
| | | Strongly Disagree | 3 | 2.0 |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |
| 3 | I believe my vote can make a | Strongly Agree | 47 | 31.3 |
| | difference | Agree | 69 | 46.0 |
| | | Neutral | 22 | 14.7 |
| | | Disagree | 8 | 5.3 |
| | | Strongly Disagree | 4 | 2.7 |

| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |
|---|---|----------------|-----|-------|
| 4 | I trust that elected officials will act in | Strongly Agree | 29 | 19.3 |
| | the best interests of student | Agree | 36 | 24.0 |
| | | Neutral | 65 | 43.3 |
| | | Disagree | 14 | 9.3 |
| | | Strongly | 6 | 4.0 |
| | | Disagree | | |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |
| 5 | I am satisfied with the current state of | Strongly Agree | 23 | 15.3 |
| | student governance in our hall of residence | Agree | 47 | 31.3 |
| | | Neutral | 36 | 24.0 |
| | | Disagree | 31 | 20.7 |
| | | Strongly | 13 | 8.7 |
| | | Disagree | | |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |
| 6 | I consider myself to be well-informed | Strongly Agree | 25 | 16.7 |
| | about political issues | Agree | 73 | 48.7 |
| | | Neutral | 41 | 27.3 |
| | | Disagree | 9 | 6.0 |
| | | Strongly | 5 | 3.3 |
| | | Disagree | | |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |
| 7 | | Strongly Agree | 25 | 16.7 |

| | I am well versed in issues relating to | Agree | 63 | 42.0 |
|---|---|----------------------|-----|-------|
| | government policies | Neutral | 48 | 32.0 |
| | | Disagree | 10 | 6.7 |
| | | Strongly Disagree | 4 | 2.7 |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |
| 8 | There is need for political reforms in my hall of residence | Strongly Agree | 48 | 32.0 |
| | my han of residence | Agree | 56 | 37.3 |
| | | Neutral | 40 | 26.7 |
| | | Disagree | 4 | 2.7 |
| | | Strongly Disagree | 2 | 1.3 |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |

A significant proportion of students (75.4%) agreed or strongly agreed that politics was important to them personally. This showed a high level of political awareness and personal interest among students. There was strong support (86%) for youth involvement in political processes, indicating a proactive stance towards political engagement. A majority believed their vote can make a difference (77.3%), reflecting a sense of agency and confidence in the electoral process. However, trust in elected officials was relatively moderate, with only 43.3% agreeing or strongly agreeing that officials act in students' best interests, while a considerable proportion (43.3%) remained neutral. Satisfaction with student governance was mixed, with 46.6% expressing satisfaction and 29.4% expressing dissatisfaction. This could suggest areas for improvement in governance structures. Students considered themselves well-informed about political issues (65.4% agree or strongly agree), but fewer feel well-versed in government policies (58.7%). This gap might indicate a need for more accessible information on policy matters. There was a notable demand for political reforms in the hall of residence, with 69.3% agreeing or strongly agreeing on this need.

This reflects findings from prior research, where youth demonstrate strong political interest but distrust formal political institutions (Sloam, 2016). The lack of trust may discourage active participation, reinforcing "democratic disengagement" among young voters (Dalton, 2013).

4.2.2 POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT AND PARTICIPATION

Table 4.3 Political Engagement and Participation

| S/N | Political Engagement and Participation | Category | Frequency | Percentage |
|-----|--|------------|-----------|------------|
| 1 | I discuss political issues with my friends and fellow students | Never | 9 | 6.0 |
| | | Rarely | 25 | 16.7 |
| | | Sometimes | 71 | 47.3 |
| | | Often | 38 | 25.3 |
| | | Very Often | 7 | 4.7 |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |
| 2 | I attend political rallies or campaign events | Never | 36 | 24.0 |
| | | Rarely | 36 | 24.0 |
| | | Sometimes | 56 | 37.3 |
| | | Often | 15 | 10.0 |
| | | Very Often | 7 | 4.7 |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |
| 3 | I participate in political | Never | 17 | 11.3 |
| | discussions or debates in my hall of residence | Rarely | 43 | 28.7 |
| | | Sometimes | 60 | 40.0 |
| | | Often | 22 | 14.7 |

| | | Very Often | 8 | 5.3 |
|---|--|------------|-----|-------|
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |
| 4 | I volunteer for political campaigns | Never | 35 | 23.3 |
| | or organizations | Rarely | 47 | 31.3 |
| | | Sometimes | 50 | 33.3 |
| | | Often | 14 | 9.3 |
| | | Very Often | 4 | 2.7 |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |
| 5 | I try to persuade others to vote for | Never | 31 | 20.7 |
| | a particular candidate or party | Rarely | 27 | 18.0 |
| | | Sometimes | 62 | 41.3 |
| | | Often | 21 | 14.0 |
| | | Very Often | 9 | 6.0 |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |
| 6 | I have voted in hall elections in the past | Never | 37 | 24.7 |
| | the past | Rarely | 18 | 12.0 |
| | | Sometimes | 46 | 30.7 |
| | | Often | 27 | 18.0 |
| | | Very Often | 22 | 14.7 |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |
| 7 | I engage in social media political discourse | Never | 27 | 18.0 |
| | | Rarely | 32 | 21.3 |

| Sometimes | 66 | 44.0 |
|------------|-----|-------|
| Often | 9 | 6.0 |
| Very Often | 16 | 10.7 |
| Total | 150 | 100.0 |

Discussions about political issues were common, with 72.6% of respondents engaging in these conversations sometimes or more often. Attendance at political rallies was lower, with only 14.7% attending often or very often, suggesting a preference for less formal modes of engagement. Participation in political discussions within the hall was relatively frequent, with 54.7% engaging sometimes or more often. Volunteering for political campaigns was less common, with only 12% participating often or very often. Persuading others to vote was a moderate activity, with 20% engaging often or very often. Voting in hall elections has varied, with 32.7% voting often or very often and 24.7% never voting. Engagement in social media political discourse was moderate, with 16.7% engaging often or very often. This mirrors trends in global youth political participation, where online engagement is increasing, but formal participation (like voting) is declining (Bennett, 2012). Digital activism, such as engaging in political discourse on social media, may replace traditional forms of engagement.

4.2.3 INFLUENCE OF HALL POLITICAL CULTURE

Table 4.2.3 Influence of Hall Political Culture

| S/N | Influence of Hall of Residence | Category | Frequency | Percentage |
|-----|--|----------------|-----------|------------|
| | Political Culture | | | |
| 1 | The political atmosphere in my | Strongly Agree | 27 | 18.0 |
| | hall of residence encourages student participation in elections. | Agree | 95 | 63.3 |
| | | Neutral | 20 | 13.3 |
| | | Disagree | 4 | 2.7 |
| | | Strongly | 4 | 2.7 |
| | | Disagree | | |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |
| 2 | There is a strong sense of political | Strongly Agree | 31 | 20.7 |
| | awareness among students in my hall. | Agree | 83 | 55.3 |
| | | Neutral | 29 | 19.3 |
| | | Disagree | 5 | 3.3 |
| | | Strongly | 2 | 1.3 |
| | | Disagree | | |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |
| 3 | Students in my hall often discuss | Strongly Agree | 34 | 22.7 |
| | political issues and debate different viewpoints | Agree | 78 | 52.0 |
| | | Neutral | 31 | 20.7 |
| | | Disagree | 5 | 3.3 |

| | | Strongly | 2 | 1.3 |
|---|--|----------------------|-----|-------|
| | | Disagree | | |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |
| 4 | Peer pressure from friends and | Strongly Agree | 8 | 5.3 |
| | fellow students influences my voting decisions. | Agree | 33 | 22.0 |
| | | Neutral | 51 | 34.0 |
| | | Disagree | 27 | 18.0 |
| | | Strongly | 31 | 20.7 |
| | | Disagree | | |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |
| 5 | The opinions of influential student leaders in my hall affect my | Strongly Agree | 13 | 8.7 |
| | voting choices. | Agree | 47 | 31.3 |
| | | Neutral | 33 | 22.0 |
| | | Disagree | 27 | 18.0 |
| | | Strongly | 30 | 20.0 |
| | | Disagree | | |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |
| 6 | My hall of residence has a dominant political ideology or | Strongly Agree | 30 | 20.0 |
| | affiliation. | Agree | 66 | 44.0 |
| | | Neutral | 27 | 18.0 |
| | | Disagree | 14 | 9.3 |
| | | Strongly Disagree | 13 | 8.7 |
| | | | | |

| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |
|---|----------------------------------|----------------------|-----|-------|
| 7 | My hall of residence has a | Strongly Agree | 33 | 22.0 |
| | tradition of high voter turnout. | Agree | 64 | 42.7 |
| | | Neutral | 34 | 22.7 |
| | | Disagree | 8 | 5.3 |
| | | Strongly Disagree | 11 | 7.3 |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |

The majority (81.3%) agreed that their hall's political atmosphere encourages participation. However, peer pressure was not a major factor, as 38.7% disagreed that friends influence their voting choices. Similarly, only 40% felt that student leaders influenced their votes. This contrasts with research suggesting that peer networks and social influence significantly impact voter behavior (Bond et al., 2012). It suggests that students in Independence Hall may rely more on personal beliefs than social pressures when making voting decisions.

4.2.4 VOTING INTENTIONS AND KEY INFLUENCES

Table 4.2.4 Voting Intentions and Key Influences

| S/N | Voting Intentions | Category | Frequency | Percentage |
|-----|--|-----------------------|-----------|------------|
| 1 | Do you intend to vote in the upcoming hall elections? | Yes | 78 | 52.0 |
| | | No | 62 | 41.3 |
| | | Undecided | 10 | 6.7 |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |
| 2 | If yes, what are the most | Approach | 1 | 0.7 |
| | important issues that will influence your voting decision? | Campaign | 5 | 3.3 |
| | | Candidate reputation | 23 | 15.3 |
| | | Candidate Capability | 7 | 4.7 |
| | | Candidate character | 7 | 4.7 |
| | | Personal Choice | 2 | 1.3 |
| | | Critical analysis | 1 | 0.7 |
| | | Current Governance | 8 | 5.3 |
| | | Ideology | 2 | 1.3 |
| | | Manifesto | 3 | 2.0 |
| | | Plans | 14 | 9.4 |
| | | Policy | 1 | 0.7 |

| | | Press Night | 1 | 0.7 |
|---|-------------------------------|----------------------|-----|-------|
| | | Social Impact | 1 | 0.7 |
| | | Vision | 3 | 2.0 |
| | | No | 71 | 47.3 |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |
| 3 | manifestoes on your issues of | Very important | 59 | 39.3 |
| | | Not very important | 2 | 1.3 |
| | | Somewhat important | 5 | 3.3 |
| | | Not at all important | 2 | 1.3 |
| | | No | 71 | 47.3 |
| | | Total | 150 | 100.0 |

A majority (52%) intended to vote in the upcoming hall elections, while 41.3% do not, and 6.7% are undecided. Factors influencing voting decisions include candidate reputation (15.3%), candidate capability (4.7%), and current governance (5.3%). A significant proportion (47.3%) did not specify the issues influencing their decision. Hall manifestoes were considered very important by 39.3% of respondents, indicating that well-articulated manifestoes can significantly impact voting decisions. This aligns with studies showing that young voters prioritize candidate integrity and issue-based voting over party loyalty (Dalton, 2013). However, low voter turnout remains a challenge, reinforcing the need for voter education campaigns.

The questionnaire highlighted that while students in Independence Hall recognize the importance of political participation, distrust in governance and lack of engagement in formal processes hinder active involvement. Digital discourse is a major avenue for political participation, and efforts should focus on bridging online activism with real-world political actions to increase voter turnout.

The data suggested that while there is a high level of political interest and awareness among students, actual political participation, such as attending rallies or volunteering, is lower. Trust in elected officials and satisfaction with governance also appear to be areas that need attention. The influence of hall political culture is strong, encouraging participation and awareness, but the role of peer pressure and influential leaders is nuanced. Efforts to enhance political engagement and address governance issues could foster a more vibrant and participatory political environment within the hall.

4.3 Discussion of the Findings

The finding showed high political awareness failing to translate into voting actions due to distrust in elected officials and this is particularly noteworthy as It suggested a disconnect between students' understanding of political processes and their faith in the efficacy and integrity of their local representatives. This distrust likely stems from perceived instances of corruption, mismanagement, or a lack of responsiveness to student needs by past hall governments. This cynicism, while concerning, presents an opportunity for proactive reform. It highlights a need for initiatives that foster transparency and accountability, rebuilding confidence in the ability of hall government to genuinely represent and serve its constituents. The fact that students are politically aware suggests that they are not apathetic, but rather strategically withholding their participation due to perceived systemic failures.

The findings showed that there was a demand for political reform, particularly regarding transparency and accountability within hall institutions. This explicit call for reform underscores the students' desire for a more effective and trustworthy system of self-governance. The demand specifically targeting political institutions suggests a deep-seated understanding of where the problems lie. It moves beyond merely blaming individual actors and instead points to a recognition that systemic changes are necessary to restore faith in the electoral process and the subsequent governance. This finding should be interpreted as a clear mandate for hall administrators and student leaders to prioritize institutional reforms that promote open governance, ethical conduct, and meaningful mechanisms for holding officials accountable for their actions.

Also, the findings showed that students prioritizing candidate integrity, which is a positive sign, indicating that ethical considerations play a significant role in their voting decisions. This suggests a desire for leaders who are not only competent but also trustworthy and committed

to serving the hall of residence's interests. This finding resonates with broader societal concerns about ethical leadership and the importance of character in public office.

The finding showed the significant impact of the hall's political culture on voter behavior which highlights the importance of social context in shaping individual political choices. A vibrant and engaged political culture, characterized by open debate, active campaigning, and a strong sense of collective identity, is likely to foster higher rates of participation. Conversely, a hall with apathetic attitudes or characterized by divisive politics may see lower turnout and more fragmented voting patterns.

Finally, students' concern with well-articulated manifestos confirms that policy considerations are important to student voters. This suggests that students are not simply voting based on popularity or superficial characteristics, but are actively seeking candidates who offer clear, concrete, and relevant proposals for addressing the challenges and opportunities facing the hall. The emphasis on well-articulated manifestos further suggests that students value clear communication and a demonstrated understanding of the issues. This finding showed the need for candidates to develop and communicate comprehensive platforms that are grounded in evidence and responsive to student needs.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.0 Summary

In this study, the focus was to examine determinants of voter behaviour at elections in Students' Halls of Residence, University of Ibadan, with Independence Hall as a case study. The study was specifically carried out to examine what determines the behaviours of voters in Independence Hall. Specifically, looking at how the political culture of the Hall influences the voting behaviour of the students in the hall.

This study is reported in five distinct yet interrelated chapters. In chapter one, the scope of the study, the boundary of the study as well as the objectives of the study was clearly stated to understand the motive behind the study. In chapter two, a review of related and relevant literatures was adequately analysed.

Empirical works were also reviewed in the review. Adopting the survey research design, responses were obtained from one hundred and fifty (150) undergraduate students in the Independence Hall, University of Ibadan. Responses received were analysed. Responses received were analysed using the Statistics Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) while the results were reported in tables using frequency counts and percentages.

5.1 Conclusion

It can be concluded from the study that students have a high sense of political awareness but it does not translate to voting actions as there is a high distrust in Student officials as most students believe that they act based on their selfish interest rather than the good of the students and the hall of residence in general and this calls for a great demand for political reforms in the hall of residence especially in the political institutions of the hall of residence by creating a system of accountability and transparency among students officials to the students in the hall of residence.

There is a great discussion and participation in political issues in the hall of residence, however, there is a low interest in formal political mode of engagement as there is a low participation in political rallies, events and a low volunteer for political campaigns.

It can be seen that factors influence voting behaviours include candidate reputation, candidate reputation etc. The integrity of the candidate running for a political post in the hall of residence determines the voting decisions of the students as they also focus on how articulate and well

prepared the manifestoes of candidates are as it is a great factor that drives voting behaviour in the hall of residence.

To a large extent, the opinions of students' leaders influence the decisions of the students but the political culture of the hall contribute a lot to the voting behaviours of the students in the hall of residence. How strong the political culture of a hall of residence will determine if there will be a high turnout or low turnout during an election. The political atmosphere of the hall is one of the determinants that encourages political participation in the hall of residence.

5.2 Recommendations

- 1. This study recommends importance of voter education campaigns to encourage students to participate in voting, it can be seen from the study that despite a high level of political awareness among students, the awareness does not translate to voting action. Voter education campaigns help to educate students about importance of civic engagement and impact of their votes on their halls of residence.
- 2. Also, addressing the distrust in Students' officials is essential to boost voter turnout. This can be achieved by promoting transparency, accountability and inclusivity in Student governance.
- 3. There should be an effort to bridge the gap of digital political discourse with real-world political actions to increase voter turnout.
- 4. There should be a great importance given to drafting of manifestoes among Students running for positions in the hall as it can be seen from the study that well-articulated manifestoes significantly impact voting behaviour.

5.3 Limitations of the Study

1. The findings was limited to Independence Hall of residence; these findings might not be generalizable to the entire student population of the University of Ibadan. There are eight (8) more undergraduates' halls of residence in University of Ibadan, Independence Hall's unique culture might be different from other Halls of Residence.

5.4 Suggestions

This study suggests that further studies should focus on other Halls of Residence in University of Ibadan and other Universities in Nigeria to find out if the findings will correlate with findings of this present study

REFERENCES

- Antwi, R. B. (2018). How do voters decide? A study of determinants of voting behavior in Ghana [Master's thesis, Department of Political Science].
- Badaru, K., & Adu, E. (2021). The political awareness and participation of University Students in Post-Apartheid South Africa [University of FortHare, SouthAfrica)
- Bennett, W. L. (2012). The personalization of politics: Political identity, social media, and changing patterns of participation. The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 644(1), 20-39.
- Bond, R. M., Fariss, C. J., Jones, J. J., Kramer, A. D., Marlow, C., Settle, J. E., & Fowler, J. H. (2012). A 61-million-person experiment in social influence and political mobilization. Nature, 489(7415), 295-298.
- Dalton, R. J. (2013). The apartisan American: Dealignment and changing electoral politics. CQ Press.
- Despres, A. W. (2021). Voting at University of Maine: An empirical study of students turnout trends and motivations. University of Maine.
- Fisher, S. D., & Hillman, N. (2014). Do students swing elections? Registration, turnout and voting behavior among full-time students
- Giry, T. W., & Halking (2024). Student Political Participation in the 2023 Medan State University Election

- Hall, H. (2019). Voting behavior among young adults: An analysis of youth voters and how behavioral economic concepts can be applied to increase young voter turnout (Thesis)
- Sloam, J. (2016). Diversity and voice: The political participation of young people in the European Union. The British Journal of Politics and International Relations, 18(3), 521-537.
- Verba, S., Schlozman, K. L., & Brady, H. E. (1995). Voice and equality: Civic voluntarism in American politics. Harvard University Press.
- Wiwoloku, A. (2022). Ethnic sentiments' influence on through pre-voting and voting behavior in Africa: A case study of Nigeria elections.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear participant,

Thank you for your willingness to participate in this study. This questionnaire is part of a research project aimed at understanding the factors that influence voter behavior within Independence Hall during elections. Your honest and thoughtful responses will contribute valuable insights to this research.

Please be assured that your responses will be kept strictly confidential and used for academic purposes only.

The questionnaire is divided into sections covering different aspects of political culture and voter behavior. Please take your time to read each question carefully and select the answer that best reflects your views and experience

Section 1: Demographic Information

- 1. Year of Study: 100 Level () 200 Level () 300 Level () 400 Level () 500 () 600 ()
- 2. Department:
- 3. Faculty:
- 4. Gender: Male () Female ()
- 5. Age: 16-20 () 20-25 (), 26-30 (), 31+ ()

Section 2: Political Attitudes and Values

(Choose any options among the following Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree)

| Statements | SA | A | N | D | SD |
|--|----|---|---|---|----|
| Politics is important to me personally | | | | | |
| Young people should be actively involved in political processes. | | | | | |
| I believe my vote can make a difference | | | | | |
| I trust that elected officials will act in the best interests | | | | | |
| of students I am satisfied with the current state of student | | | | | |
| governance in our hall of residence | | | | | |
| I consider myself to be well-informed about political issues. | | | | | |
| I am well versed in issues relating to government policies. | | | | | |
| There is a need for political reforms in my hall of residence | | | | | |

Section 3: Political Engagement and Participation

(Choose the options of (Never, Rarely, Sometimes, Often, Very Often)

| Statements | Never | Rarely | Sometimes | Often | Too often |
|---|-------|--------|-----------|-------|-----------|
| I discuss political issues with my | | | | | |
| friends and fellow students. | | | | | |
| I attend political rallies or campaign | | | | | |
| events | | | | | |
| I participate in political discussions or | | | | | |
| debates in my hall of residence. | | | | | |
| I volunteer for political campaigns or | | | | | |
| organizations | | | | | |
| I try to persuade others to vote for a | | | | | |
| particular candidate or party. | | | | | |
| I have voted in Hall elections in the | | | | | |
| past | | | | | |
| I engage in social media political | | | | | |
| discourse. | | | | | |

Section 4: Influence of Hall of Residence Political Culture

Strongly Agree (SD) Agree (A) Neutral (N) Disagree (D) Strongly Disagree (SDA)

| Statements | SA | A | N | D | SD |
|--|----|---|---|---|----|
| The political atmosphere in my hall of residence | | | | | |
| encourages student participation in elections. | | | | | |
| There is a strong sense of political awareness among | | | | | |
| students in my hall. | | | | | |
| Students in my hall often discuss political issues and | | | | | |
| debate different viewpoints | | | | | |
| Peer pressure from friends and fellow students | | | | | |
| influences my voting decisions. | | | | | |
| The opinions of influential student leaders in my hall | | | | | |
| affect my voting choices. | | | | | |
| My hall of residence has a dominant political ideology | | | | | |
| or affiliation. | | | | | |
| My hall of residence has a tradition of high voter | | | | | |
| turnout. | | | | | |

Section 5: Voting Intentions

(Yes, No, Undecided)

- 1. Do you intend to vote in the upcoming hall elections?
- 2. If Yes, what are the most important issues that will influence your voting decision?
- 3. If Yes, how important are hall manifestoes on your issues of concern (Very important, not very important, somewhat important, not at all important.