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POLITICAL MARKETING AND MANAGEMENT IN GHANA

A New Architecture

Kobby Mensah

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Editor

Political Marketing and Management in Ghana

A New Architecture

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Preface

Political Marketing and Management in Ghana: A New Architecture draws strength from its interdisciplinary approach to political analysis in Ghana, from marketing, human resource management, accounting, finance and public administration. It draws attention to an emergence of a new political organisation and management in Ghana, underpinned by business theories, strategies and techniques. Concepts such as market research, segmentation, social media, brand architecture, brand association, public relations, motivation, digital financing and transforsactional leadership amongst others are highlighted. It further offers some distinction from the technology dominant process of the West with its symbols-oriented approach to political campaigning in Ghana.

The story on political marketing in Ghana, a 'new' discipline in an emerging democracy, has begun in 2004 when I was discussing my MSc dissertation topic with my study group at the Adsetts learning centre, Sheffield Hallam University, UK. It became my dissertation topic, and a year later at the Department of Journalism in the University of Sheffield, political marketing became the focus of my Ph.D. It was to be with me for years to come. Today, under the kind courtesy of Prof. Jennifer Susan Lees-Marshment, the story of political marketing in

Ghana has now gained global attention through the Palgrave Macmillan Political Marketing and Management book series.

My perspectives on political marketing has begun to crystalise under a very supportive mentorship of my supervisors, Professors. Ralph Negrine and Jackie Harrison when I joined the Department of Journalism at Sheffield. My association with the Political Marketing Group of the Political Studies Association, UK (PMG PSA), as a student member also brought the Ghanaian story to the global table. At the 2005 PSA conference in London, the dream of telling the Ghanaian story was becoming real as I heard speaker after speaker talk about their research in the subject area. Continuous interactions with scholars in the field and with some high ranking members of political parties in Ghana resulted in identifying the building blocks from the 2000 elections campaign that could be interrogated in my Ph.D. Now, there is a growing interest, with increasing number of graduate research at masters and Ph.D. levels, and as an elective taught course. In a similar manner, academics from other disciplines at my school, the University of Ghana Business School, such as human resource management, accounting, finance and public administration are finding political marketing an interesting area for interdisciplinary research. Hence, the successful completion of this book.

My heartfelt appreciation goes to Dr. Robin Pettitt from the academic advisory board who spent so much time offering detailed advice on how to improve the manuscript, and to colleagues, chapter authors, who persevered in the process. A special thanks to Parliamentarian Hon. Alban Sumana Kingsford Bagbin, a former majority speaker of Parliament, who offered a practitioner perspective on political financing with his long standing experience in parliament and in government.

Accra, Ghana   Kobby Mensah

Acknowledgements

Contents

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Kobby Mensah is a lecturer at the University of Ghana Business School. He is also the Coordinator of Marketing and Communication (UGBS Marcoms). He holds a Ph.D. from the University of Sheffield, UK. He is a Chartered Member of the Chartered Institute of Marketing (CIM), UK; member, Political Marketing Specialist Group (PMSG) of the Political Studies Association (PSA), UK. Kobby is widely consulted by local and international media on elections in Ghana. His recent publication is 'Political brand architecture: Towards a new conceptualisation of political branding in an emerging democracy'.

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List of Figures

List of Tables

1

Political Marketing and Management: A New Architecture

Kobby Mensah

Abstract The book *Political Marketing and Management in Ghana: A New Architecture* makes claim to an emergence of a new form of political management in Ghana, both from supply (party system) and demand (voter) perspectives, underpinned by business theories, strategies and techniques. From the supply side, this means a departure from the traditional form of party management, where ideology serves as the analytical lens through which the character of the political party and its related organs are examined, moulded and understood.

The book *Political Marketing and Management in Ghana: A New Architecture* makes claim to an emergence of a new form of political management in Ghana, both from supply (party system) and demand (voter) perspectives, underpinned by business theories, strategies and techniques. From the supply side, this means a departure

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from the traditional form of party management, where ideology serves as the analytical lens through which the character of the political party and its related organs are examined, moulded and understood. From the demand side, it means the voter in Ghana, like most capitalist economies has "departed" from being a citizen to a "consumer" (Lees-Marshment 2004), and their behaviour must be analysed and understood from the consumer behaviour theory perspective. In short, the political system is "commercialised" in Ghana, as the needs of key players become the basis of the relationships: voter–party relationship, intra/inter party relationship, party–media relationship, party–financiers' relationship, etc.

This book demonstrates how political parties use market research, segmentation and branding techniques to understand voter demand and to craft their identities to meet those demands. It also looks into political financing, human resource management and leadership styles. At its core, the book attempts to offer some distinction between the symbols-oriented approach in political campaigning in Ghana (Mensah 2009) to the technology-driven process of Western countries, where databases, call centres and social media have become the backbone. This is not to suggest that technology is not used in Ghanaian political campaigning, but that they are not heavily applied as compared to the West. Here, it is observed that campaigns in Ghana are predominantly characterised by the use of semiotics. For example, the use of animals and other socio-cultural objects in communicating dominance, power and bravery; the use of tribal identity for message development. In contrast, campaigning in Western democracies tends to rely on data, for example, to help in targeting and positioning. The objectives of this book are to offer: (i) practitioners new tools for understanding voter behaviour and to aid strategy development; and (ii) academics, new lens from which to analyse and prescribe political management strategy, charting another sub-field in political studies and research to the already existing political science and political communication disciplines.

The book is divided into nine (9) chapters. This chapter gives an outline of the book and presents the political system in Ghana. It observes the majoritarian and adversarial nature of a political system, which is becoming ever more complex. Campaigning, for example, according to

the chapter, has become permanent (Blumenthal 1982), where there is a blurring of day-to-day political communication and electioneering campaigning. Hence, when to campaign and what is considered campaigning have become an issue that some are contending with. The campaign period, in recent times, has gone beyond the normative 3 months out from the election as a result of the use of social media. Also in the past, parties were not allowed to engage in any form of campaigning such as television and radio advertisements, billboards and campaign rallies until the last 3 months before the election. Now, these activities are carried out under the guise of "thank you tours", "accounting to the people tours" and many other "tours" that take the shape and character of campaigning. Even the call to encourage young people to register to vote when the Electoral Commission (EC) opened registration, was capitalised upon by the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) in subtle campaign advertisements across all media channels. It is also noted that increasing rise of social media has resulted in the broadening of the channels of distribution in the political system. That means, parties, especially those with less spending power, can take advantage and cut down on traditional media budget and still be able to reach their target. The growing trend of social media reporting in traditional media channels—television and radio—under "what is trending" segment of news bulletin is one that is making social media appealing even to those who doubted the latter's efficacy as a distribution channel for political products. It has equally brought in new segments of the electoral market, such as young voters and celebrities, who otherwise would not engage in the political discourse.

The intensity of competition amongst the political parties at the micro level is also highlighted. Indeed, the two main parties, NPP and NDC, have engaged in "electoral engineering" (Norris 2004) of their internal voting process in an attempt to broaden participation. Not only were the reforms aimed at strengthening voter-party bond at the grass-roots (Norris 2004), but also to make it difficult for office seekers to engage in vote buying, among other objectives. The challenge, especially for the NDCs universal suffrage, despite the good intention, is that it rather increases the number of people who must be "paid" to vote for a candidate, as election observers doubt the possibility of eliminating

material inducement in Ghana's politics due to poverty. Nonetheless, electoral reform has emerged as the new measure of democratic behaviour, defining which party is the "most democratic".

In Chap. 2, a free, stable but duopolistic "mediascape" resulting from a majoritarian political system is noted. It is reported that over 430 public and private radio stations are in operation; over 20 TV stations and several newspapers are dotted across the country. A duopolistic environment means an intensely competitive mediascape with a growing relationship between political elites and the media along the lines of a two-party system. In this regard, we note a growing awareness among the political parties and politicians of how public relations and political communication combine to perpetuate their agenda and fight off threats to their survival, leading to the rise in prominence of skills in news management and spin (Franklin 2004; Stanyer 2007, cited in Stromback 2009) in Ghana.

At the micro level, Chaps. 3 and 4 look at branding by political parties. The former examines political branding from a behavioural perspective (Needham 2006; Worcester and Baines 2006; White and de Chernatony 2002), where a change in party leadership is used to redefine the character and temperament of political parties. This eventually leads to change in voter perception and brand choice, very much in the tradition of New Labour (Lees-Marshment 2001) and the third way of party brand management. Furthermore, a shift is noted of voter choice towards bipartisanship amongst many segments, especially the middle class, and a reduction in perceptions that parties are predominantly class based. In Chap. 4, political branding from a purely semiotic perspective is explored. Here, practitioners' views of parties as brands are predominantly premised on party symbols, logos and colours. The two perspectives make an interesting finding on the contrast in party brand management in Ghana.

Party financing is featured in Chaps. 5 and 6 of the book. Chapter 5 notes the use of mobile money, scratch card and Internet as some of the novel means that have been rolled out by political parties to enhance the collection of monthly membership fees and cash donations from the general public. The call for state funding has also been highlighted in the chapter, with caution that the practice could impose stricter

obligations on the parties as opposed to privately raising funds. It argues that state funding is not the answer to parties' financing challenges, but prudent spending, investing in financial assets and maximising revenue generation are the way forward.

On the other hand, in a practitioner perspective Chap. 6 argues for a mixed approach of public–private financing of political parties. It draws on global case studies of party financing from both private and public means, their consequences and regulatory frameworks. It argues that lack of state funding has given rise to other sources of financing, which are inimical to democracy. Referring to one of such source as "interested money", the chapter notes that large corporations with all kinds of vested interests give large donations to parties in return for influence to the detriment of democracy and the voter. This happens as a result of voters' level of poverty and mistrust of the system with the result that the party is unable to raise substantial amount of funds.

In Chap. 7, voter (demand side) motivations are explored in the northern part of Ghana that is considered underdeveloped in comparison to the south. The chapter notes that political parties find it challenging to motivate and satisfy voters appropriately as they lack appreciation of their voting motivations. It suggests the application of motivation theories such as Herzberg (1968), Maslow (1970) and Blythe (2008) to understand the underpinnings of voter behaviour in that part of the country. In its findings, the study notes that although the northern vote is mostly perceived and analysed "en bloc" due to its socio-economic peculiarities, there are however geographic and demographic variations that must be considered. The Majority of voters in the cities of the north—Tamale, Bolgatanga and Wa—are motivated by the desire to elevate leaders from their cultural groups to positions of authority, as they seek collective representation. Voters in the villages, however, are motivated by money and material gains for the individual. Hence, it is observed that voter demography and economic conditions could be key determinants of the strength of material inducement as a motivator.

Chapter 8 calls on parties to codify HRM procedures that could assist them in planning, organising and controlling the non-political workforce. The final Chap. 9 notes the need for change in political

leadership style in emerging democracies such as Ghana in order to accelerate development. The book employs qualitative, quantitative and mixed-method approaches in its investigation. A combination of primary and secondary sources, such as interviews, content analysis, survey and document reviews has been used in data collection. The methodology used in each chapter of the book is addressed in detail in those chapters. The context within which the chapters are presented and discussed in the sub-sections below.

The Party System

The transitioning of Ghanaian politics from military rule to democracy in 1992 has received much attention in the Ghanaian literature (Mensah 2009; Youde 2005; Carothers 2002; Smith 2002; Handley and Mills 2001; Gyimah-Boadi 2001; Nugent 2001; Ayee 2000). This book focuses on new trends, and how they are shaping the climate of political participation in Ghana. It must be stated that the relative success of democracy in Ghana since its inauguration in 1993 has moved the political discourse from mere participation to good governance. Since Ghana's remarkable election in the year 2000 three other elections had been fiercely contested in 2004, 2008 and 2012 at the time this book was commissioned. The 2000 elections, however, were remarkable because it was the first time power was transferred in Ghana through the ballot since democracy was returned. Amongst other things, the 2000 elections ushered in a new form of academic discourse in the area of political marketing due to the "newness" of the electioneering campaigning (Mensah 2009). In general, the two major parties, NDC and NPP , have alternated government, hence the increased competition in the political landscape. Poll margins between the two parties have been shrinking drastically at the presidential level.

According to Mensah (2009), the 2000 elections generated a great deal of discussions about the structures, organization and the nature of participation that underpinned the newness of the political campaigning introduced by the NPP at the time. Since then, we have seen other parties adopt new forms of campaigning, and also observed

other developments unprecedented in the political system generally. For example, the competitiveness of the electoral process led to the challenge of the 2012 electoral results in court. The electoral petition, which was taken to court by the opposition NPP, was the first in the nation's history and was transmitted live on state television. Although the opposition NPP failed in its bid to overturn the electoral verdict through the courts, the performance of its vice-presidential candidate, Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia, at the courts, as the star witness, transformed his political image. In a blog post on the case, Professor Henry Kwesi Prempeh, a prominent member of the NPP and a law professor from Seton Hall University, New Jersey notes that Dr. Bawumia played a "highly visible and forceful role in the ensuing presidential election petition litigation" and "caught the attention of many Ghanaians and made him a hero to the NPP's supporter base". Prof. Prempeh further notes that "although the NPP lost the petition, Bawumia emerged from it with his national political stature substantially enhanced" (Prempeh 2016). It is also noted in the Ghanaian Press (Frimpong 2013) that the process restored NPP's gradually diminishing brand personality, and offered the party a favourable brand association on which to strategise for the 2016 elections.

Electoral College Reform

Ghana has held successive democratic elections since 1992. The Ghanaian political system is a microcosm of an emerging democratic culture (Dzisah 2014). The increasing awareness and the exercise of the many freedoms fostered by the re-established constitutional democracy have thrown up some useful dynamics worth researching in a nascent democracy. It is observed that the emergence of this democratic culture is being fueled by the gradual embrace of political marketing forms as a persuasive mechanism to engender awareness and to canvass for crucial votes (Dzisah 2008). Some of the changes being experienced now include electoral reforms not only at the level of the EC but also within the domain of the political parties.

For example, in the political parties the Electoral College, which is the system used to nominate presidential candidates and other party executives, has become one of the most competitive aspects of the Ghanaian electioneering process. Not only are political parties using the process to claim legitimacy to internal democracy, it is also being used as a measure of prospective electoral success, gauging the mood and enthusiasm of the party's base prior to elections. In the past, the electoral college was left in the hands of a few delegates. The NPP was the first to expand its electoral college before the 2012 general elections. With this novel idea, the NPP indirectly sought to energise its core support base and to use it to attract others interested in democratic politics of which the party constantly makes loud claims. It was also to taunt the NDC's antecedents due to the latter's military origins, having been founded by Jerry John Rawlings—a military dictator turned democrat (Dzisah 2008).

In 2016, the NDC went further to empower all card-carrying members of the party to vote in its primaries. The NDC introduced biometric registration for all party adherents as a measure of gauging its strength at the grassroots [http://www.myjoyonline.com/politics/2015/august-13th]. According to *myjoyonline.com* (Ibid.), the party claims to have registered about 1.5 million supporters. All these registered supporters have the power to vote at the party's primaries to elect both the presidential and parliamentary candidates. The essence of this novelty was to eliminate manipulation of delegates as well as enfranchise all active members of the party instead of a select few. It must be noted that the transformation process in Ghana's political system was basically to strengthen internal democratic structures.

The Rise of Social Media and the Intensity of the Long Campaign

Political campaigning in Ghana intensifies about 3 months out from the general elections. This is when political parties reveal their manifestoes, launch their campaign and campaign teams eventually setting

off on a nationwide campaign tour. The complexities of modern day campaigning mean that practices go beyond manifestos and political rallies. Marketing and communications for internal party executive elections, for example, have taken a national dimension with the use of social media platforms in addition to the traditional media frenzy that engulfs the country during this period. As the electoral laws of Ghana have no set dates for such events, political parties hold rallies at any time within the whole 4-year electoral cycle. In preparation towards the 2016 general elections, the NDC party primaries, for example, saw the trending of the presidential candidate's messages #transforming-Ghana, #Changinglives, with diverse groups of people contributing. What was also significant were the images that accompanied the trending hashtag #transformingGhana, which were pictures of infrastructural developments in the country such as stadia, hospitals, schools, women entrepreneurs. There were also negative images of crowded prisons and corruption allegations tagged to web and microblog posts from individuals and press reports, suggesting that not all tweets of the trending #transformingGhana message gained positive attention and conversation.

The NDC and its presidential candidate were not the only ones to use social media for the 2016 general elections. The presidential candidate of the NPP, Nana Akufo-Addo, also built a significant following on social media. The increasing engagement of politicians and political parties in Ghana on social media earned them entry into the Ghana social media rankings (GSMR) in 2015, with the President John Mahama leading as the most influential political candidate brand. In that ranking, President John Mahama had GSMR score of 1,623,212.10 and Nana Akufo-Addo had GSMR Score of 1,194,485.60. In this score, the Facebook and Twitter followings for John Mahama were 642,601 and 162,911, respectively, while those of Nana Akufo-Addo were 556,871 and 73,462, respectively (GSMR 2015).

In 2016, the social media engagement, with people tweeting, retweeting, sharing and liking political posts, intensified when the two parties went on what they call regional delegates tours, crisscrossing the country before the official campaign period. The NPPs tour was tagged 'arise and build' and the NDC kept their trending 'transforming

Ghana, changing lives' message, in addition to another tour dubbed 'Accounting to the people'. These three notable tours received enormous traditional and social media attention despite their supposed 'internal party affair' billing.

One of the most recognisable new forms of political engagement on social media is the opportunity it offers the youth and many celebrities with huge social media following to join in the political discourse. The basic premise to be drawn from this is that Ghana's political discourse is embracing new concepts such as marketing and social media to make the desired impact of attracting new audience. Again, for participating in the political discourse, these ardent social media citizens have the freedom to communicate their preferences, interests, needs, collective problems and aspirations to seek redress from those in charge of public policy or change them (Bratton 1999; Putnam 2000). Although in Ghana political marketing communication is a new phenomenon, its focus on the deployment of strategies for informational and communication requirements of democracy have been great.

The Rise of Single Issue Para-Political Organisations

Past political protests of significance have been organised by political parties under varied organisational 'vehicles' that have not existed beyond their period of protest. The issues have been varied from demands for democratisation that led to the 1992 constitution to the opposition of the introduction of value added tax in 1995. This is changing in modern democratic Ghana with the advent of single issue activism organisations. There are two prominent single issue groups in Ghana influencing political discourse through demonstrations. They are the Concerned Ghanaians for Responsible Governance (CGRG), popularly called 'Occupy Ghana', named after the global occupy movement against social inequalities that gained widespread popularity in the United States (Adam 2011), and the Alliance for Accountable Governance.

In the organization of demonstrations by these groups, mass media has been a major tool. Article 162 insulates the media from government control and repression, and so the traditional media has provided a platform for civic causes such as demonstrations and protests (Constitution of Ghana 1992). However, with the emergence of the new media, e.g. Internet and its attendant technologies, the face of demonstrations has changed drastically. The Internet has offered a wider and more inclusive platform for social and political engagement. It has provided a less costly avenue for social mobilisation for civil and voluntary associations to reach out to others who share in their viewpoints. According to Keane (1994), the critical independence offered by new media is "justified by their ability to maximise freedom in the sense of individual or group autonomy" in that the media remains the only antidote against the incipient abuse of power by those who wield and exercise it (p. 175). What this means is that the new media has become a useful agent for information sharing and deliberation and as a unique process for satisfying the needs of agitating groups (Dzisah 2014; Curran and Gurevitch 2005).

The power and influence of social media manifested in demonstrations such as #OccupyFlagstaff and #DumsorMustStop. The hashtags generated on social media to aid in mobilising people for the demonstrations were the actual names of the demonstrations. The unique feature of these civic actions is that the call for these protests was buoyed by public outcry of the poor governance in the country. The dissatisfactions were expressed in the social media space of individual citizens.

On 1st July 2014, the group, CGRG, commonly referred to as #OccupyGhana movement staged a demonstration. It must be emphasised that members of the Occupy Ghana who partook in the demonstration used social media to mobilise themselves. They were predominantly middle class. According to the state-owned newspaper, the Daily Graphic edition of 2nd July 2014 the movement used social media to organise the protest, triggered by deteriorating economic situation and governance in the country. Some of the problems include Ghana's unstable currency, which was depreciating against the major currencies over a 7-month period at the time.

The nature and form of Ghana's political discourse now include both the traditional and new media technologies. However, the new middle class, after the successful use of social media to mobilise for demonstrations and protests appear to prefer the new platform for political and social discussion of issues affecting Ghana's economy and governance. Despite the success and preference as medium for political discourse, it is also important to appreciate that social media can become an intolerable medium for the trading of insults and throwing tirades at those who disagree with viewpoints expressed on such platforms. When the electorates begin to experience a climate where there is less accommodation of varied opinions, the essence of social media as a tool for political discourse could become dubious, undemocratic and ultimately lead to a "dumbing down" of media and political efficacy (Young et al. 2007 p. 54).

There is a plethora of knowledge on the utilisation of media technology and systems for political discourse and campaigns, promoting persuasion, dialogue and deliberative democracy. There is an impressive body of scholarly literature from the more mature democracies to suggest that an electoral contest that is waged on the platform of media attacks and counter-attacks leads inexorably to the heightening of political cynicism. This, in turn, can lead to suspicion and reduction in participation by social and political groups with no direct leaning to the pursuit of political power for any single group (Francia and Herrnson 2007).

Conclusion

Since Ghana ushered in the fourth constitution in 1992, its political system has continued to experience various forms of innovation and transformation. The changes have ranged from widening participation in the election of legislative representatives and party executives, to the use of social media as an information, discussion and campaign tool. In addition, it also led to the emergence of a new form of advocacy groups made up of people who had shunned such political engagements or

have done so behind the scenes. In the continuous innovation and renovation of the political landscape in Ghana, arguably the main winners are those who in the past have been left out of direct political engagement. This also calls for the population to be literate to use the new form of the social media and contribute to the debate. As to whether or not the social media will be used as a unifying and strengthening tool or as a divisive tool for the future political development of our democracy remains to be seen.

Also in Ghana, as is the case in other countries in sub-Saharan Africa, the contemporary wave of democratisation and social media evolution among other interactive media forms has sparked debate over the extent to which the media can influence political discourse and instigate social mobilisation. The emergence of social media as a mobilising medium for civil society and other voluntary associations has deepened the participatory principle in Ghana's nascent democracy. Beside, Ghana's political system has become more engaging with the various stakeholders becoming more active in the decision-making processes. While we can celebrate the degree of development of democracy and its attendant deployment of new media technologies we must, however, remain cautious. The optimism and perhaps the central role of the new media to Ghana's political discourse and democracy must be viewed as gradual and cumulative, and dependent on other accompanying factors such as participation and ownership (Nyamnjoh 2005).

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2

Political Communication and Public Relations in the Ghanaian Media: Building an Emotional Environment with Propaganda

James B. Abugre

Abstract Politician and managers of all types need to be able to communicate with their constituents successfully. Increasingly, they must communicate in both the 'old' and 'new' media using political communication and public relations to persuade their target audience. Political communication and public relations management describes the overall planning and execution of a political party's communication strategy to its external and internal publics in order to achieve its goals. This chapter discusses how political parties in Ghana use publicity in the media to reach their political audience other than direct customer centred campaigns. Through a content analysis of the two major newspapers aligned to the two major political parties (NDC and NPP) in Ghana, this chapter defines and presents a multi-discourse perspective of political propaganda instead of political persuasions in political communication and public relations delivery. The study applied content

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analysis in its data analysis of the two major newspapers aligned to the philosophies of the two major parties in Ghana, National Democratic Congress and New Patriotic Party.

Keywords Public relations · Political communication · Negative communication · Press agentry · Ghana · Political parties

Introduction

The importance of communication in facilitating relationships among people working together and among organizations and their audience has been acknowledged by many communication researchers (Abugre 2012; McNair 2003; Swanson and Nimmo 1990; Grunig 1979). Communication helps to explain reasons, methods and ideas of corporate administrators and political leaders to their audiences. The recognition of this significance has arisen from the understanding that political leaders and administrators can best influence their audiences through effective messaging and communication to accomplish their goals. While this political notion is positive in highlighting political communication (PC) and public relations (PR) of political leaders and their political parties, it appears Ghanaian politicians would want to take advantage of the existing media to persuade the electorates using all means including negative and prejudiced language. This, they resort to political communication that often incites the emotions of the electorate. Consequently, Asante (1996) contends that the Ghanaian press has greatly played a role in helping various politicians perpetuate their rule by manipulating the electorate even as they (politicians) become more unpopular. This has led to the prominence of political party communicators in the Ghanaian media landscape crisscrossing the various television and radio stations daily with the aim of enhancing their public relations and political communications using emotional descriptions. Emotions and political emotions are the symbolic manipulations of the electorate that politicians use to persuade the formers' feelings (Lazarsfeld et al. 1944), and these appeals have become the hallmark

of political communication and public relations used in contemporary elections (Kaid and Johnston 2001).

Political communication is a process of sharing and transmitting information among party members and the general public through the news media. Swanson and Nimmo (1990) define political communications as the use of communication to influence the electorates on issues of a political party. Public relations, on the other hand, is an organized process of communication used as a response to or in the expectation of threats to organizational survival and growth within a political setting (Grunig 1992). It is the relationship between an organization and its key audience. Thus, public relations and political communication both serve as tools which political organizations or parties employ to facilitate their political activities and interest. For instance, in the field of communication, the theoretical development of political participation is centred on the influential role of informational media use and interpersonal discussion about politics (Gil de Zuniga 2002). Similarly, political scientist and psychologists have argued that emotions play a central role in reasoning of electorates, and have the likelihood of enhancing rationality and also of undermining it (Kinder 1994; Marcus 2000). Hence, political communication and public relations have become the core concepts of political knowledge in which the public is fed with political messages mostly through the media. Consequently, political parties and organizations in Ghana are increasingly using the media in various ways to project and enhance their strategies and political purposes. For this reason and in order to win political power, political parties in Ghana appear to engage in very aggressive and daily crusade which often rather turn into negative communication rather than positively using PC and PR to market their political messages.

The negative communication involves defamations, deceit and exaggerative promises all in a bid to persuade the electorate by appealing to their emotions instead of their reasoning. This sometimes creates an emotional political environment in the media landscape resulting in negative propaganda rather than the use of credible information in line with the news making role of the media as a representation of reality. This makes it difficult for the electorate to appreciate the value of the neutrality of the Ghanaian media and the practices of journalism. The

need to understand and appreciate what political communication and public relations truly represent is hampered by excessive misinformation through some media outlets aligned with the political parties. Thus, the quality of media and journalism practice produced in Ghana appears to be seen for its lack of social responsibility and commitment to the needs of society, and to the provision of access to all (Altschull 1984). Given that PC and PR are purposeful communication and actions which seek to influence, to build, and to maintain beneficial relationships and reputations with its key publics, it is important that this chapter provides the significant ways in which PC and PR have been used by the two dominant parties in Ghana namely, The National Democratic Congress (NDC) and The New Patriotic Party (NPP). Therefore, using empirical research, this chapter demonstrates how two newspapers aligned to NPP and NDC 'The Daily Guide' and 'The Ghanaian Lens' respectively, continuously turn PR and PC into negative communication by creating a tensed Ghanaian atmosphere of political uncertainty instead of an optimistic political environment to the readership. This is achieved through a thematic content analysis of the two newspapers over a period of time.

This chapter is organized as follows. The first part situates the context of the chapter by describing political communication and public relations. The second part looks at the media landscape and its political and informational role in Ghana. Next, a brief explanation of the approach to the empirical data gathered for the study is explained and subsequently, the results and discussion are presented.

The Nature of Political Communication (PC) and Public Relations (PR)

The success of any modern political community today depends on what the citizens and political party members wish to hear, share with political leaders and political organizations through communications. Accordingly, communication has become an asset that enables organizations and their publics to share knowledge with each other

and coordinate their tasks, by building and maintaining a viable relationship with the community (Abugre 2012). This has resulted in the news media generally taking centre stage in both popular and political explanations of public engagement as well as public disengagement. In fact, the media and press coverage affect the public on matters of political attitudes and behaviors through political communication and public relations. PR and PC are dimensions of communication that enable political organizations and their publics to share information and receive knowledge. Thus, McNair (2003) assert that political communication is the channel that should provide important and enlightening information to citizens on the nature of political processes. Similarly, Esser and D'Angelo (2006) are of the view that politicians should choose the path of constitutionally desirable principles and practices of communication and campaigning in present day democratic environment.

Many authors of public relations textbooks have ascribed various descriptions to the public relations environments. For example, Goldman (1948) describes two different eras in the history of public relations: the era of "the public be fooled"—press agentry and "public be informed"—public information. Similarly, Cutlip et al. (2000) identified one-way and two-way communication types of public relations. Grunig (1979) remodelled the idea of one-way and two-way models of communication to include the purpose and direction of communication. He further used Thayer's (1968) concept of synchronic and diachronic approaches to communication to illustrate how political actors are able to persuade their audience using PR strategy. The concept of synchronic communication aims to synchronise the behavior of the public with that of the political organizations' behavior so that the latter's behavior does not interfere with that of the public. The diachronic communication is to negotiate what would be beneficial to the political organization and its public. Grunig and Hunt (1984) subsequently identified four models of public relations practices.

The first is press agentry: they claimed that press agents of the mid-nineteenth century were the first full-time specialists to practice the press agentry/publicity model of public relations. The second model according to Grunig and Hunt (1984) is the public information model

which was developed as a result of attacking corporations and government agencies. These organizations felt that they needed, in addition to the propaganda of press hired journalists or public relations practitioners, to explain their actions to counter the attacks by the media on them. These hired practitioners wrote only good things about their organizations. The third model is described as the two-way asymmetrical model. Grunig and Hunt (1984) assert that practitioners sought information from the public and also gave information out to the public from their organizations. The fourth model is described as the two-way symmetrical mode. In this model, practitioners believe in telling the truth by understanding the needs of the public as well as the public understanding the viewpoints of organizations or practitioners. They argued that the two-way symmetrical model makes use of scientific research and other forms of two-way communication. As a result of the above discussion, political communication and public relations are both channel styles in communication, and have become an intrinsic part of the political campaigns and political coverage of governance and policy-making (Esser and Spanier 2005). They have also become important media instruments of politics, emphasising the strategic nature of politics and communication by highlighting the role of persuasion in political discourse.

The Ghanaian Media Landscape

Ghana has one of the finest and most liberal media environments in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) (Lenhardt et al. 2015). It has experienced more military dictatorship than civilian democratic rule since gaining political independence in 1957. The media have had to adapt to several political changes and has now become more stable, more plural and freer since the 1990s to date due to the legislation of the law of media pluralism enshrined in the 1992 constitution of Ghana. In fact, the renewal of the Ghanaian mass media culture has become an integral and indispensable part of the process of democratisation (Tettey 2001). Hence, Ayee (2001) affirms that the Ghanaian media have generally been influential in safeguarding Ghana's democratic principles by

Table 2.1 Current statistics of radio stations in the country

No.	Name of regions	Total no. authorised	Public	Public (foreign)	Community	Campus	Commercial	Total no. in operation	Total no. not in operation
1.	Ashanti	52	2	1	4	2	43	43	9
2.	Brong Ahafo	57	3	–	5	2	47	50	7
3.	Central	30	2	–	8	3	17	25	5
4.	Eastern	34	2	–	6	1	25	32	2
5.	Greater Accra	48	2	3	6	3	34	45	3
6.	Northern	40	7	–	12	1	20	24	16
7.	Upper East	16	2	–	4	1	9	12	4
8.	Upper West	16	2	–	8	1	5	9	7
9	Volta	44	3	–	10	1	30	27	17
10.	Western	69	5	1	5	2	56	46	23
	Total	406	30	5	68	17	286	313	93

Source: National Communication Authority, 2015

Table 2.2 Current statistics of television stations in the country

No.	Type of television service	Total no. of authorised stations	Total no. of stations on air	Total no. of stations not on air
1.	Analogue terrestrial television	21	15	6
2.	Digital terrestrial pay television (service only)	1	1	0
3.	Digital terrestrial pay television (service and frequency)	4	4	0
4.	Digital terrestrial television (network only)	0	0	0
5.	Digital terrestrial free-to-air television programme channel	0	0	0
6.	Digital terrestrial radio service on TV multiplex	0	0	0
7.	Satellite television broadcasting (pay TV direct-to-home bouquet)	6	3	3
8.	Satellite television broadcasting (free-to-air direct-to-home bouquet)	6	1	5
9.	Satellite television broadcasting free-to-air direct-to-home single channel)	23	7	16
10.	Digital terrestrial television additional services (eg. Teletext, etc)	0	0	0
11.	Digital terrestrial mobile television service (stand-alone authorisation)	0	0	0
12.	Digital cable television	1	0	1
13.	Television over internet protocol (pay TV)	0	0	0
Total no. of authorised TV stations		62	30	32

Source: National Communication Authority, 2015

playing critical roles in both the historical and socio-political development of the Ghanaian political systems.

By 6 March 1957 when Ghana became an independent nation, only 11 newspapers were in production. These were Catholic Voice (established in 1926), Ashanti Pioneer (1939), Gold Coast Weekly Bulletin (1939–1940), Ashanti Times (1947), Ghana Evening News (1948), Daily Graphic (1950), Sunday Mirror (1954), Daily Mail (1955), Liberator (1955), West African Worker (1956) and New Nation (1956). There were only one television station and a national radio broadcasting station that is the state-owned broadcasting corporation, GBC Television and GBC Radio. Today, the media landscape has greatly changed with over 430 public and private radio stations dotted all over the country; over 20 TV stations mostly private ones apart from the GBC TV and several newspapers in production now than before. See the Tables 2.1 and 2.2.

Following the dominant paradigm of communication and development of nations (Schramm 1964), governments all over the world have considered radio and television as key media outlets for national development. This is particularly so in SSA countries after independence in the 1960s. Thus, the post-colonial rule in SSA nations is usually pursued by one-party systems using the rare and sparse media to create authoritarian governments and authoritarian press systems. The resultant political climate usually pushes journalists to align themselves with the government and other strong political parties as propagandists rather than serving their role as watchdogs over government actions and of peoples' rights (Ansah 1991). This explains why the 'Accra Evening News', established by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in September 1948 as the Convention Peoples' Party's mouthpiece played faithfully to that function. In fact, Dr. Nkrumah believed in the media's role as a persuasive frame that on establishing the Accra Evening News, he declared: "Personally, I failed to see how any liberation movement could possibly succeed without an effective means of broadcasting its policy to the rank and file of the people" (Nkrumah 1957, p. 76).

Political Media and the Use of Propaganda

Over the past few decades, greater parts of the Ghanaian media have sought to support and project the voices of some particular political parties. They have done so amidst a campaign environment in which sponsored campaign ads have become more and more negative (Fowler and Ridout 2011, 2013) playing mischief and propaganda rather than educating and informing the citizens through fair and neutral ways (McQuail 1992). The aims of these media are rather to use the mass media towards their preferences of political parties and to strengthen their desired party or candidate.

Propaganda is a contentious subject matter in the political arena with negative connotations. As a result, there are many definitions attributed to the word. Ellul (1968: 61) describes propaganda as:

> A set of methods employed by an organized group that wants to bring about the active or passive participation in its actions of a mass of individuals, psychologically unified through psychological manipulation and incorporated in an organization.

For Jowett and O'Donnell (1992: 271), propaganda can be defined as:

> The deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist.

Propaganda in itself is not a bad thing when used positively, as it is a conventional communication product used by communicators to influence spectators and listeners. It has always existed and will always be with us (Jowett and O'Donnell 1992). However, when the press or people decide to employ it as a "disinformation" or a negative persuasive technique that is based on forgeries and staged events to harm the opposition and win the masses over, it becomes a bad thing. This is what is invented by the political press in Ghana. The aligned political media has perfected its reportage as an instrument of sensationalism in order to effectuate or galvanise support for their preferred political

parties. Hence, portions of the Ghanaian political media have from time to time come under criticisms by media analysts for fanning ethnic, religious, and above of all, political tensions in the country.

This chapter examines the way the Ghanaian media deliberately use propaganda to arouse public emotions in lieu of political communication and public relations that are based on developmental journalism.

Empirical Approach

Our data set draws on press publications of two private newspapers in circulation both in print and online. The main objective is to carry out a thematic content analysis of how these two newspapers (The Ghanaian Lens and The Daily Guide) in Ghana report key or important national issues differently over a specific period of time with limits to their verbal and written political rhetoric. Specifically, we focused on the language of reporting by these two newspapers and paying particular attention to their writing styles which are capable of whipping the emotions of the electorate. Table 2.3 presents a few examples of how the

Table 2.3 Samples of headline reporting by the two papers

Date	Newspaper	
	The Daily Guide	The Ghanaian Lens
7/01/16	NDC chases Bawumia (front page), story on page 3	Arrest Bawumia………for falsifying electoral register—NDC (front page), story on page 4
8/01/16	Ghanaians reject Al-Qaeda terrorists, Page 5	Guatanamo suspects no threat to Ghana—Govt, Page 3
13/01/16	Gitmo terrorist were Al-Qaeda foot soldiers—Minister, Page 6	Gitmo duo: 'No need to panic—Hanna Tetteh, Page 4
15/01/16	Economic outlook still complicated—IMF, Page 11	IMF impressed with Ghana's economy but warns of risks, Page 7
	NPP Blasts EC, Page 2	EC's response on 76,000 Togolese mindboggling—NPP, Page 6
03/02/16	Create Jobs……………Italian PM tells Mahama (front page) story on page 2	President Mahama to EU: Create Jobs for African Youth…………. To reduce migration to Europe (front page) story on page 3

two newspapers report and present the same news items to the electorate.

The choice of these two newspapers for this research is appropriate in the sense that 'The Ghanaian Lens' has always been the mouthpiece of the NDC Party, while 'The Daily Guide' has continuously served as the mouthpiece of the NPP Party. The two papers not only routinely propagate the messages of their political benefactors, but they consistently attack each other. Analysing the content through their transcripts is appropriate in communication research and reflects scholars' interest in what the papers choose to talk about. This work, however, is concerned with the frequency and occasions of the style of news presentations made by these newspapers. A thematic content analysis was therefore used to gather information based on the objective of this work. A pile of the two newspapers spanning four months circulation yielded 30 pieces each that we used to collect the data. The data were then supplemented with radio messages grounded in the political rhetoric of politicians and their supporters to better understand the agenda-setting functions of the political press in building a tense Ghanaian environment with propaganda. Our analysis yielded three main key categories as follows:

- The nature and intensity of news reporting,
- The political alignment factor and its influence on reporting,
- Freedom of expression.

Results and Discussions

The study investigated the presentations of mass-mediated information on political reporting issues, and trends in news coverage and media content related to public concerns of the two newspapers aligned to the two major political parties in Ghana—NDC and NPP. The results showed carefully designed propaganda messages communicated through news stories to the general public that can steer public emotions. It was also noted that "Wireless" radio transmission was considered by the two major parties (NDC and NPP) to be the new medium for shaping public attitudes, perceptions and provoking public emotions through

call-ins. Consequently, every Saturday morning from 9 a.m. to 12 p.m., the parties are fully represented in the two major talk-shows: 'Alhaji & Alhaji' by Radio Gold FM, and 'News File' by Joy FM Radio. These two talk-shows are very political in nature and almost serve as forum for political debate between the two parties in which their foot soldiers call in to reinforce the propaganda and steering further political emotions. Though the two FM stations are based in Accra—the capital city— broadcasting is diffused nationwide through interconnection of several affiliated FM stations of Radio Gold and Joy FM.

On the nature and intensity of their news reporting the findings showed that the two papers focused on the presidency and his government more than economic matters that would seem beneficial to the populace. Whilst the Daily Guide concentrated on a negative reportage on the government and the president, the Ghanaian Lens focused on praising and paying tribute to the president and what his government was doing. This depends on the period in which a political party is in power. So the table turns around if the opposing party wins political power. In fact, the nature and intensity of the two papers were based on strong language usage which seems to be whipping the sentiments of the audience. For instance, the constant use of unpleasant and unacceptable expressions in bold face and caps to demonstrate the intensity of their messages.

The distinction between the two newspapers was highlighted by their reporting styles focused on propaganda: the two papers both serve as propagators to their aligned political parties by exaggerating the good deeds of their parties and at the same time spewing negative and unsubstantiated reportage on their opposing political parties. The Ghanaian Lens' use of pleasant and revere reportage on the NDC and its presidential candidate and very strong negative words on the NPP and its presidential candidate demonstrates the nature and character of its news reporting. Similarly, the Daily Guide's concentration on the use of negative headlines and satirical photographs in the forms of cartoons of key politicians of the NDC coupled with undesirable and discourteous language on the NDC's presidential candidate's family reveals the nature of its news reporting. In most cases, the cartoons are represented in a way that one can easily discern the political figures it characterises describing

them with innuendoes and detestable materials. Thus, the concentration of news reporting of the two papers was more of throwing salvos of innuendos at the opposing political party rather than engaging in developmental journalism.

On the political alignment of the two papers and how it influences their reporting, findings showed that political lineage dictated strongly the reporting styles of the two papers. The interest in partisan politics was illustrated by the number of positive news stories on the front-page editions dedicated to politics as compared to social and economic news. Whilst, most Ghanaian Lens' front page stories exemplified positive news stories about the NDC government's activities and putting next to negative news stories of the opposition NPP, the Daily Guide elaborated its front page stories on positive happenings of the NPP and contrasting them with negative incidents of the NDC. Strong political alignment of the media and press systems within a nation state means enhancing and persuading the ideologies of the political parties through framing and not paying attention to accuracy, objectivity, fairness and bias. This does not encourage developmental journalism, but rather a destructive media which may not be good for a developing nation.

On the freedom of expression, the Constitution of Ghana guarantees freedom and independence of the media (Article 162:1), disallows press censorship (Article 162:2), outlaws impediments on the media (Article 162:3) prohibits and controls interference or media harassment (Article 162:4). These provisions have allowed journalism and therefore the Ghanaian newspapers to enjoy a large amount of space to be critical and confrontational to political issues. Albeit the regulatory provision in the same constitution's guaranteeing privacy, libel and the intolerance of obscenity as checks and control of the Ghanaian media, the type of journalism evident in the coverage of the two newspapers appears more militant and shaping strong propaganda than developmental journalism. Aligning with the government and supporting all what it does without serious scrutiny, and equally, opposing the government and being hostile to all what it does without a serious examination are tantamount to 'a systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist' (Jowett and O'Donnell 1992). This kind

of journalism is counterproductive in emerging economies since most of their reportages are based on lack of evidence and negative news. Thus, their lack of credibility in serving as the fourth state of the realm intended to positively inform and educate the public.

According to McQuail (1992), the output of quality journalism and press is enshrined in measures like accuracy, factualness, completeness and impartiality. This is in dissonance with the findings of this work. The major findings show the lack of balance (that is impartiality and fairness to both sides), objectivity, bias, framing and news selection criterion of the two newspapers. The character of language and expression in the presentation of these newspapers, especially in their front pages, was modelled in persuasive propaganda associated with militant ideology rather than genuine political communication and public relations. The essence of political communication and public relations is to assist in the transmission of developmental communication rather than propagating negative emotional sentiments that can likely degenerate a nation into chaos.

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3

Change in Party Leadership, Party Brand Image and Voter Choice

Kobby Mensah

Abstract This chapter looks into establishing whether changes in perceived party leadership could result in changes in perceived party behaviour and voter choice in Ghana. The chapter also offers insights into who the likely voters are for the two dominant parties in Ghana, the National Democratic Congress and the New Patriotic Party; how their voting patterns have evolved, and the causes of the evolution. In order words, it investigates class distribution of voters for the two parties. It argues that changes in party leadership over the past 20 years have had influenced on voter perceptions on party brands and party choice over the years.

Keywords Party branding · Party behaviour · Voter choice · Ghana New Patriotic Party · National Democratic Congress

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Introduction

There is a prevailing view, since 1992 when Ghana was returned to democracy (Gyimah-Boadi 1994; Anebo 1997; Handley and Mills 2001), that the two dominant parties, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) , appeal to two sections of the society, broadly speaking. The centre-right NPP is known to be predominantly upper class and the centre-left NDC appeals to those at the lower end of the economic ladder. This perception of class distribution among these two parties was formed as a result of the parties' emergence in the Ghanaian political landscape (Aryee 2009; Gyimah-Boadi 1994; Ichino and Nathan 2016).

The centre-left leaning NDC emerged from the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), a military regime of Jerry Rawlings that ruled Ghana from 1981 to 1992, with a massive support base of the less privileged. When the country was returned to democratic rule after the 1992 referendum, the PNDC was changed to NDC as a political party (Carbone 2003) and Jerry Rawlings resigned from the military to contest the elections under the new democratic regime and won. At the time, the structure and the character of the NDC party and its leadership were predominantly that of the erstwhile PNDC, and so was its support base. In 2000, Rawlings had to stand down as the leader of the NDC, as the constitution required and handed over power to Atta-Mills in 2000, then John Mahama after that in 2012. It was therefore expected that changing leadership through party primaries would contribute to changes in the image of the National Democratic Party (Ichino and Nathan 2016; Ahwoi 2016), and its support base. According to Professor Kwamena Ahwoi, a former Minister of Local Government and Rural Development, "the NDC has changed its image from a party with a violent and revolutionary background to a party that believes in peace and the rule of law" (Ahwoi 2016).

On the other hand, the centre-right NPP begun as a social club for politically active-minded elites in Ghana who were opposed to the authoritarian military regime of the PNDC (Aryee 2009). According to Aryee, central to the ideology of the club was to uphold "individual

freedom in a liberal democratic state…" The social club was later transformed into a political party (Anebo 1997; Aryee 2009) with a strong association to the liberal ideology espoused by its Danquah-Busia tradition, which dates back to the early years of Ghanaian politics. At the time, the party had as its leader a professor of history from the University of Ghana, Adu-Boahen who contested the 1992 elections and lost.

In the 1996 elections, Kufuor, also a lawyer and career politician, took over from Adu-Boahen. Kufuor lost the election in 1996 but won that of 2000 on the backdrop of a modernised political campaign in the confines of political marketing (Mensah 2009, 2011). Marketing and advertising professionals were utilised in addition to a swathe of policy positions that reflected the demands of the voter as opposed to party ideological positions (Mensah 2011), hence moving the party predominantly to the centre of the ideological continuum in terms of its manifesto. According to the literature, the innovation of political campaigning offered to Ghanaians by the NPP , using marketing instruments and techniques to effectively engage voters and to out-shine competitors reflected global trends (Ayee 2000; Handley and Mills 2001; Gyimah-Boadi 2001; Nugent 2001; Smith 2002; Youde 2005; Ninsin 2006; Mensah 2011).

For 20 years of multiparty democracy the traditional view on party–voter associations has held despite changes in both parties' leadership and management styles. Most election campaign studies in Ghana (Ayee 2000; Handley and Mills 2001; Gyimah-Boadi 2001; Nugent 2001; Smith 2002; Youde 2005; Ninsin 2006; Mensah 2009) affirm this belief, until Tweneboah-Koduah et al. (2010) study on political brand choice in Ghana alluded to a gradual shift from the previously held class, regional and ethnocentric associations. However, the latter study is also limited in varied ways and will be discussed. That notwithstanding, these studies have played a pivotal role in unearthing the phenomenon of how political parties in Ghana seek to brand themselves, serving as foundation scholarship on which further studies could evolve.

Indeed, scholarship in Ghana could not be the only culprit to blame for failing to track the changes to political brand associations that leadership change bring. The political parties themselves could only hazard

a guess about the profile of their core voters, and most undoubtedly, are unsure about the effect of leadership change on voter choice. The leadership of the NPP, for example, has on various platforms denied being elitist (Mensah 2011)—a party of predominantly affluent and well-educated voters. They argue that if anything at all the party's origin from the farming areas of the country such as Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Western and Northern Ghana should suffice in thinking that their political brand has a broader appeal across class. The party again argues that its main opposition, the NDC is equally elitist as it also appeals to those sections of society.

Perhaps the NPPs claim is premised on the assumption that the NDC, over the years, has changed in 'temperament' as a result of changes in its frontline political operatives and leadership. The NDC party today can boast of young politicians, political operatives and followers who could be considered elites. Just as the NPP, the leadership of the NDC today are predominantly graduates from some of the country's renowned universities; different from its past when it was perceived as a party belonging to 'those of the streets'. Since the year 2000, the NDC has been led by a professor and a public relations expert, President John Evans Atta Mills and President John Mahama respectively, both graduates and of elite backgrounds. The apparent claim to change in both parties image above draw us to the following questions: would change in party leadership affect party behaviour and voter choice? How have the voting patterns for these two parties changed, and what are the causes for the change and finally, are the NPP and NDC still perceived as predominantly upper and lower class, respectively?

Answers to these questions are the objects of this chapter. The chapter will also discuss the emerging literature on political marketing in Ghana, focusing on political brand association, and how that sits within the global context of political brand association, party behaviour and voter choice.

Brand Association: Definition, Types and Its Application in Political Marketing

The concept brand association has been defined and operationalized in many ways (Uggla 2006; Schneider 2004; Kapferer 1997). From party management perspective, Kapferer (1997), for example, notes that political parties seek to brand associate by personalising the political brand through functional and emotional attributes in order that they can reinforce the brand in the minds of the consumer (Kapferer 1997: 109). This view is supported by Schneider (2004), who observes that brands that have the ability to generate recall are those that have established knowledge structures of what they stand for in the minds of consumers over time. Hence, consumers who see a reflection of themselves in these brands would choose them during purchase.

In British politics, the Conservative and Labour parties have long been associated with fiscal discipline and social justice respectively, due to their long-standing policy positions on Taxes, the National Health Scheme and other socio-economic needs of the people. Hence a voter who predominantly seeks social justice through redistribution of wealth would choose the Labour party, and one whose self-concept aligns with fiscal discipline and individual responsibility would choose the Conservatives.

Uggla (2006) also talks of brand association as anything that symbolically represents the brand in the minds of the target customer. Thus defining the concept as 'the link a brand establishes with its stakeholders through, for example, people, places, institutions that add to (or subtract from) customers' knowledge of the brand' (2005: 789). That means that not only do institutions such as political parties use ideology to anchor their brand, but are also able to use "iconic" personalities and issue positions to do same; and such anchors can add or detract value through the action or inaction of the brand, and/or other players in the industry.

In developing brand association to manage brand/market relationships, Farquhar and Herr (1993: 265) note a two-dimensional framework of *brand-to-associate* and *associate-to-brand*. Within the wider

debate on how the political brand is managed, brand-to-associate is market-driven whereas associate-to-brand is market driving, to use Day's (1994) market orientation theory. The benefit in operationalising the two, according to Kapferer (1997), is the opportunity not only to build a brand but also to stretch the brand—*leveraging*—to other terrains not original to it. In implementing the market-driven brand-to-associate strategy, an organisation examines internally held values of the brand, its identity, for example, to understand the brand's basic uniqueness and who it targets (Kapferer 1995: 30). This first step helps gain insight in product performance features that are suitable for the target market. It also assists in developing the brand's marketing activities, such as communications to support the brand.

Associate-to-brand strategy is especially crucial for brand extension, when a decision is taken to advance a product into other markets. In the case of Volvo, for example, when the association 'safety' is mentioned, it should evoke brand Volvo. However, with people becoming 'time poor', having more to do within a short time, the brand needs to find out other values that are of concern to consumers aside 'safety'. This may yield results such as less time spent in commuting, not necessarily safety, for automobile buyers, especially the younger generation. This means for Volvo to remain relevant and expand its market share, the brand needs to adopt the association 'fast', whilst keeping its original identity of 'safety', hence becoming the 'safest fast' car in an attempt to tap into the 'yuppie' (young urban professional) market of today. The exposition of brand association, its forms and applicability in politics and in commerce, as noted above, suggest that not only could NDC and NPP use ideology, an inherent value of the political offering, to represent the brand in the minds of voters but also adapt values external to them as their political brand representation in the minds of voters. In this regard, references could be made to some few studies in the political marketing literature (Mensah 2009; Tweneboah-Koduah et al. 2010; Hinson and Tweneboah-Koduah 2010) that have researched into the concept of political brand association in Ghana and others in political science and sociology that have looked at how parties in Ghana campaign and attract votes (Ninsin 2006; Youde 2005; Gyimah-Boadi

2001; Anebo 1997). Of these studies, Tweneboah-Koduah et al. (2010) is the closest to the current study.

Literature on Political Brands and Voter Choice in Ghana

In a study conducted in 2007 on voter choice in Ghana from political brand perspectives, Tweneboah-Koduah et al. (2010) allude to a confused state of political brand association amongst voters. Their central objective was to understand whether political parties in Ghana were managed as brands, and if that impacts on voter choice. The qualitative study had a total of 82 focus groups discussions conducted in eight regions (42 constituencies out of a total of 230 at the time) in Ghana. The questions that the study posed, as noted in the responses, were predominantly party and policy based (Tweneboah-Koduah et al. 2010). The focus group of 8–12 members in each group were registered voters with no indication of party membership or any strong attachment to a party; neither were respondents' level of education important to the study. The main objective was to gain deep insight of voter behaviour in political choice making amongst Ghanaian voting age population of 20–45. The study was to enable them understand whether voters in Ghana could link certain constructs to the two political brands, NDC and NPP, and if such constructs could influence political choice (2010: 83). The study applied Kapferer's brand identity prism (2004), measuring voters' response against six theory frameworks as listed below:

- The Brand Physique;
- The Brand as a Personality;
- A Brand has Its Own Culture;
- A Brand is a Relationship;
- The Brand is Also a Customer Reflection;
- A Brand Speaks to the Target's Self-Image.

According to their findings, all the constructs but brand as a personality, had less than half of the respondents identifying them positively or negatively to the party brand. An example is political party brand's

physique, which measures a respondent ability to recall any relevant functional or physical component of a brand when the name is mentioned. Under this construct the study notes that when respondents were asked which policies, programmes would they associate with NPP and NDC, less than half associated NPP with road construction, national health insurance, freedom of speech and human right. More than half however, could recall NPP's election 2004 campaign slogan "4 more years… so far so good", without prompting. For the NDC, respondents could not associate the party with any specific projects and programmes, according to the study, and went further to credit NDC initiated projects such as GETFUND to NPP, thus indicating the chaotic nature of the party's communication, the study suggests. On brand as a personality, the study reported more than half of respondents describing NPP's personality in the negative as "betrayer, boastful…" with the positives as "democratic, peaceful…" The NDC associations were "violence…lack of internal democracy." The NDC was also not associated with any philosophy, policies and programmes.

There is, however, a significant revelation in Tweneboah-Koduah et al. (2010) study that departs from previously held assumptions on voter–party brand associations in Ghana. On political brand as voter self-image constructs the question "who is more likely to be a supporter/member of NDC/NPP" was asked. This construct seeks to measure the likelihood of a voter choosing a political brand based on the nearness of their characteristics and values to that of the party brand. Tweneboah-Koduah et al. (2010) findings to this question revealed that less than half of the focus group respondents claimed someone from the Ashanti Region and, or, Eastern region for NPP, and someone from the Volta Region or parts of the North, for the NDC. Again, in Tweneboah-Koduah et al. (2010) study, the finding that less than half of the group respondents think the "masses" across ethnicity may vote NDC and "elites" vote NPP is also startling, and contrast previously held beliefs. Existing literature suggest that an overwhelming number of people would associate the people of Ashanti and the Eastern regions to the NPP, and those of Volta and Northern regions to NDC (Ninsin 2006; Youde 2005; Gyimah-Boadi 2001; Nugent 2001). The view is widely held in the literature (Ninsin 2006; Youde 2005; Anebo 2001;

Gyimah-Boadi 2001; Nugent 2001; CDD 1999) that Ghanaians would overwhelmingly refer to regional and ethnocentric associations for partisan identification, and would overwhelmingly associate NPP with the upper social class NDC with the lower class of society. They conclude that the issue of the focus groups' inability to overwhelmingly associate these parties to their 'traditional constituencies' as known amongst the Ghanaian public, and evidenced in extant literature, give credence to their view that political parties are "not properly managed as brands in order to invoke mental associations nor intense emotional effects with voters as power brands do with consumers" (2010: 87). They conclude also that parties have not promoted well enough their positive brand associations so to offer them the needed equity, as commercial brands do.

These findings are important, as they offer insights on the gradual shift from previously held views. However, Tweneboah-Koduah et al. (2010) study is limited in some ways. It lacks contextual appreciation where the political system, media system and voter dynamics differ from one country to another. For example, the difference in the conceptualization of party–voter relations and product–consumer relations, where the level of information/knowledge structures possessed in the latter is higher than that of the former must be appreciated. In the case of the former, political maturity would determine a respondent's ability to recognise certain associative constructs, such as a party's 'philosophy' for example, as in the response that: *NDC… was not associated with any philosophy, policies and programmes.*

To claim that there least exist political brand association constructs in the minds of the Ghanaian electorates just because focus group respondents were unable to articulate detailed policy or party values (Tweneboah-Koduah et al. 2010), departs from political science theory also, as well as new studies in political marketing on candidate brands, where voter choice is underpinned by ideology and other factors such as candidate values. That is, the closer a voter's belief or value is to a party's ideological position or candidate characteristics, the higher the likelihood of the choice of that party in elections. This approach is market-driven, as parties brand-to-associate with voter needs and characteristics. It is also noted in other studies (Mensah 2009; Gyimah-Boadi 2001;

Nugent 2001) that not only have parties been market-driven, by branding to associate with voters, but have been market driving where parties have associated with other constructs outside them in order to brand in Ghana.

Other studies have also shown that voters rely on cognitive shortcuts as a substitute for detailed information (Needham 2005; Lupia and McCubbins 1998; Neuman et al. 1992). They explain that when a political element—the party, candidate or policy—is heavily promoted and gains visibility unequal to the rest, and is used as a representation of the rest in the party political structure, it is most likely that voters will have a 'remarkable' knowledge of that element which is mostly promoted. This makes Tweneboah-Koduah et al.'s (2010) dominant emphasis on inherent party and policy associations problematic for the respondents in that study.

Based on the discussions above, could the results of Tweneboah-Koduah et al. (2010) be different if they had broadened the theories of associations in the study? It suffice to say that should we accept a lack of association, even as basic as ideological nearness based on which voters make political choice then we are admitting that voters in Ghana are becoming less ideological in their choices. Is it also the case that political parties are becoming so, or both? Can we say that voters know very little about political candidates and where they belong given that our media-political landscape in the last 20 years has been predominantly presidential—personality driven?

According to Luskin (1990: 331), political sophistication suggests that interest and intelligence, representing motivation and ability, have major effects, but that education and media exposure, the big informational variables, do not necessarily provide the impetus for sophistication. This means that voters, just like consumers, are not equal in their understanding of and interest in the political product regardless of levels of education and exposure to news media, and how it impacts on their motivation to seek political knowledge, vote or to abstain from voting. This and other factors that limit the extant literature on this subject have been dealt with in the current study. One could argue that Tweneboah-Koduah et al.'s (2010) study is a victim of the caution given by some political marketing experts (Henneberg 2004; O'Shaughnessy

2001) that the conceptualization of the political phenomenon, in the same way as the marketplace, is problematic. That is not to say they entirely negate marketing applicability in politics, and so the study is majorly flawed. On the contrary, they suggest the need to adapt and develop frameworks capable of responding to the tensions as explained.

> The political party or candidate is a complex intangible product which the voter cannot unbundle. As a consequence, most voters have to judge on the overall packaged concept or message. (Lock and Harris 1996, pp. 14–15)

While there are other complex products or services which consumers are unable to unbundle, the range of concepts and issues in the political bundle distinguish it from such situations noting that, 'voters' perceptions of party characteristics can be blurred and their knowledge of specific policies low' as against consumer knowledge in commerce where 'consumers have remarkably homogeneous perceptions of product characteristics' (Lock and Harris 1996: 14–15). This gap in product knowledge sophistry explains the inability of respondents in the Tweneboah-Koduah et al. (2010) study to link policy initiatives such as 'Getfund' to the right party brand. The question of voter choice and association in the Ghanaian political space, especially in the 2000 elections, has also been highlighted by other studies (Anebo 2001; Mensah 2011), where it is noted that the NPPs electioneering strategy in 2000 made use of policy and candidate attributes as associative elements to differentiate itself from competitors in that elections. According to these studies, the NPP campaign in the 2000 general elections used their candidate's image to project difference between them and their rival party, NDC, as detailed in the next section.

Does Leadership Change Affect Party Brand Image and Voter Choice?

This study aims to demonstrate whether party leadership change in Ghana impact on party brand image and voter choice. The political

brand literature is replete with strategies for political parties to maintain difference from competitors and also to be identified by voters. In practice, studies (Worcester and Baines 2006; Needham 2006; Reeves et al. 2006; Norris 2001) suggest an increasing use of the brand concept by political parties to differentiate and identify themselves just as commercial firms do.

The concept of candidate branding, and its impact on a party's electoral fortune, is one of the political brand constructs well researched and discussed in the literature (Needham 2006; Worcester and Baines 2006; White and de Chernatony 2001; Lees-Marshment 2001). Although policy positions and party ideals continue to play significant roles in electioneering, the process of image-building of political candidates and the public perceptions of attributes considered desirable of a candidate are regarded as some of the factors that impact on election outcomes in most Western democracies, especially in countries of presidential governments like the US (Scammell 1999; Norris 2001).

In a qualitative study of the NPP's 2000 elections campaign in Ghana, Mensah (2009, 2011) notes that the party was concerned with its brand image, perceived as 'sectional'—appealing to rich in society as a result of its ideological leaning as centre right; tribal, as it was perceived that majority of its leadership was predominantly Akan (the dominant tribe in Ghana), and gender biassed as it was male dominant. According to Mensah (2011), the issue of the party's image as 'sectional' was widely acknowledged even within the party, especially amongst the non-Akan executives. According to a party executive, who is a Ga, the indigenous tribe of the people of Accra for example, believe that his party is an Ashanti party and this notion dates back to the early years of Ghana's political history:

> They say, 'Oh, it's the Ashantis'… that is something that bothered us and informed our decision all the time. How do you address it? (Interview, March 2008)

The solution, according to party executives was to remould the party's image using attributes of positive equity such as party tradition and leadership, candidate attributes and policy attributes in a complex

'symbolic' framework of ethnicity, religion, economic reality and other sectional nuances reflective of the voter characteristics (Mensah 2009, 2011). Party executives noted that 'they desperately tried to appeal to different social groups through individuals who are themselves identified leaders of certain ethnic and religious groups (Mensah 2009, 2011). The following are some of the perspectives of the party executives interviewed on how the party's image management was operationalised:

> *We went on the ground to where we came from, Ningo Pampram, Pong Kantamanso* [all indigenous local areas in greater Accra, the capital city of Ghana] *etc. and sat at the beach with the people to ask them how they can say that this is an Akan party when you have a Ga man as the head. But they didn't know and we said, 'Yes, Nii Odoi, he is the head of the whole party. That's why in Greater Accra, we did so well.' They listened and voted for us'.* (Interview, March 2008, in Mensah 2011)

> *for the 2000 elections, [we] took a deliberate step to say that we will reduce the mostly Akan face and push forward other ethnic, religious, and gender faces, so if you go back to most of our press conferences that we held, you will find people like honourable `X`* [mentioning some female, GA, EWE (other tribes) and Muslim members of the party] *at the front row…. And that was deliberate …!* (Interview, March 2008, in Mensah 2011)

Mensah (2011) notes that advertorials featuring the party structure referred people to the history of the party and its links with other ethnic groups, such as those in the North and the Volta regions. The advertorials also mentioned the party's commitment to democratic principles dating back to the early years of Ghana's multiparty democracy.

In managing the party image through policy attributes, the leadership of the NPP needed to reinforce their campaign message of inclusiveness with structural changes that were evident to target groups, and could move the party to the centre, ideologically (Mensah 2011). As a result, the party proposed an all-inclusive administration with ministers from all the political parties in opposition to the incumbent NDC, and a broader policy agenda in line with both sides of the political divide. Policy advertisements, according to Mensah (2011), were crafted to reflect target groups, for example:

> A new Ghana, a new kind of leadership, an all-inclusive government. (*Daily Graphic*, 23 November 2000, in Mensah 2011)

> Leave a life of debt, despair and deprivation behind. Positive change will enable you and your family to lead meaningful lives. (Advertisement in *The Daily Graphic*, 23 December 2000, in Mensah 2011)

The party also initiated moves to form alliances with other parties in order to attract ideologically diverse groups, and to reinforce its commitment to a broader policy base (Mensah 2011). For example, at a rally organised by the NPP and attended by four other significant opposition parties, the NPP announced that it will 'form a broad-based government' (Joy FM, 18 December 2000). The Joy FM news item reported that present at the NPP's rally were the Convention People's Party (CPP), the United Ghana Movement (UGM), the People's National Convention (PNC), and the National Reform Party (NRP). Of the four parties present, three, i.e. CPP, PNC and NRP, are to the left of the NPP, ideologically. Only the UGM is to the right.

The final phase of the remoulding process was the use of the candidate attributes. According to Mensah (2011), the candidate was managed as someone with good leadership personality. Media articles on the candidate always referred to the candidate as a moderate, a unifier, a team player amongst other personality qualifiers. The candidate's posture was thus illustrated as someone who exhumes 'fatherliness' and 'statesmanship', as opposed to someone who is 'robust' and 'aggressive,' to contrast the NDC leadership, which was characterised as such. Increasingly, in advertisements and advertorials, the candidate's personality attributes such as his calm demeanour were interpreted and defined within the confines of democratic values; tolerance for dissenting views, team player and unifier. In one of such stories on 6th September 1999, an article headlined "Kufuor Selects Running Mate," the state-owned newspaper, *Daily Graphic* reported a rousing welcome for the NPP presidential candidate at Wa, the capital city of the Upper West region, and a stronghold of its main opposition party, the NDC. According to the paper (Mensah 2011), in his speech Mr Kufuor allayed rumours that an NPP Government would expel aliens, stressing

that this was a ploy being used by opponents of the party to scare people living in the Zongos so that they would not vote for the NPP. Hence his choice of a running mate from the north:

> The selection of Alhaji Mahama Aliu as his running mate is aimed at building bridges between Christians and Muslims and people living in savannah lands of northern Ghana and those in the south. (News Report, *The Daily Graphic*, 6 September 1999, in Mensah 2011)

> His choice of Alhaji Mahama Aliu as running mate is a manifestation of NPP's commitment to reconciliation, which is necessary for socio-economic and political development. (News Report, Joy FM, 20 November 2000, in Mensah 2011)

In all the above, references were made to certain groups that were targeted by the NPP party. Specifically, references were made to Muslims, the Northern and Upper West regions, Greater Accra region, rural dwellers, traditional rulers, settler communities, etc. It is thus noted that to achieve its objectives, the party ran, in marketing terms, a differentiation-focused campaign (Dibb et al. 2001, p. 700) in which needs of target voters were identified and appealed to with the attributes of the party, candidate and policy.

Methodology

Study Design and Sampling

This study is quantitative and exploratory, using both primary and secondary sources. In sampling, the Electoral Commission's (EC) data compilation on elections, and the Accra Metropolitan Assembly's (AMA) area demarcation records were used to determine the sample frame of 23 constituencies of the Greater Accra region. The AMA's classification uses demographic terms, including income levels of residents, housing characteristic and environmental conditions of the residential suburbs of the city. The classification is stratified into four income zones to enable viable determination of level of poverty, according to the

AMA. This classification has been adopted by the AMA and gazetted in the Local Government Bulletin of the Assembly (January 2002 edition).

The electoral register and voting records from the EC and the AMA's area demarcation records were necessary to establish the share of votes (voter-party mobility) for the two parties in constituencies that are predominantly lower and upper classes. The determination of share of votes in the last 20 years was necessary to gain initial insight on the relationship between class and voter choice of party. In this direction, the country's 20-year democratic dispensation was divided into two eras; the first era being 1992–1999 and the second as 2000–2012. The 1992 elections ushered in the country's fourth republican era after years of military rule. That election was won by the NDC. The party went ahead to win the 1996 elections but lost the 2000 elections to the NPP. As explained earlier in the introduction chapter, the 2000 election was the first time transfer of power occurred through the ballot in Ghana in the fourth republic (Gyimah-Boadi 2001), hence defining the second era in this study. The 2012 election was the last to be held before this study.

Out of the 23 constituencies, seven were selected through stratified random sampling technique using the AMA's four classification, based on which re-classification was made for the purposes of this study. In this direction, constituencies that are predominantly first and second class residential areas were grouped as upper class stratum, and those with predominantly third and fourth class residential areas were classed lower. The two strata were later arranged in alphabetical order and each was assigned numbers to simply randomly select the sample. This exercise resulted in the following constituencies: Ablekuma Central, Ablekuma West, Ayawaso West Wuogon, Ayawaso East, Dade Kotopon, Ledzokuku and Odododiodio.

In the primary research, the constituencies mentioned above were surveyed in an attempt to explore the respondents' perceptions on the political brands and what inform their voting behaviour. Again, stratified random sampling (disproportionate stratification, where the sample size of each of the stratum is not proportionate to the population size of the same stratum) was applied. In choosing sample communities within the constituencies for the administration of the questionnaire, simple

Table 3.1 Surveyed communities

Economic class of surveyed areas in Accra class based on AMA's area demarcation records		
Constituency	Town	Economic Status
Ablekuma Central		
	Kwashieman	2nd class
	Odorkor	3rd class
	Santa Maria	2nd class
Ablekuma West		
	Mataheko	2nd class
	Dansoman	2nd class
	Akuko Foto	2nd class
Ayawaso West Wuogon		
	East Legon	1st class
	Achimota	1st class
	Bawaleshie	2nd class
Ayawaso East		
	Nima	3rd class
	Kanda	1st class
Dadekotopon		
	La	2nd class
	Labone	1st class
Ledzokuku		
	Nungua	4th class
	Teshie	4th class
Odododiodio		
	Chorkor	4th class
	James Town	4th class
	Makola	3rd class
	High Street	2nd class

random sample was again used in selecting only one community from each constituency, leading to the following communities (see Table 3.1).

Data Collection

Data on two eras, 1992–1999 and 2000–2012 as explained above, was collected using structured questionnaire with a lay out of five (5) themed areas, namely socio-demographic characteristics, voter–party identification, party leadership, party brand personality and candidate

brand personality. Questions defining such dimensions related to political party leadership and voter choice, for example, were based on a five-point Likert scale. Every one of the fifteen dimensions of political party and voter choice was clearly represented in differentiated blocks in the questionnaire. For every dimension, a set of items was included in the questionnaire. For every item, a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree) was used to measure the agreement of voter choice and party leadership, for example. The measuring variables were collated from the literature on party leadership, party behaviour and voter choice. By the end of the survey, 339 questionnaires were realised from a total of 400 disseminated questionnaires, which constitute a response rate of 85%.

Data Analysis

Discussions of Results on Study Objectives

This study was conducted in seven constituencies in the Greater Accra region using a survey method and it was to investigate whether the voting patterns for these parties have changed over the 20-year period, and the causes of the change; how changes in party leadership have impacted on party brand image and voter choice; and finally whether the NDC and NPP are still predominantly perceived as lower and upper class parties. The findings from the study are presented in statistical tables and graphs, and are discussed in the sections that follow under each of the objectives as subheadings (Table 3.2).

What Is the Perceived Class Distribution of Votes for the Two Parties?

One of the objectives of the study was to assess respondents' perception on class and party choice in the last 20 years divided into two eras as explained in the methodology above. This objective was to examine

Table 3.2 Respondents' characteristics registered

Registered to vote		Frequency	Percentage %	N
	Yes	320	94.4	
	No	16	4.7	
	Missing	3	0.9	339
Gender				
	Male		179	52.8
	Female		133	39.2
	Missing	27	8	339
Age				
	18–39	233	68.7	
	40–61	85	25.1	
	62+	17	5	
	Missing	4	1.2	339
Education				
	No schooling received	14	4.1	
	Basic school certificate	42	12.4	
	Senior school certificate	75	22.1	
	Trade/Technical/ Vocational certificate	38	11.2	
	Diploma	45	13.3	
	Professional certificate	23	6.8	
	Bachelor's degree	68	20.1	
	Master's degree	26	7.7	
	Doctorate degree	1	0.3	
	Missing	7	2.1	
Employment status				
	Yes	216	63.7	
	No	107	31.6	
	Missing	16	4.7	339
Age at first vote				
	18–28	273	80.5	
	29–39	33	9.7	
	40–50	8	2.4	
	51–60	3	0.9	
	62–72	1	0.3	
	Missing	21	6.2	339

Source Field survey (2014)

whether in the last 20 years there has, or not, been any change in the way we perceive class-party association.

The prevailing assumption in Ghana is that the majority of low-income people, and/or those who live in suburbs considered as lower class is most likely to vote for the NDC, and those that are in higher class income brackets, and live in upper class neighbourhoods would vote for the NPP. Hence the study sought to test this assumption by ascertaining the views of various classes of voters, according to profession and broad generalisation of class (rich and poor) and the party they are most likely to vote for. In the categorisation, an upper social/income grouping includes lecturers, professors, journalists, lawyers, university students, businessmen, banks/telecommunication professionals and medical doctors. A lower social/income grouping includes farmers, fisher folk, market women, teachers and nurses. Other peculiar categories such as religion and geographic location (Muslims, Christians, Zongo) were included in this section as they are usually discussed in relation to class in Ghana. It is believed that poverty is more prevalent in the Muslim and Zongo communities than in the communities that are predominantly Christian. The results were presented using descriptive statistics as shown in Tables 3.3 and 3.4. The electoral cycles were divided into two eras, with 1992–1999 being the first, and 2000–2012 being the second. This is because the 2000 elections is considered as the beginning of a new dawn in Ghana's democracy, where for the first time in the fourth republic one party handed over to another through the ballot box (Gyimah-Boadi 2001).

Tables 3.3 and 3.4 show the various classes of voters and the party, NDC and NPP, they are most likely to vote for from 1992–1999 to 2000–2012.

From the 1992 to 1999 results above, the predominant view that rich people in society would vote NPP more than NDC is confirmed, with the statistics showing 37.8% for the NPP and 13.3% for NDC and bipartisan votes being 29.5%. The voter share for NPP for this category however was reduced by 10 percentage points and bipartisan votes increased to 40% in the second era, 2000–2012. The NDC votes stayed the same. The second era findings lead to the inference that rich people in the society are becoming more centrist to the NPP's disadvantage; they have moved 10 percentage points towards the centre between the first and second era. This mobility could partly be attributed to the

Table 3.3 Class of voters (in percentage %) and party likely to vote for from 1992 to 1999

Class of voters	NDC	Gap	NPP	Total Partisan Vote	Gap	Cross party vote	Not sure	Missing	Total %
Most rich people	13.3	24.5	37.8	51.1	21.6	29.5	12.1	7.4	100
Most poor people	21.8	4.7	26.5	48.3	17	31.3	12.4	8	100
Most farmers	20.1	7	27.1	47.2	13	34.2	10.3	0.3	100
Most fisher folks	21.5	1.7	19.8	41.3	1.2	40.1	11.2	7.4	100
Most lecturers	18.9	16.1	2.8	21.7	17.8	39.5	9.4	7.4	100
Most professors	12.7	18.6	31.3	44	3.6	40.4	8	7.7	100
Most journalists	18.9	3.5	22.4	41.3	0.3	41.6	9.1	8	100
Most lawyers	36.6	20.1	16.5	53.1	20.9	32.2	6.8	8	100
Most university/tertiary students	9.7	38.4	48.1	57.8	30.4	27.4	7.1	7.7	100
Most market women	51	41.3	9.7	60.7	34.7	26	5.3	8	100
Most business owners	21.2	1.8	23	44.2	5	39.2	8.3	8.3	100
Most banks/telecom professionals	20.9	5.3	15.6	36.5	9.2	45.7	9.7	8	100
Most teachers/nurses	18.3	5.6	23.9	42.2	0.3	42.5	0.7	7.7	100
Most medical doctors	17.4	10.3	27.7	45.1	4.1	41	6.2	7.7	100
Most Muslims	21.5	2	19.5	41	1.2	39.8	11.8	7.4	100
Most Zongo people	39.2	27.1	12.1	51.3	18.9	32.4	8.3	8	100
Most Christians	11.5	14.2	25.7	37.2	4.7	41.9	13	8	100

Sample size (*n*) = 339

Source Field Survey (2014)

Table 3.4 Class of voters (in percentage %) and party likely to vote for from 2000 to 2012

Class of voters	NDC	Gap	NPP	Total partisan vote	Gap	Cross party vote	Not sure	Missing	Total %
Most rich people	12.4	15	27.4	39.8	0.6	40.4	11.5	8.3	100
Most poor people	28	9.7	18.3	46.3	11.2	35.1	9.7	8.8	100
Most farmers	20.9	4.5	25.4	46.3	8.8	37.5	7.7	8.6	100
Most fisher folks	15	12.7	27.7	42.7	3.5	39.2	9.7	8.3	100
Most lecturers	8.3	22.4	30.7	39	4.4	43.4	9.4	8.3	100
Most professors	7.1	42.2	49.3	56.4	27.5	28.9	6.5	8.3	100
Most journalists	8.8	20.7	29.5	38.3	5.9	44.2	9.4	8	100
Most lawyers	4.4	46.4	50.4	54.8	25.9	28.9	8	8.3	100
Most university/tertiary students	38.9	23	15.9	54.8	24.2	30.4	6.5	8.3	100
Most market women	13.6	14.4	28	41.6	0.9	42.5	8	8	100
Most business owners	4.4	36	40.4	44.8	7	37.8	8.8	8.6	100
Most banks/telecom professionals	15.6	8.6	24.2	39.8	0.9	38.9	10	11.2	100
Most teachers/nurses	17.4	5	22.4	39.8	3.2	36.6	13	10.6	100
Most medical doctors	11.8	4.1	15.9	27.7	6.5	34.2	20.1	18	100
Most Muslims	44.8	38	6.8	51.6	21.8	29.8	10.6	8	100
Most Zongo people	39.8	33	6.8	46.6	10.3	36.3	9.4	7.7	100
Most Christians	13.6	1.8	11.8	25.4	29.8	55.2	11.2	8.3	100

Sample size (*n*) = 339
Source Field Survey (2014)

Table 3.5 Voter–party mobility (VPM) between first and second era of multi-party democracy in Ghana 1992–1999 and 2000–2012

Voter category	Party likely to vote for:				Voter-party mobility (VPM) score	Remarks
	First Era 1992–1999		Second Era 2000–2012		% Points	
	NDC	NPP	NDC	NPP		
Most rich people	13.3	37.8	12.4	27.4	(-10.4)	NPP maintains with reduced margin
Most poor people	21.8	26.5	28	18.3	6.2	Moves to NDC with gains
Most farmers	20.1	27.1	20.9	25.4	(-1.7)	NPP maintains with reduced margin
Most fisher folks	21.5	19.8	15	27.7	7.9	Moves to NPP with gains
Most lecturers	18.9	2.8	8.3	30.7	27.9	Moves to NPP with gains
Most professors	12.7	31.3	7.1	49.3	18	NPP maintains with increased margin
Most journalists	18.9	22.4	8.8	29.5	7.1	NPP maintains with increased margin
Most lawyers	36.6	16.5	4.4	50.4	33.9	Moves to NPP with gains
Most university/tertiary students	9.7	48.1	38.9	15.9	29.2	Moves to NDC with gains
Most market women	51	9.7	13.6	28	18.3	Moves to NPP with gains
Most business owners	21.2	23	4.4	40.4	17.4	NPP maintains with increased margin
Most bank/telecom professionals	20.9	15.6	15.6	24.2	8.6	Moves to NPP with gains
Most teachers/nurses	18.3	23.9	17.4	22.4	(-1.5)	NPP maintains with reduced margin
Most medical doctors	17.4	27.7	11.8	15.9	(-11.8)	NPP maintains with reduced margin

(continued)

Table 3.5 (continued)

Voter category	Party likely to vote for:						Voter–party mobility (VPM) score	Remarks
	First Era 1992–1999			Second Era 2000–2012				
	NDC	NPP		NDC	NPP		% Points	
Most Muslims	21.5	19.5		44.8	6.8		23.3	NDC maintains with increased margin
Most Zongo people	39.2	12.1		39.8	6.8		0.6	NDC maintains with increased margin
Most Christians	11.5	25.7		13.6	11.8		2.1	Moves to NDC with gains

leadership change in the NDC from 2000, which helped improve the image of the party having departed from its previously held anti-rich identity embodied by its military past, as noted in the introduction. Broadly speaking across voters of higher income level, with the exception of the lawyers, professors and business owners' categories of voters, the findings suggest a bipartisan growth (see Table 3.5). The Christian voters' category, for example, is highly cross party, increasing from 41.9% in 1992–1999 to 55.2% in 2000–2012.

The bipartisan trend seems to permeate also the lower income level categories of voters. With the exception of the Muslim and Zongo communities as voter categories, where the NDC increased its dominance from the first to the second era, 1992–1999 and 2000–2012, the remaining categories have moved bipartisan (see Table 3.5).

The growth of the bipartisan (cross party) vote, as evidenced in the findings is a departure from the class-based view of voter–party relationship in the Ghanaian literature. Notwithstanding the increasing bipartisan mobility across the voter categories, it is also evident that for those who would vote partisan, the majority are shifting towards the NPP by the second era, 2000–2012 (see Table 3.4)

Would Change in Party Leadership Affect Perceived Party Behaviour, Brand Image and Voter Choice?

The political marketing and branding literature note extensively the impact that leadership change has on party image and voter choice (Lees-Marshment 2001). For example, Lees-Marshment notes how the New Labour project, which emerged in 1997, was very much centred on Blairism in the UK. Earlier, the Clintonian Democrats have been successful in the experiment of remoulding the party around the characteristics of candidate Bill Clinton in 1992 (Needham 2006). Other case studies across the globe have recounted how party leadership change affects the brand, and voter choice (Meth-Cohn and Muller 1991; (Müller and Plasser 1992; Sniderman et al. 1991; Popkin 1994; Kavanagh 1995; Scammell 1999; Kotler and Kotler 1999; Smith 2001; Norris 2001; O'Cass 2001; Lloyd 2003; Hughes 2004; Needham 2006; Worcester and Baines 2006).

Table 3.6 Descriptive table on perceived candidate characteristics

Five characteristics that study respondents believe most describe the candidates

Bundle of characteristics	Candidates									
	John J. Rawlings		John A. Kuffour		John E. Atta-Mills		Nana A. Addo		John Mahama	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Tribal, Sincere, Diplomatic, Elitist, Competent	38	11.2	27	8	19	5.6	34	10	41	4.1
Inexperience, All Tribes and religion, Modest, Corrupt, Diplomatic	30	8.8	41	12.1	30	8.8	54	15.9	33	9.7
Diplomatic; Corrupt; Modest; All Tribes and Religion; Competent	13	3.8	30	8.8	58	17.1	*63	18.6	*95	28
Modest; Diplomatic; Competent; Elitist; Corrupt	*77	22.7	37	10.9	41	12.1	49	14.5	66	19.5
All Tribes and Religion; Accountable; Competent; Modest; Diplomatic	39	11.5	28	8.3	*91	26.8	52	15.3	59	17.4
Arrogant; Accountable; Diplomatic; All Tribes and Religion; Competent	26	7.7	25	7.4	5	1.5	9	9.7	12	3.5
Sincere; Accountable; Modest; Diplomatic; Competent	50	14.7	*87	25.7	44	13	18	5.3	10	2.9
Missing	66	19.5	64	18.9	51	15	60	17.7	50	14.7

Source Field Survey (2014)

Mensah (2009, 2011) in a qualitative study in Ghana note how the leadership of John Kufuor changed the NPP party behaviour and attitudes towards new ways of doing things, and went on to win the elections in 2000. Similar argument is advanced for the NDC, noting that leadership change has contributed to change in the party image.

In this study, therefore, the attempt is made to explore whether a change in party leadership could lead to change in perceived party behaviour and party image, which the findings support. The study findings reveal a significant commonality between candidate traits and the parties under their leadership. This is presented in Tables 3.6–3.8 and Fig. 3.1.

From the descriptive Tables 3.5 and 3.6 and Fig. 3.1, it is noted that candidates Atta Mills (JEAM), Akufo-Addo (NAA) and Mahama (JM), have four out of five characteristics in common with their respective parties during their time of leadership. A similar finding is in the correlation Table 3.7, albeit moderate for candidates JEAM, NAA and JM and weak in the case of Jerry Rawlings (JJR) and Agyekum Kuffour (JAK). It is thus possible to argue that the findings are in support of existing political marketing literature that change in party leadership would result in change in party image and voter choice as a result.

How Have the Voting Patterns for These Two Parties Changed, and What Are the Causes for the Change?

The findings on voter–party association (see Tables 3.3–3.5) suggest that year 2000 election was a watershed moment for both parties. It was discovered that there is a significant swing in people's perception about who would vote only NPP, only NDC or either of the parties at any point in time. The view that certain class of people would vote a certain party is changing for both upper and lower classes of voter categories. There is a significant shift towards the centre, cross-party vote, as opposed to partisanship. However, it is also important to note that some associations to the NPP and the NDC are entrenching. For example, the NPP has experienced growth in its association with the business men, professors and lawyers' voter categories, and the NDC has also

Table 3.7 Descriptive table on perceived party characteristics

Five characteristics that study respondents believe most describe the political parties under the leadership of the candidates

Bundle of characteristics	Political parties									
	National Democratic Congress (NDC)						New Patriotic Party (NPP)			
	Under JJR		Under JEAM		Under JM		Under JAK		Under NAA	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Tribal, Sincere, Diplomatic, Elitist, Competent	43	12.7	31	9.1	19	5.6	19	5.6	33	9.7
Inexperience, All Tribes and religion, Modest, Corrupt, Diplomatic	27	8	49	14.5	*74	21.8	*87	25.7	*65	19.2
Diplomatic; Corrupt; Modest; All Tribes and Religion; Competent	26	7.7	*75	22.1	62	18.3	58	17.1	46	13.6
Modest; Diplomatic; Competent; Elitist; Corrupt	19	5.6	27	8	46	13.6	24	7.1	47	13.9
All Tribes and Religion; Accountable; Competent; Modest; Diplomatic	57	16.8	57	16.8	39	11.5	53	15.6	22	6.5
Arrogant; Accountable; Diplomatic; All Tribes and Religion; Competent	*68	20.1	6	1.8	12	3.5	6	1.8	36	10.6
Sincere; Accountable; Modest; Diplomatic; Competent	50	14.7	57	16.8	44	13	45	13.3	47	13.9
Missing	49	14.5	37	10.9	43	12.7	47	13.9	43	12.7

Source Field Survey (2014)

Table 3.8 Spearman Rank Correlation between perceived characteristics of candidates and perceived characteristics of parties under their leadership

Measure		1	2	Mean	SD
1. Characteristics of NDC under:	JJR	–	0.437**	4.9	5.7
2. Characteristics of Candidate:	JJR	0.437**	–	4.2	1.97
1. Characteristics of NPP under:	JAK	–	0.217**	3.7	1.88
2. Characteristics of Candidate:	JAK	0.217**	–	4.53	2.15
1. Characteristics of NDC under:	JEAM	–	0.395**	3.62	2.2
2. Characteristics of Candidate:	JEAM	0.395**	–	4.03	1.68
1. Characteristics of NPP under:	NAA	–	0.407**	3.86	2.01
2. Characteristics of Candidate:	NAA	0.407**	–	3.47	1.65
1. Characteristics of NDC under:	JM	–	0.298**	3.76	1.84
2. Characteristics of Candidate:	JM	0.298**	–	3.69	1.34

**Correlation is significant at 0.05 levels (two-tailed)
Source Field Survey (2014)

seen growth in its association to the Muslims and Zongo communities' categories of voters.

It is evident, from the study, that the mobility towards the centre is caused by change in leadership and perceived change in party behaviour, as voters observe character congruence between parties and their leaders during their time of stewardship.
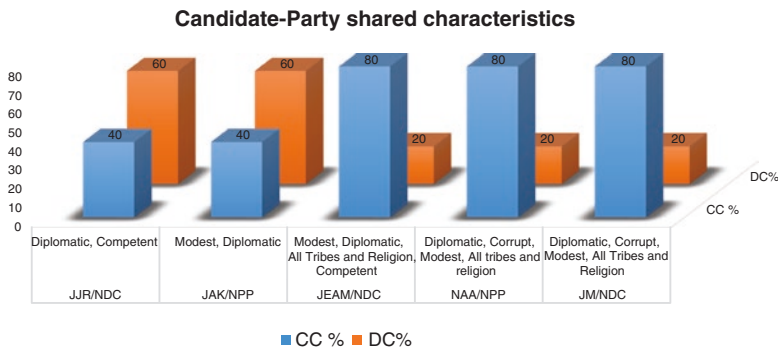

Fig. 3.1 Shared characteristics between candidates and parties. *Notes* CC—Common Characteristics; DC—Disparate Characteristics. *Source*: Field Survey (2014)

Are NPP and NDC Still Perceived as Predominantly Class-Based Parties?

It is evident in the findings of this study that voters no longer see the two political parties as class based. The study conducted in seven constituencies in the Greater Accra region of Ghana, show that voters' perceptions on the political brands of these parties are changing, demonstrating that given the right policy options, voters would vote according to what they think is of value to them. Parties must therefore respond to the volatility in the Ghanaian electoral market by offering the right mix of programmes and leadership that meet the demands of different voters they want to target.

Conclusion

From the findings, it is noted that the long-held perception that voter–party association in Ghana is class based has changed, as findings in this study show a shift towards the centre. The perceptions of NPP and NDC as predominantly class-based parties have changed. This means that the level of partisanship and ideology-based voting decisions have greatly been reduced. The study also shows a significant commonality in the character between candidates and their parties under their leadership, in line with findings in the global political marketing literature that change in party leadership would result in change in perceived party behaviour, and voter choice.

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4

Political Party Branding and Voter Choice in Ghana

Bedman Narteh, Kobby Mensah and Joyce Nyanzu

Abstract Political Parties have sprung up in Ghana under the fourth republic to participate fully in national elections and to promote democracy for the people of Ghana. In recent times, academics, political and media observers as well as practitioners have spoken of politicians and parties as brands. This observation has been given prominence by research findings that offer valuable insights on political party behaviour, candidates' personalities and policy attributes. The concept of branding is known in commerce as a tool used to create difference; aiding consumers to make a purchase decision easily. Hence, the idea of branding as a differentiator is transferred on to political party management, candidate grooming and policy development. This research was motivated

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69

to investigate political party branding and voter choice in Ghana with the aim of assessing how party brand elements are differentiated from each other to establish difference and clarity in Ghana's Political arena. The study employed sequential mixed method approach in collecting data from political parties with representation in parliament of Ghana and a survey of 450 (four hundred and fifty) Ghanaian student voters. Interview guide was developed to collect data from the political parties to provide detailed in-depth information about the thought process that went into the selection of brand elements to build their party brand. A likert-scale questionnaire was used to collect data from voters about political party branding and their impact on voters preferred choice of political party in Ghana. The findings showed that, political party branding elements such as ideology, policy and colours are statistically significant and have positive influence on voter's choice of political party in Ghana. The research provides policy guidelines for branding political parties in Ghana.

Introduction

Although in the literature (Mensah 2011; Needham 2006; Reeves et al. 2006; Hay 1999) political parties desire to differentiate themselves from other competitors to influence voter choice and decision making, the reverse is unfolding in practice. Voters continuously find it difficult to identify the point of difference among political parties when confronted with a political choice, thus, claiming that all political parties seem the same (Whitely et al. 2005; Budge et al. 2001). This argument triggered the need for political marketing and branding to bring about clarity and distinctiveness in contemporary politics. According to Scammell (2007), branding is important in politics because it brings about voter engagement and interactive communication which have the potential of building connection with voters who have lost interest in politics.

In Ghana, although political parties claim to be different on the basis of their ideologies, Mensah (2011) claims ideology has not yielded

the difference that political parties seek. Rather, there is the problem of "blurring" where parties look the same in the minds of voters (Needham 2006; Hay 1999; Norris 1997). This research seeks to examine political party branding and voter choice in Ghana, using major brand identifiers to enable political parties avoid political convergence in the minds of voters. The study also seeks to examine whether political parties consider themselves as brands. Furthermore, this research will aid in drawing conclusions on whether practitioners and commentators are employing a political party branding strategy or ad hoc commercial marketing tactics and language.

The underpinning objective of this research is to examine the elements used by political parties to build their political brand and also develop a framework for political party branding in Ghana. The branded house concept (Kapferer 2004; Aaker 2002; Mottram 1998; Gilmore 1997) of the brand architecture theory is adopted by the researcher to give insight into branding political parties. This research seeks deep insight into an area that is under researched in sub-Saharan Africa especially Ghana. It will employ a triangulated method for data collection. The study is organised in five parts namely, the introduction and background, literature review, methodology, analysis of findings, and ends with conclusions and research implications.

A Review of the Literature

Political Party Branding in Perspective

Political activities in contemporary times seem to reject political party differentiation based on ideologies and embrace the use of marketing and branding principles for party differentiation and distinctiveness. The role of ideologies in political party differentiation has declined over time; thus, political parties must strive to be voter driven since political parties operate, but voters make electoral choice similar to that of choosing commercial brands (Mensah 2011; Reeves et al. 2006; Hay 1999). This new development influenced various discussions on political party as brand in very recent studies (Mensah 2011;

Lees-Marshment 2001; Needham 2006). Situating political party as a brand and voters as consumers in the mainstream discussions about political marketing and branding. It is argued that the political party as a brand acts to influence voting behaviour (Smith and French 2009; Scammell 2007; Street 2004). In advancing political party as a brand's argument, Gareth and Richard (2011) posit that political parties have existing ideologies and thus require more time to change than conventional brands. As brands, political parties offer services based on the promise to deliver benefits and value when in government (Mahajan and Wind 2002). O'Cass and Voola (2011) claim that the long-term survival of organisations, including political parties, is dependent on their performance and brands are increasingly recognised as the key driving factor of performance (O'Cass and Ngo 2007).

Conceptual Framework

The study has developed a conceptual framework to facilitate the empirical investigation. In building political party brand identity and image, political parties need to take a look at elements within their system that has equity and is of electoral relevance to the party in achieving the overall goals (Mensah 2011). These political elements of the party system become the basis on which active and prospective supporters make voting decisions and actions. Hence, the urgent need for political parties to consider elements such as ideologies, name, symbol, candidate, colour and policies since they serve as connecting points to building associations and distinctiveness. Figure 4.1 illustrates these elements which are discussed in detail in the subsequent sections.

Methodology

A sequential mixed method approach involving both qualitative and quantitative methods was used to collect data for the study. The study employed in-depth interviews with executive members of each political party, namely National Democratic Congress (NDC), New Patriotic
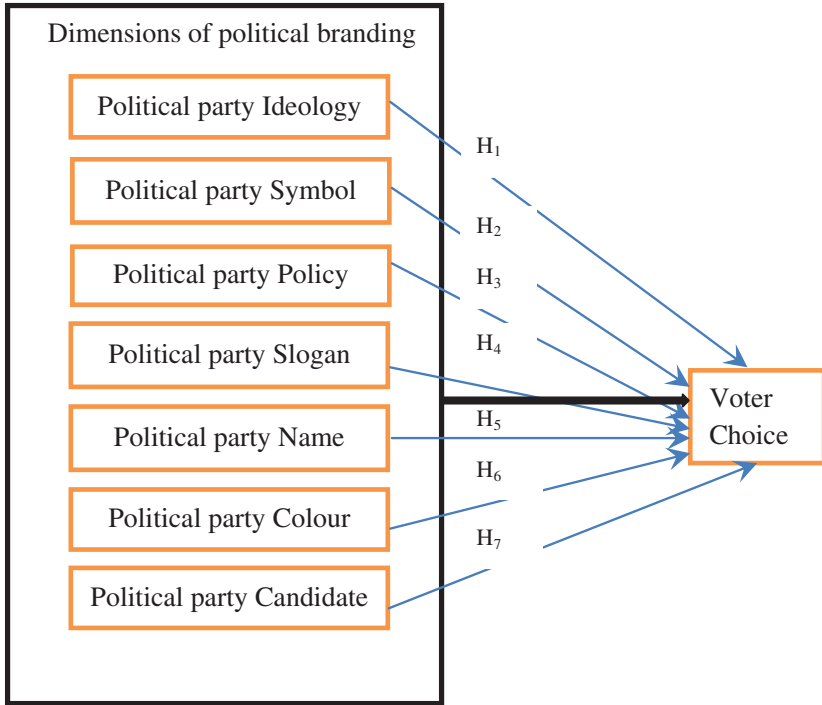
Fig. 4.1 Proposed conceptual framework: dimensions of political party branding. *Source* Developed by researcher, 2014

Party (NPP) and Convention Peoples' Party (CPP). A semi-structured interview guide with ten (10) open-ended questions was developed for the in-depth interviews. This allowed for "probes" enabling the interviewee to express and expand issues that are raised within their own terms (Mensah 2011; May 1997). The study also surveyed 450 (MBA, EMBA, MPhil., and Ph.D.) student voters from University of Ghana, Legon. These are elite voters who can help in understanding the context, set the tone and give a clear atmosphere in the research area. Also, these respondents can provide relevant responses to the research questions and further provided insight into their voting behaviour and their political choice (Richards 1996). Although, these respondent's contribution to the study cannot be overlooked, their views cannot be deemed as

a total reflection of the entire Ghanaian voter population (Tabachnick and Fidell 2007).

Findings, Analyses and Discussion

Analysis of In-Depth Interview

RQ1: Do political parties consider themselves as brands?

This question was asked to ascertain if practitioners view their parties as brands. There was a unanimous response of "yes", with respondents having different reasons to their assertion, however.

According to the Convention Peoples Party's Respondent (CPPR):

The brand is the character and the symbol of the political party. We see ourselves as brands although we have not been able to display the branding that we want the public or voters to accept. (Interview, March 31, 2014)

The National Democratic Congress Representative (NDCR), also said:

Our party can be seen as a brand because we have definite characteristics that distinguish us from other political parties in the country. We are social democrats and we are guided by that in the running of the affairs of our party. Our beliefs run through all that we do as a party. (Interview, March 31, 2014)

In the same direction, the third respondent from the New Patriotic Party (NPPR) also said:

I think we are branded because the tag NPP is a solid one to the extent that if you find yourself as a leader of the party, you carry a lot of weight and you are respected by all. A party that has been in government for eight years and being able to win 47-49 percent in terms of electoral vote

in competitive presidential elections while in opposition is a solid brand. (Interview, March 31, 2014)

The above responses clearly show that, in the opinion of respondents, their respective political parties have different characteristics that set them apart from others. Furthermore, they believe that voters are able to easily identify and feel their presence all over the country, hence, they are brands. Political parties hence demonstrate an awareness that their unique characteristics enable voters to easily make a political choice. Following these responses, the main research question was asked: "What elements do political parties consider important in building party brand?" The first respondent, CPPR said:

> For us in the CPP, we need internal management systems that can build trust in the party and assure voters of a reduction in corruption and our ability to manage other social issues. (Interview, March 31, 2014)

To the NDCR, the party:

> Must be seen as a group that is identified with the welfare of the down-trodden. We must be seen to treat individuals equally irrespective of their social class, ethnicity, religion etc. If all these are clear to the voter they would want to vote for us. (Interview, March 31, 2014)

On their side, the NPPR noted that:

> We first need to build the organisation and structure of our party. Voters must see a well organised party; though we are organised, much more must be done. The credibility of our leader who is the face of our party is also very important in building our party; that is why we have Prof. Adu Boahene, Ex-President Kuffour and now Nana Akuffo-Addo- these are highly educated and respected personalities who at a point in the political history of the NPP were elected democratically by their party members to lead their party in the general elections in Ghana. (Interview, April 4, 2014)

It is obvious in the various responses that practitioners believe that in building their political party as a brand whilst in opposition, they need factors such as (a) strong organisational structure, (b) credible political candidates, (c) vibrant members of parliament and (d) if their party win power, what would keep them in power is dependent on their ability to deliver their manifesto promises. They claim their party image is dependent on their ability to provide the very basic social intervention programmes such as, good health care, good roads, access to water amongst other to make life comfortable for the people of Ghana

RQ2: What meanings do practitioners assign to the various brand elements of their political party?

The associative network model of consumer memory suggests that brands are made up of individual elements that provide pieces of information known as nodes linked together in the memory which triggers other relevant information (Yoo et al. 2006). Political party elements such as the name, colours, ideology, slogan, symbols, candidate, and policies trigger and stimulate recalling from memory which leads to either positive or negative association (Wyer and Scrull 1989; de Groot 1989).

Political Party Name

According to Keller (2008), brand names are relevant because they encompass the central theme or the relevant association of the product. In politics, political party names must be easy to pronounce and suggest what the party represents and what the party is capable of doing. This aspect of literature was confirmed by responses when the researcher asked why political parties choose their various names. The question triggered the following responses—the CPPR said:

The name Convention Peoples' Party (CPP) has a historical linkage. There was a breakaway from United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC)

and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah wanted a name that would present what he stood for – a name that can easily be recalled and identified by all supporters, hence, the name Convention Peoples Party. (Interview, March 31, 2014)

Similarly, the NPPR also said:

The New Patriotic Party is a replica of the Progress Party (PP) so it was a New Progress Party (NPP). In fact, our leaders broke away from the progress party and needed a name that was not too different and would represent what they stand for and still keep the support base of our party. (Interview, April, 4, 2014)

On the contrary, the NDC's name is not about a breakage from another party, but clearly what they think they represent. The respondent NDCR said:

National – because we believe in the nationality of Ghanaians; we believe in every Ghanaian no matter where you come from and where you are. Democratic – because we also believe in democracy and want everybody to be part of our party. Congress – because we accommodate all manner of people. Our party is not reserved for certain group of people. Anybody who wants to be part of our party is welcomed and anybody who is capable can lead our party. In fact, we represent a third force in Ghanaian politics; we lie between the NPP and CPP. (Interview, March 31, 2014)

Literature posits that Brand names must present what it seek to do and communicate its capabilities. And so considering political parties in the developed countries (Australia-Liberal Party, UK-Conservative Party, Canada-Consecutive Party), their party names are specific and suggest what their philosophies and ideologies are. On the contrary, the political parties under consideration in this study in Ghana seem to have the reverse of developed countries. These political parties have generic names but, claim to belong to different ideological positions (capitalist or socialist parties) which are clear to voters.

Political Party Colours

Colours are used by political parties to create distinctiveness and facilitate easy identification. When asked about the meaning of their colours, the respondents answered as follows. The CPP's respondent said:

> For us in the CPP, our colours are symbolic and mean much to us. The red represents the blood shed by our forefathers and the readiness for the struggle to gain of independence. The white represents purity and newness while green represents the wealth of the nation. These inspire us to press on until results are achieved. (Interview, March 31, 2014)

According to the NDC respondent,

> Political colours are important because they all represent something in the party. The colour red represents the blood shed by our fathers; the green represents our national resources; white is the victory won for us and the black represents the black race and the black people of Ghana. These colours inspire us all to press on to achieve positive results for our party. (Interview, March 31, 2014)

The NPP Representative said,

> The red symbolises the blood shed by our fathers and supporters for the struggle of democracy for Ghana and to establish our party. The white represents purity of heart, joy and victory. Also, our blue stands for the sea which means power and richness – do you know the sea is very powerful and very rich in providing food for mankind? Yes, that is our party! (Interview, April 4, 2014)

It is interesting to note that, in Ghana, almost all political parties have the colour red in their party colours. In the responses above, all three responses claim that the red colour is very symbolic and represents the blood that was shed by their founding fathers. Suggesting that, each political party formation saw some sort of struggle that led to many founding members losing their lives. Again, it appears that theses

political party since their inception went through struggle to get their place in Ghana's political history. It also appears that there is not any sharp difference in terms of political colouration in Ghana.

Political Party Symbol

Symbols represent the history of a brand and indicate the origin, ownership and possible association for easy recall and identification (Keller 2008). The researcher sought to find out the motivations and meanings assigned to the various political parties' symbols. The CPP's respondent, CPPR said:

> Our symbol is a cock. The cock is a symbol chosen from the people of La in Accra and for the CPP, it signifies the need to wake up, awake for independence, consciousness for independence and freedom for the people of Africa. This symbol communicates a sense of alertness in us all –it ensures that our party gives the best to our people. (Interview, March 31, 2014)

In the case of NDC, the NDCR explained that,

> Our umbrella is very significant and it symbolizes our accommodative nature. Like you know, the umbrella provides shade when the sun is hot and it also provides covering when it is raining and it does so for all manner of persons. The umbrella does not choose whom it wants to serve; rather, it serves all who come into contact with it – that is the true nature of National Democratic Congress, the NDC. (Interview, March 31 2014)

The respondent for the NPP explained that,

> The elephant as a symbol for our party instills certain value in us. The elephant symbolises might, power, and stability. It is said that the elephant is very intelligent and caring and I am particularly enthused about the elephant because I watched a documentary about the elephant and how it fends for its offspring – it was amazing! Ghana would be a better place to live, if we could instill these virtues in our members. (Interview, April 4, 2014)

The tone and responses from the specific parties suggest that each political party believes in its symbol. The responses further show how passionate they are about their party symbols. It is also evident that, from the party's perspective, these symbols communicate the true nature of their respective political parties to the voting population and they believe the virtues that their symbols communicate is the very source of inspiration.

Political Party Policies

Political party policies revolve around societal issues such as education, unemployment, health, etc. In formulating policies, consideration must be made for the collective interest of the populace rather than of a few people (Baines et al. 1998). In this study, the researcher sought to find out the factors that influence the various policies of the political parties.

> "Our policies follow our ideological positions. We are socialist and so we believe in social mobilization. We strongly believe that majority should own our properties rather than just the few". These were the words of the CPP's respondent. (CPPR, March 31, 2014)

The NDC's situation with policy formulation is not different from the CPP. NDCR had this to say in response to the research question:

> Our policies are our messages carried out in our manifesto. Like I told you, we are a social democratic party and so our policies are dictated by our ideological position. Honestly, our policies are geared towards the benefit of all in our society – policies that will relieve majority of our people from poverty and suffering. (NDCR, March 31, 2014)

Once again the NPP, NDC and CPP share a common position on policy formulation. The NPPR also said that,

> We are centre-right party – we believe in rule of law, human right, free management economy, and property owning democracy as well as individual capabilities. Our party's policies reflect what we believe in –our ideological stance shapes our policies found in our manifesto. (NPPR, April 4, 2014)

Political Party Slogan

Political party slogans are short phrases that communicate descriptive and persuasive information about the political party. Political parties in Ghana have come up with different slogans during different elections and so the research sought to find out from practitioners the reasons for some of their slogans and the benefit that was derived.

To the CPP:

> Slogans are good and make the electioneering campaign much more interesting. Our slogans have helped to present a short message to the voting populace. In 2008 election our slogan was '**New Dawn, New Vision'**. However, in the last held election (2012), our slogan was '**Ghana must work again'**. These short messages communicated our intent and so anybody who believed in our message was part of our campaign. (CPPR, March 31, 2014)

The NDC also believes in the power of slogan because according to the respondent NDCR; slogans have worked for them and made their party more popular during elections. The respondent said:

> Our slogans are simple and represent what we stand for and what we want to achieve. Because our party is for the masses, our slogans are designed from the various regions by our supporters in their local dialect to communicate our messages. This makes our members feel truly part of the entire campaign and ginger them up for the task ahead. The slogan has worked so well for us over the years. (NDCR, March 31, 2014)

Similarly, the NPP also attested to how the use of slogan contributes positively towards building their party especially, during campaigns. The respondent said:

> Slogans are good and bring fun among party the faithful. Slogans help to make our party popular because most people love our slogan and shout it wherever they go. Most of our slogans communicate what we want to do and so most of our supporters buy into it and during rallies, the atmosphere gets charged when these slogans are mentioned. It brings about a sense of belongingness. (NPPR, March 31, 2014)

In the views of respondent, slogans communicate their intentions to facilitate association. All the respondents claim that the use of a slogan contributes to the popularity of their respective parties especially, during election campaigns. From the responses, it is evident that political parties believe in slogans and also think that slogan is important in brand awareness and recall and consequently contributes to building the political party's image.

Political Party Candidate

It is argued that voters use candidate attributes in making electoral decision (Lloyd 2003; Mensah 2011). Voter's ability to identify positively with the candidate and his image can even overshadow some degree of weakness in the candidate (Shoenwald 2007). The concept of image-building of political candidates and the perceptions of voters concerning the candidate contribute to the final outcome of competitive elections (Scammell 1999; Needham 2006). The study explored how political parties leverage their candidates' desirable attitudes in their bid for power. All respondents claimed that candidates were very important in positioning their party in the sense that the candidate leads and articulates the party's ability to solve societal issues.

According to the CPPR:

> Candidate should be able to help the party. For us the CPP, our vetting process determines the suitability of the candidate, but congress determines the one to lead the party. We are keen about someone who has shown loyalty to the party and understands contemporary politics. Our candidates have all won the various presidential debate held in Ghana prior to our 2012 national elections; it is just unfortunate that the CPP has not been able to increase its electoral votes, though we have consistently presented very good candidates. (Interview, March 31, 2014)

The NDC and NPP also believe that the ability of the candidate contributes to the success and branding of the party. According to these respondents, their various candidates have won some appeal for their parties.

The NDCR said that:

> We select candidates that believe in what the party believes in. We do not care about where you come from; 'tribalism and monecracy' is totally not part of our selection criteria. Candidates are very important because they really add up to our national fortunes. The NDC has selected good candidate and they have all contributed to our party winning in the elections. (Interview March 31, 2014)

The NPPR also said:

> Obviously, the political party leader has a hand in the party winning elections. If voters see the leader or candidate as capable, they will vote for the party. For the NPP, credibility of the leader is important – that is why we had people like Adu Boahene, John Kuffour and currently, we have Nana Addo Danquah Akuffo Addo. These are candidates whose credibility and intelligence cannot be questioned. (Interview, April 4, 2014)

The various responses about the political party candidate suggest that political parties share in the views of Needham ([2006]), White and de Chernatony ([2002]) and Worcester and Baines ([2006]). These studies posit that a political party candidate has the ability to contribute to the electoral fortunes of a political party. From the practitioners' point, they are particular about who leads their parties because they all believe that the candidate has a lot to do with respect to influencing voter choice and in selecting leaders. They ensure that they present candidates who would add to their credibility and are capable.

How Do Political Parties Manage Party Brand Elements to Influence Voter Choice?

All respondents agreed that the above-mentioned elements are relevant in building their party. Hence, it became necessary to find out how these elements are managed to build and brand their parties. Interestingly, respondents were unified in their view that because their respective parties are well established, they do little about their names,

colours, symbols and ideology. However, they manage candidates, slogan and policies to win votes.

Political Party Candidate Management

In developed countries, voters' perception and assessment of the candidate impacts on the fortunes of the candidates and their political party in a democratic setting (Norris 2001; Lloyd 2003; Worcester and Baines 2006). It is argued that the political party candidate as a product could have some positive attributes which could influence voter's choice (Schoenwald 2007; Needham 2006).

Political parties cannot easily influence voters' base on their core values alone; it is important to build an appeal around factors that voters perceive as desirable and acceptable of a political candidate to complement other factors for political advantage. Thus, employing a popular leader with acceptable characteristics to build political party brand is commendable (Mensah 2011; Needham 2006).

Political parties in responding to the research question explained that they manage their candidate by selecting highly competent people with leadership personalities, credibility, integrity, national appeal and have served in the party for a long time. All respondents claim they also look out for a unifier and a party builder whose qualities appeal to all. It was obvious in the discussion across all the political parties that political party candidate selection was the toughest activity for the parties. On managing candidate selection, the NDCR was quick to add that executive presidency by nature of our political system calls for a careful and thought-through selection of a leader.

Political Party Policy Management

All respondents indicated that their various parties' policies are shaped and directed by their ideological stance. They also explain that although their ideological position is a major influence, they are constantly in touch with their grassroots to know their pressing needs so that their

policies reflect how these identified needs can be met. The NPPR quickly followed up the discussion by saying:

> The NDCR also claims our message to win more and more vote – it is our manifesto which captures all the policies we seek to implement when given the power. In the 2012 election, we had good policies; that is how come we won the election. We develop policies that reflect real issues on the ground; our policies are our sacred promises to the people of our country. (Interview, March 31, 2014)

The responses above give an indication that political party policy statements are "personalised" to reflect how individual lives would be enhanced so that those who clearly understand how they seek to benefit as an individual from the content of the various manifestoes would vote for them.

Presentation and Analysis of Survey Findings

RQ3: Does political party branding influence voter's choice?

A survey was conducted to answer this question and the findings are subsequently presented. A thorough data screening process was performed on the 450 questionnaires distributed. A total of 400 questionnaires were valid and used for the study.

Demographic Profile of Respondents

Out of the respondents sampled for the study, 49.5% males and 50.5% females with 80.8% between ages of 26–45 years. There were also 14.2% within the ages of 18–25 years and 4.0% of the sampled respondents within the ages of 46–60 years. The remaining 1.0% of the sampled respondents were above the age of 60. In terms of education, 70.5% of the respondents had a master's degree, 4.8% had Ph.D.s and 24.8% were undergraduate students. From this, it could be deduced that all the sampled respondents had higher education. In

addition, 17.3% had voted just once while the remaining 83.7% had cumulatively voted either twice or more in general elections. An assessment of their political affiliations indicated that about 47.3%, 35.8% and 14.8% were attracted to the NPP, NDC and CPP, respectively. The remaining 2.3% were attracted to other parties (Table 4.1).

Table 4.2 presents the results for the descriptive statistics relating to all the variables in the model to determine the relative mean and standard deviations.

The *t*-test Table 4.2 displays the means and standard deviations of the various variables used and these indicate the extent to which the respondents agreed or disagreed with the statements in the questionnaire. The mean results of the variables indicate how each statement performed from the 400 respondents' points of view. From the table,

Table 4.1 Profile of respondents

Profile	Measurements	Frequency	Percent
Age	18–25	57	14.2
	26–45 years	323	80.8
	46–60 years	16	4.0
	Above 60 years	4	1.0
	Total	400	100
Gender	Male	198	49.5
	Female	202	50.5
	Total	400	100
Educational level	Undergraduate	99	24.8
	Masters	282	70.5
	Ph.D.	19	4.8
	Total	400	100
Number of times voted	1	69	17.3
	2	123	30.8
	3	117	29.3
	4	58	14.5
	5	16	4.0
	6	17	4.3
	Total	400	100
Political party that attracts you	NPP	189	47.3
	CPP	59	14.8
	NDC	143	35.8
	Other	9	2.3
	Total	400	100

the highest means were 4.3 (the candidate's integrity and credibility is important) and 4.1450 (the political party's name is easy to pronounce) whilst the lowest were 2.8000 (the political party's colours influence my choice and vote) as well as 2.8950 (ethnicity is considered in selecting the candidate). From this, there is an indication that sampled voters agreed that a political party's candidate's integrity and credibility is important as well as having a party name easy to pronounce.

Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA)

A factor analysis was conducted to detect relationships among the variables contributing to the factors identified from the literature review. Prior to the extraction of factors, the Bartlett test of Sphericity (Approx. Chi-square = 9460.753, df. 741, sig. 0.000) and the KMO measure of sampling adequacy (value of 0.935) confirmed that there was significant correlation among the variables to warrant the application of exploratory factor analysis. Only variables whose eigenvalues were equal or greater than 1 were selected (Malhotra and Birks 2007). In addition, variables with loadings of at least 0.5 and factors with a reliability threshold of 0.7 (Hair et al. 2010) were selected for the analysis. In the initial exploration, all the 39 variables were factor analysed in an attempt to identify latent variables explaining the respondents' views on each of the factors, identify the relationship between different latent variables, identify the smallest possible number of variables that measures the constructs to simplify the proposed framework, as well as explaining the inter-correlations among observed variables. The variables measuring the factors were found to explain altogether a satisfactory 64.173% of the total variance.

Multiple Regression Analysis

A multiple regression analysis was performed to test and validate the hypotheses of the study. Results from the multiple regressions were used to analyse the relationship between voters' political party choice and its determinants. This was done to extract the independent variables that

Table 4.2 *t*-test (descriptive statistics)

Variables	N	Mean	Std. dev.	Std. error
The political party's issues and policy positions are a reflection of their ideology	400	3.9500	0.99497	0.04975
The political party's ideology helps in building its image	400	4.0575	0.88098	0.04405
The political party's ideology helps in attracting voters	400	3.9200	1.01300	0.05065
The political party's ideology determines their style of governance	400	3.9250	1.00842	0.05042
Ideology influences my choice of political party to support	400	3.9850	0.99612	0.04981
The political party's ideology influences my vote	400	4.0150	1.00613	0.05031
The political party has a clear ideological position	400	3.9200	0.97775	0.04889
The political party's ideology is well communicated to voters	400	3.6675	1.09313	0.05466
Political party's candidate is central to selecting a political party	400	3.8575	1.07007	0.05350
Ethnicity is considered in selecting the candidate	400	2.8950	1.40496	0.07025
The candidate's integrity and credibility is important	400	4.2525	0.98802	0.04940
The candidates selected are on top of issues on the ground	400	3.9100	1.00968	0.05048
The candidate affects my choice of political party	400	3.7500	1.20046	0.06002
The candidate is competent and has a national appeal	400	4.0550	0.96140	0.04807
The candidate helps me to differentiate my party from others	400	3.9125	1.05955	0.05298
The political party is in touch with grassroots to obtain views on issues on the ground to inform policies	400	3.8025	1.04701	0.05235
The political party has clear policies detailed in their manifesto	400	3.9300	0.99628	0.04981
The political party's policies reflect real issues on the ground	400	3.7700	1.09549	0.05477
Political party's policies influence my choice and vote	400	4.0350	0.95449	0.04772
Political party's policies help me to clearly differentiate my party from others	400	4.0325	0.94003	0.04700
The political party's name is easy to pronounce	400	4.1450	1.02303	0.05115

Table 4.2 (continued)

Variables	N	Mean	Std. dev.	Std. error
The political party's name helps me to identify with the party	400	3.7725	1.16367	0.05818
The political party's name influences my choice of party and vote	400	3.1500	1.27340	0.06367
The political party's name resonates easily with the voter	400	3.7575	0.98545	0.04927
The political party's name communicates something unique about the party	400	3.7975	0.96115	0.04806
The political party's colours mean a lot to me	400	3.1050	1.31083	0.06554
Each colour has a meaning which influences the party's activities	400	3.3375	1.07073	0.05354
The political party's colours influence my choice and vote	400	2.8000	1.21808	0.06090
The party has easy to recognise colours	400	3.9200	1.00305	0.05015
The political party's symbol is of importance to me	400	3.5925	1.17255	0.05863
The political party's symbol influences the party's activities	400	3.4625	1.17774	0.05889
The political party's symbol influences my choice and vote	400	3.2425	1.30497	0.06525
The political party's symbol depicts what the party stands for	400	3.6550	1.16161	0.05808
The political party's symbol has a historical linkage	400	3.7450	1.09452	0.05473
The slogan of the political party is relevant in winning votes	400	3.7375	1.02284	0.05114
The slogan of the political party influences my choice and votes	400	3.2575	1.12666	0.05633
The slogan of the political party helps me to differentiate the party from others	400	3.8275	0.93805	0.04690
The slogan helps me to easily associate myself with a political party	400	3.5425	1.06585	0.05329
The slogan is short and attractive	400	3.9550	0.91107	0.04555

can better explain the dependent variable. Voters choice was used as the dependent variable whilst the independent variables were represented by political party ideology, political party symbol, political party policy, political party slogan, political party name, political party colour and political party candidate. Table 4.3 presents a summary of the multiple

Table 4.3   Multiple regression analysis results

		SE	B	t		Sig.
(Constant)[a]		0.195		2.285		0.023
Party ideology		0.057	0.269	5.314		0.000
Party candidate		0.057	0.085	1.509		0.132
Party policy		0.064	0.300	4.963		0.000
Party name		0.050	0.047	1.002		0.317
Party colours		0.044	0.146	3.302		0.001
Party symbol		0.042	0.016	0.337		0.737
Party slogan		0.046	0.028	0.615		0.539
R	0.702			**SE of estimate**		0.63236
R-square	0.493			**F-statistics**		54.431
Adj. R-square	0.484			**Prob. (F-stats.)**		0.000

[a]Dependent variable: voter choice

regression least squares results for the dependent and independent variables.

The results from the regression indicate that there is a strong and significant reliability between variables used for the model to represent political party choice and its drivers ($F = 54.431$, Prob. F-stats < 0.05). The R-square value in the model summary depicts the degree of variance in the variables. From the table, it was found that R-square value $= 0.493$. Expressed as a percentage, it is found that the model consisting of independent variables (political party ideology, political party symbol, political party policy, political party slogan, political party name, political party colour and political party candidate) could be explained by 49.3% of the variance in voter political party choice, an important indication of the relevance of the model. The adjusted R-squared value is 0.484 and this according to Hair et al. (2006) is good for exploratory studies which test any phenomenon without theoretically established scales.

On the individual results, party ideology was found to have the greatest influence on the sampled voter's choice of party. The second contributor to voter party choice in Ghana is Political party policy. The third determinant of political party choice is party colours. Although the remaining four factors namely Party Candidate, Party name, Party symbol and Party Slogan had positive relationships with the sampled

Table 4.4   Summary of hypothesis tests

Hypotheses	Hypothesised effect on party choice	Findings	Conclusion
H_1	+	+	Accepted
H_2	+	−	Rejected
H_3	+	+	Accepted
H_4	+	−	Rejected
H_5	+	−	Rejected
H_6	+	+	Accepted
H_7	+	−	Rejected

voter's choice of political parties, they were statistically insignificant in the current study. Hence, three of the seven proposed hypotheses were confirmed and the remaining four failed to meet statistical significance. Table 4.4 summarises the results of the hypothesis tests.

Discussion of Results

In examining the effect of political party branding on voter's choice, it was found that political party ideology from the sampled voter's perspective had the greatest influence. This implies that Ghanaian voters consider the philosophical stance influencing a particular political party in making a political choice. This agrees with the findings of Erikson and Tedin (2003) and of Jost (2006), who argued that ideology affects citizens' political attitude and it is one of the strongest and most consistent predictor of political preference. Practitioners interviewed also agreed to the assertion.

The study also revealed that policies are important in influencing voters' choice. Voters review political party policies and assess its impact on themselves before choosing the political party. The content of manifestoes is relevant to voters and the position of sampled voters are in conformity with findings and argument of Baines et al. (1998) that policies are relevant in election campaigning because it has the ability to win votes. Political parties also believe that the policies must be representative of real issues and happenings that affect the daily lives of voters in order to influence them positively.

Conclusion

This study is in agreement with the findings of Marsh and Fawcett (2011) that systematic branding in politics can be used to sell the political product of the party to the electorate. Voters, like consumers, have all the power to vote a candidate into office. Consequently, political parties must carefully plan and coordinate their activities. This involves employing branding principles to explain and present the parties ability to deliver on said "promises" in a way that will influence voters' choice of a political party.

Furthermore, the study concludes that political party branding is relevant in today's politics because it is the way to avoid "political confusion". Reeves et al. (2006) among others, posit that branding is the fore-runner and the driver of campaign strategies and encourages political parties to identify, differentiate and instill political offerings of emotional and functional values to enhance voters appeal and attachment. Recent Ghanaian electoral results indicate that voters prefer political parties whose manifesto promises are of relevance to them. Political parties must thus formulate policies that are of interest and benefit to the voter and clearly communicate their implementation to the voter (Mensah 2011; O'Cass and Voola 2011). Voters like customers prefer value.

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5

Political Financing and Fund-Raising in Ghana

Ibrahim Bedi

Abstract Political party financing and fund-raising and its influence on corruption and securing political office and contracts have occupied the public space over the last decade. The study is an attempt to understand political financing in Ghana and its effects on parties. The interpretative approach was employed by conducting interviews with officers of political parties involved in financial management. Political financing has been left in the hands of a few 'rich' members and 'friends' of the parties. Political parties use indirect means of raising funds. Political parties are exposed to pressure to meet the request of financiers when in power and to select sympathizers for positions in the party. The study requires parties to institute efficient fund-raising measures to encourage supporters to contribute financially to the parties to prevent a few from adversely influencing the party to their benefit.

Keywords Political financing · Fund-raising · Political parties · Ghana

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Introduction

Political party funding is a topical issue in Africa, with calls for national funding to reduce the levels of corruption in governance. According to Aryee et al. (2007), the situation where parties are funded by a small group of rich individuals or organisations is not good for the sustainability of Africa's democracy. The major parties have large membership but this does not translate to funds. The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) in 2006 posited in the country report on Ghana that fund-raising is an area of weakness the parties must address (IDEA 2006). The parties require funds for electoral campaigns, to cater for operational cost and overheads, to retain organisational image to mobilise membership and to communicate their manifestos (Aryee et al. 2007). Adequate financing of the parties is important to ensure the vibrancy and competitiveness required to nurture a transparent democracy (Nam-Katoti et al. 2011).

The parties are quick to talk about inadequate funding but slow to discuss how much money is raised, ways of raising the funds and how the funds are used (IDEA 2006). Studies on Ghana have centered on public funding of political parties. Aryee et al. (2007) argue for the public to support funding of the political parties. A later study by Nam-Katoti et al. (2011) concludes that the public do not support public financing of political parties. Political parties with more members than other non-governmental organisations should be in a position to raise its own funds. The difficulty associated with meeting financial needs can be resolved with prudent financial and investment decisions. Therefore, this study sought to examine strategies for the financing of political parties and the usage of such funds with the aim of understanding the financing gaps confronting them. Public funding is good but would impose stricter obligations on the parties compared to self-financing. In addition, the parties have large followings which present them with an opportunity to raise funds internally. A party's ability to mobilise funds from members is a test of trust, commitment and support. Political activism sometimes results in death and mayhem. Some members of political parties are so passionate about their parties and would do

everything possible to see their parties succeed. This is due to the love and passion members have for the party. Therefore, it should be possible for the parties to motivate members to show commitment and trust in the party through financial support. This support should be possible to galvanise, through financial integrity and confidence on the part of the parties. CDD (2005) recommends that political parties should intensify efforts at raising funds in order to create opportunities to mobilise sufficient funds for their activities.

Political party financing is necessary for good governance and curbing corruption which leads to political appointments and awards of contracts to repay financiers of the parties (Aryee et al. 2007). Boafo-Arthur (1998) as cited by Aryee et al. (2007) found a positive correlation between party financial resources, organisational effectiveness and democratic processes. Political parties are necessary to sustain democracy and political pluralism. Therefore, academics must contribute to political financing via research to understand financing decisions and recommend ways of political parties becoming self-financed. Public funding of political parties has widely been discussed in various literature but little has been done for it to be institutionalised. The parties need to survive to maintain democracy and good governance. As a result, research must be done to provide solutions for self-financing. The long-term public funding of political parties in Africa cannot be guaranteed considering the myriad of financial challenges in the provision of educational, social and health services.

This study discusses how political parties in Ghana raise and use funds. The objectives of the study are:

- To identify strategies used by political parties to raise funds.
- To examine adverse influence of internal and external contributions on the party.
- To examine investing decisions of political parties.

The rest of the paper discusses the literature review, the methods of data collection, findings and discussions and finally ends with the conclusion, recommendations and policy implications.

Literature Review

The management of a party is capital intensive, meaning it requires a detailed programme of fund mobilisation. Inadequate funding of parties has been cited as one of the weaknesses identified in political parties in Ghana (CDD 2005). Aryee et al. (2007) also discovered that organisational and structural weaknesses of political parties in Ghana are attributed to low funding of the parties. The need for financing of parties is aggravated by increasing organisational demands. Building a political party requires financing and diverse fund-raising strategies are employed (Shillington 1992). Austin (1964) alluded that party financing began as a voluntary contribution or donation by wealthy people. This has been noted to cause corruption and undue influence in political appointments and award of contracts (Griner and Zovatto 2005). Additionally, modern political competition and its financial demands cannot be borne by a few individuals (Aryee et al. 2007). This realisation has led to the introduction of membership dues and levies. Nam-Katoti et al. (2011) found membership dues as one fund-raising strategy used by all political parties. Biezen (2003) argues that membership dues are used because it is voluntary and does not give members an opportunity to significantly influence the party. However, research has shown that membership dues do not provide all the funds required by political parties (Nam-Katoti et al. 2011). The Political Parties Law (Act 574 of 2000) does not limit the amount of dues a party can collect. The onus is on the party to exploit this medium to raise the needed funds via marketing and providing value to members who contribute.

Donations from party members, philanthropists and sponsorships from businesses have been found to be largest source of party funding in Ghana (Nam-Katoti et al. 2011). Ninsin (2006) indicates that constituencies raise donations through local level fund-raising activities. Party activists usually donate and support the party financially as the need arises. Donation is heavily relied on by the party in government because it provides an avenue to move public funds to the party via contracts to members (Austin and Tjernstrom 2003). The political party in power would

only award contracts and fund contracts to their members as a compensation for their efforts and support to the party.

Another revenue source of parties is the sale of paraphernalia and memorabilia (Nam-Katoti et al. 2011). Ninsin (2006) concludes that profit from party owned businesses also provides funds and all the major parties in Ghana rely on such profits (Nam-Katoti et al. 2011). However, the profits from party business cannot be said to be reliable or sufficient for party activities. The filing fees of candidates contesting positions in the party provide another source of finance (IDEA 2006). However, this source is one-off and there is a limit to how much can be charged so wealth is not made the criterion for holding a party position.

Political party financing either internally or externally besides its benefits comes with various challenges. The source where the funds are raised could lead to political patronage and corruption (Biezen and Kopecky 2007). In some instances, large donors to parties hold directorship in state institutions which affects disciplinary procedures involving them (Aryee et al. 2007). Financiers of political parties become 'king makers' with attendant problems and party disharmony. The Political Parties Law Act 574 of 2000 prevents foreigners from donating to political parties to prevent foreign influences in governance. The State, Ministries, Departments and Agencies of Ghana are not permitted by the law to donate directly to parties. This prevents a ruling party from abusing the privileges associated with incumbency. The governing party faces challenges with party financiers after awarding contracts to party member via inflated value of contracts because they are made to pay 'kickbacks' or finance party activities for getting the contract (Aryee et al. 2007).

The finances of a party are spent on operational issues such as rallies, congresses, transportation, training, salaries and allowances, rent, utilities and other operational expenses (IDEA 2006). A substantial amount of the revenue goes to preparing and paying for items associated with elections. A few parties also spend on office building in terms of construction or acquisition because majority operate from rented premises or building donated by members (IDEA 2006). There is dearth of literature to show that political parties invest in capital or money market instruments. Political parties in the face of financial

challenges and demand for government support yet they compete with other parties on marketing and advertising on equal measure and fail to invest in securities to cater for the future. The theory of finance suggests spend less when there is deficit. Therefore, political parties can ameliorate financial difficulties by prudent spending, investing in financial assets and maximising revenue generation.

Method and Data

The interpretive research paradigm was employed and structured interviews were conducted. There are 24 registered political parties in Ghana according to the list on the website of Electoral Commission (EC). The study employed purposive sampling to select all the parties with representation in parliament. This resulted in four parties comprising National Democratic Congress (NDC) , New Patriotic Party (NPP), Convention Peoples Party (CPP) and Peoples National Convention (PNC). In addition, four other parties based on media visibility were selected. These parties are Great Consolidated Popular Party (GCPP), Progressive Peoples Party (PPP), United Progressive Party (UPP) and Ghana Freedom Party (GFP). The parties without members of parliament are included because these parties have founders and leaders seen as the sole financiers of the party. The profile of the respondents for the study is shown in Table 5.1:

The respondents were interviewed on the same themes as discussed in the next section.

Findings and Discussions

This section discusses the findings of the study using the three themes below:

Table 5.1 List of interviews

Interviewee code	Status
001	Financial secretary of a party
002	General secretary of a party
003	Member of finance committee of a party
004	Financial secretary of a party
005	Financial secretary of a party
006	Leader of a party
007	Member of finance committee of a party
008	Secretary general of a party

Fund-Raising Strategies

The respondents cite donations by a few members as the major source of party financing. The parties normally appeal to benevolent members for support in financing party activities. There are members who financially support the party including donations of vehicles or accommodation for meetings. Some members absorb the cost of meetings and programmes in some instances. The study is consistent with the findings of Aryee et al. (2007) who identified donations as a significant portion of party funding. A challenge arises when members who are large donors threaten to resign or become apathetic to party activities when aggrieved. In the case of the four parties without parliamentarians, the founder-leader was cited as the major financier of the party. The respondents bemoaned that a considerable number of members do not donate to the party and this captured in the comment below.

> Many party members just associate with the party for their personal gains. You would scarcely see a party member making a financial donation or commitment so we keep relying on the few generous ones and friends of the party who don't bear party cards. (Interviewee 005, 2015)

The demand for party positions is rife particularly as presidential and parliamentary candidates. The four major parties (NDC, NPP, CPP and PNC) stated that an average of three to six members usually show interest as presidential candidates. Therefore, filing fees ranging between GHS5,000 to GHS50,000 is charged to raise funds and

to regulate the number of contestants. The other parties usually have the founder-leader being a sole presidential candidate. The increase in the number of party members aspiring to be members of parliament has grown as well. The number of contestants for safe constituencies (well-known constituency where the party always win) is mostly high. The parties use this opportunity to charge fees to maximise revenue. However, parties without safe seats do not have this demand so generate less because they charge low fees to attract members to contest. However, this revenue comes once in every 4 years but is good as this Interviewee states:

> The popular parties make a lot of money getting to elections years because today a lot of professionals want to become MPs and they have the money to pay, knowing that once you win the primaries, you are the MP. (Interviewee 001, 2015)

The study finds that the parties have not considered raising funds by investing a portion of the filing fees in years where many members contest. Again, the parties can create a fund where members with ambitions to contest are made to demonstrate commitment through regular contributions. This would deter opportunistic members from showing up and sometimes winning the contest without substantial financial contribution to the party. Nevertheless, the poor should not be discriminated against in such an endeavour.

Parties could have generated considerable revenue through membership dues if all members of a party would pay. The major parties boast of 2–3 million members. However, only a few party members religiously pay the dues. The parties are yet to find effective ways of ensuring members honour the payment of dues. An interviewee for this study demonstrated how the parties could be financially sufficient if members would pay monthly dues:

> We have 1–2 million people who claim to be party members and loyalists. If every one of them would contribute GHS1 each monthly, the parties would be raising GHS1–2 million monthly and GHS12–24 million

yearly. This would be enough to run the party and to stop pestering the few generous donors. (Interviewee, 007)

The study found that a party now uses mobile money transfer to collect membership dues on a monthly basis from members. Members activate an automatic transfer from their mobile credit to the Party. The monthly deduction is a minimum of GHS1 (or 24US cents). However, Interviewee 002 said some of members stopped after a few months. This approach was adopted to promote financial commitment by members including the poor and to reduce the adverse influence large donors have on the Party. In addition, this method was to offer non-members particularly sympathisers of the party to contribute as well but it is yet to achieve this objective. The parties do not attract funding with non-members (both individuals and corporate bodies) because party funding has been politicised and such persons do not want to be associated to any party.

Another party also indicated that they have an online platform that allows members to contribute to the Party. Members who want to contribute are given a log-in credential to do so and to contribute. This platform is meant to expand the reach of the party to members all over the world. These donations are from non-residents living outside Ghana who are party members. Again, members have not been contributing as expected. The attraction of membership contributions requires an attached value and enforcement. The Parties may have to consider allocating a domain to each member on their websites for logging into view membership status, opportunities and uploading personal profile for networking. The system should block members who have not paid their dues. This system, however, may not be suitable to illiterate party members. The Parties are unable to enforce rules on non-payment of dues because party politics in Ghana is all about votes so no one wants to do anything to lose votes.

The paraphernalia of parties are usually on sale in markets. However, the respondents revealed that the income goes to private pockets with no payments of royalties to the party. The dealers produce pirated products because the Party has no financial resources to manufacture or import them. Therefore, income from paraphernalia is minimal

and rather enriches private people. Interviewee 008 indicated that some of these people are party members and others are members of other parties. However, because it is a good business, they import the paraphernalia of the major parties to sell.

Interviewee 1 said "no party can claim party business yields and any substantial revenue. There is nothing like party business because they are registered as non-profit making so whatever is sold covers cost with insignificant returns to the party". This finding contradicts that of Nam-Katoti et al. (2011) which assert that parties rely on profit for funding.

Internal and External Influences of Party Financing

According to Interviewee 002, the Parties are hijacked by major donors and this consequently leads to factions and divisions. The factionalism arises because the donors align themselves with aspirants they hope they can recoup their financing from, if they win. According to an Interviewee, some powerful donors use offensive language to show how they perceive a party as seen in the following statement:

> We are the owners of the party and we make the party what it is.

Party financing leads to lobbying for political position for self and others. In Ghana, donors lobby for party positions and political appointment on the basis of contributions. The study supports the assertion of Griner and Zovatto (2005) that political party funding by major donors leads to corruption. Interviewee 004 said:

> Some members threaten the party to withdraw financial supports because they've not been given a political appointment.

Political party financing creates opportunity for financiers to be awarded contracts with inflated prices to recoup the support they have offered the party. It also creates a situation where donors feel entitled to government contracts thereby deepening corruption and/or its perception. This study

supports Biezen and Kopecky (2007) that party funding leads to political patronage.

The respondents expressed the embarrassment parties endure when financiers express their frustration and dissatisfaction with the party to the public via the media. They lamented how major donors, instead of using internal party structures to resolve the issue, publicly criticise the party because of the bad reputation they have of the party. This is by the sense of entitlement and less respect for the party because they fund the party.

Investing Activities of Parties

The parties spend 50–60% of regular revenue from membership dues and occasional donations on paying for operational expenses such as salaries and allowances, rent, utilities and training. During election sessions, major donations are used to pay for television and radio commercials as well as newspaper advertisements. The respondents mentioned that organising a major rallies and congresses is very expensive. These events require accommodating member or guests, transportation and feeding cost of delegates, cost of hiring and decorating venues as well as the cost of hiring sound and music equipment. This expenditure pattern is similar to those identified by Aryee et al. (2007). The giant billboards, posters and flyers associated with campaigning drain party resources though some may be directly sponsored by members. The cost of recruiting polling agents and allowances for such persons during and after elections is another area that consumes political party revenue.

The respondents vehemently disagreed on whether a party can invest in the capital or money market under the current operating conditions. According to them, party resources are scarce making it impossible to save or invest. The limited funding makes it difficult to invest in properties particular party offices. Party offices are usually donated except the party in government who usually are capable of acquiring them.

Conclusions

The study establishes that members of political parties need to be motivated and value must be offered to increase financial contributions and commitment. This would reduce the over-dependence on the few major donors who manipulate parties for personal reward. The parties do not earn significantly from the sale of party paraphernalia because there is no royalty or commission arrangement between the parties and dealers.

Recommendations and Policy Implications

The study strongly recommends that Electoral Commission of Ghana enforce rules on political financing so that major donors realise that financing a party must be voluntary without any attached strings. Ghana must de-politicise funding of political parties through education and political actions so that individuals and corporate bodies would contribute without being victimised by opposing parties. Alternatively, a national political party fund could be established under the management of the Electoral Commission for individuals and companies to donate in support of the parties' activities. The parties must invest in money market securities to save and increase income.

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Political Party Financing and Reporting in Ghana: Practitioner Perspectives

Alban S. K. Bagbin and Albert Ahenkan

Abstract The issue of political party financing is probably one of the most discussed political issue among political parties in Ghana. Over the years, weaknesses and poor performance of political parties has been largely blamed on the inadequate funding of political parties. The chapter seeks to increase awareness and promote informed national discourse on the issue of political party financing in Ghana. The study was as a result a critical review of literature pertaining to the political party financing across the world. The review was also spiced with expert consultations and interviews on political party financing in Ghana. The study revealed that to date, political parties in Ghana have resorted to four principal sources funding their operations. Major political parties in Ghana are funded privately either through donations made by

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111

institutions, kickbacks and corruption, fund-raising or membership dues, and nomination fees paid by aspirants of executive positions in political parties as well as parliamentary and presidential aspirants during party primaries and congress. The lack of state funding of political parties accounts for the lack of political party dynamism and encourages the abuse of incumbency, political support and corruption that, in turn, undermine political party competitiveness, thereby undermining the entire system of multiparty democracy in Ghana. The paper recommends for the establishment of a number of schemes to support political parties in Ghana including a regulated fund, common fund and matching funds for political parties.

Introduction

The definition of democracy as governance of the people, for the people and by the people resonates in many democratic settings today. Although the direct form of democracy envisioned by Aristotle, where all men and women could directly participate in the governance of their polities, can be seen as a more ideal manner to operationalize the definition of democracy. The real-world situation has meant that citizens have to govern indirectly through their elected representatives.

Election is an important tenet of democracy. It provides opportunities for ordinary men and women to decide either to lead or elect representatives to lead them and by so doing contribute to the governance of their societies. Political parties provide a better governance mechanism for ordinary citizens to elect the representatives in elections than autocratic governance. Among other things, political parties organize the citizens and provide options/choices for citizens to freely decide which party or candidate could best represent their socio-economic interests. Without political parties, the diverse social demands of sundry supporters and voters might never be represented in parliament, government and administration (Nassmacher 2003). An attempt to practice a

democracy devoid of political parties taught Ugandans and the world a bitter lesson. It is, thus, inconceivable to imagine a democracy without the active operation of political parties.

Sustained and consolidated democracies are therefore inextricably linked to well-functioning political parties. The corollary is that where political parties are weak, democratic culture becomes very fragile and stands the risk of extinction. The question of making political parties viable through effective financing is one that requires urgent attention if political parties are ever going to play any viable governance role. Yet political parties in much of Africa, but also other parts of the third world, are fiscally malnourished and thus need to be shored up to be able to effectively contribute to democratic consolidation.

At the same time, the sources of funds for political parties could potentially defeat the purpose of democratic governance. Thus, questions of how political parties are funded; the consequences of political party financing and how political party financing is regulated require even more urgent attention. In this chapter, we addressed these questions with particular emphasis on political party financing in Ghana. But to better appreciate political party financing in Ghana, I will first examine the global trend in party financing.

Political Party Financing: The Global Trend

All over the world, two main sources of funds for political party financing exist: public (state) funding and private funding. These sources are more pronounced in some parts of the world than in others.

Public Funding

Public finance of political parties is any contribution, either in cash or in kind given by the state to cover either part or all of the expenses of political parties. The purpose is to create a level playing field for political parties to compete for political power. In most established and fledgling democracies, however, the costs incurred by political parties and candidates are subsidized by the state.

Western Europe

In Western European countries such as the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, The Netherlands, Spain and Sweden, public subsidies are made available by the state to political parties and their candidates with the number of seats or votes won by each party or candidate as the standard criteria for disbursement of public subsidy (Nassmacher 2003).

France, for instance, has since 1988, provided subsidies for political parties and candidates. Costs of propaganda and campaigning by individual candidates are covered by the state whereas campaign grants are made available for parties during legislative, administrative and presidential elections. Nonetheless, candidates must win a minimum of 5% of the votes either at the constituency, municipal and regional elections in order to receive a subsidy of 50% of the election-spending limit sanctioned by the state. Presidential candidates are given a refund of a third of their legal spending limit (Nassmacher 2003).

A more elaborate form of public funding exists in Spain. There are two houses or chambers of national parliament and 17 regional parliaments. For each seat won by a political party in one of the two chambers of national parliament, that party is paid a fixed amount. Parties are also paid an amount for each vote received in the election of senators and representatives. Moreover, there exists financial aid to cover campaign expenses while caucuses in the 17 regional parliaments receive grants (Nassmacher 2003).

Contrary to these examples, subsidies in cash barely exist in the United Kingdom and are strongly opposed by the public. Public funding comes mainly in kind such as free election broadcasts and postal services for political parties and candidates during campaign periods and short money for opposition parties in the House of Commons that secured at least two seats. Nonetheless against the backdrop of the role of political parties in public policy formulation and implementation, the UK Political Parties Law (Act 574 of 2000) was enacted to provide financial support for political parties in the area of policy research. Prior to this Act, political parties in the UK invested their resources on routine election campaign expenditure at the peril of policy development.

A Policy Development Fund was created into which the government paid £2 million annually to be disbursed among registered political parties (Committee on Standards of Public Life 1998).

Anglo-Saxon Orbit

In some 'Anglo-Saxon Orbit' countries like Australia, Canada and the United States of America, there are public funds for political parties though generally, parties must be able to report on campaign expenses and provide receipts for reimbursement. In Australia, for example, a party that wins at least 4% of all first-preference votes cast qualifies for public subsidies (Nassmacher 2003; Political Parties, Elections and Referendums Act 2000).

In Canada, registered political parties that are able to win 2% of the votes cast at the election or 5% of the votes cast in the electoral districts are reimbursed 22.5% of their documented expenses. Candidates on the other hand are entitled to 50% reimbursement of their election expenses.

In the United States, there is a Presidential Election Campaign Fund that provides grants for parties' national convention where presidential and vice presidential candidates are nominated. The Fund also covers the expenses of election campaigns incurred by both the Republican and Democratic Candidates.

Latin America

A majority of Latin American countries have public funding provisions. Public funding is either direct, involving cash subsidies or indirect in kind such as training. Funding in subsidies is available for daily administration of political parties only, election campaigns or a combination of the two. Moreover, there are some countries like Brazil, Bolivia, Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, Mexico and Panama that fund policy research of political parties (Zovatto 2003). Parties must, however, either obtain or have a minimum percentage of votes or parliamentary representation to qualify for public subsidy.

Asia

Public finance of political parties is very popular in many Asian democracies. A total of eight countries including Indonesia, Japan, Maldives, Mongolia, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand and Timor-Leste provide regular subsidies to cover election and non-election activities while Sri Lanka and Bhutan provide campaign related subsidies (Falguera et al. 2012). In 2012, South Korea provided $41.15 million as election subsidies to seven parties through the National Election Commission. Parties that had female candidates attracted a total subsidy of $1.35 million. Major political parties in Japan, such as the LDP, depend largely on public subsidies while the state of Bhutan fully funds campaigns of political parties through the Public Election Funds Law. In Bhutan, even posters and postcards of candidates are paid for by the Electoral Commission.

Africa

The story of public funding of political parties in Africa is very different. Although as of 2002, fourteen of the more than 53 African countries funded political parties, only three of these countries, namely South Africa, Morocco and Seychelles, provide enough sums to significantly cover the expenses of political parties (Saffu 2003). South Africa is among the few African countries that provide public funding for political parties and the expenditure of public funds by political parties is carefully regulated and closely monitored. By contrast, private funding of political parties is almost wholly unregulated and public disclosure of party incomes and expenditures is entirely discretionary (EISA 2011).

Arguably, the wave of democratization in Africa did not come with elaborate legal provisions on public funding of political parties. The relative absence of such legal provisions obviously favoured incumbents at the point of transition. Subsequently, opposition parties that managed to either topple incumbents or win elections preserved the status quo on public finance of political parties.

In Zambia and Uganda, opposition parties that deposed incumbents instantly declared their antithesis to public funding of political parties in order to make opposition parties financially weak so that they can consolidate their regimes. Following the overthrow of Idi Amin of Uganda by Yoweri Museveni, the latter has been strongly opposed to public funding of political parties while he has unrestrained access to the public largesse. In Ghana, the state supported political parties with vehicles in the 1992 and 1996 elections. The Ghanaian public did not take kindly to this. Consequently, when the NPP took over power in 2001, the government could not continue the support.

Where legislation on public funding exists in Africa, they are deliberately designed to prop up incumbents and stifle the opposition. Throughout the 1990s, parties that obtained at least 10% or more of 150 seats of Parliament in Zimbabwe qualified for state subvention. But this threshold was simply unrealistic for parties that not only lacked the wherewithal to compete effectively but also faced systematic threats by the ruling ZANU-PF party.

Private Funding

Unlike public funding, the sources of private funding of political parties are multifaceted including plutocratic funding, grass-root financing and returns on investments. Plutocratic financing basically involves large donations made by institutions, corporations such as trade unions and wealthy party financiers to political parties to finance their activities. The monies paid to parties by these corporations are often referred to as 'interested money' in that the donors either have a genuine interest in democratic politics or "ulterior motives for political contributions" (Nassmacher 2003). Such financiers have more influence on political decisions in the country due to their financial contributions. Plutocratic financing straddle global politics but are more pronounced in some parts of the world than in others.

In most Western European countries where state subventions of political parties are available, plutocratic financing is on the decline. Nonetheless in places like Sweden, though the introduction of state

subsidies culminated in the withering of institutional funding of political parties, the Swedish Trade Union Confederation continues to provide funds for the social democrats (Nassmacher 2003). Where legislations prohibit plutocratic financing such as in Spain, more direct corrupt practices of party financing such as kickbacks and toll gating emerged. In the mid 1990s, for example, it was revealed that individuals with public license to operate casinos in Catalonia had to make some fee payment to the ruling party (Nassmacher 2003).

It is interesting to note that in much of Africa, especially where democracy is synonymous with periodic elections such as Cameroon and Togo, ruling parties that have clung onto power for several decades have established political connections with businesses and multinational corporations. During the 1997 elections in Cameroon, a group of Bamileke business owners supported Paul Biya's Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (RDPC). In Botswana, a South African Anglo-American Mining Corporation that has concessions in Botswana mines apparently provides financial backing to the ruling Democratic Party (Saffu 2003).

Apart from plutocratic financing, grass-root financing is another important source of private funding for political parties. Grass-root financing is monetary contribution made by card bearing members and sympathizers of political parties. This form of private financing is popular in many Western European countries. Membership fees play crucial roles in party finance in Italy, Sweden and Germany while in the Netherlands membership fees constitute the most important income source for political parties (Nassmacher 2003). Unlike their European counterparts, grass-root financing is not very common in Africa and Latin America and funds accruing from these sources are insignificant compared to plutocratic financing. The extent of poverty in these parts of the world largely explain low levels of grass-roots financing and in fact in these jurisdictions, most ardent supporters of political parties normally expect their party elites to reward them financially. While grass-roots financing of political parties does establish a close link between political parties and their supporters, the insignificant amounts generated through party supporters and sympathizers implie that political parties have had to look elsewhere for large-scale funding.

Regulation of Political Party Financing

Different regulation regimes on political party financing exist in different parts of the world. While political party finance regulations are robust in some countries, they are flexible in others. Regulations of political party finance involve the public monitoring and control of funds accruing to political parties. The ultimate goal is to promote transparency in party financing and thus guard against illegal funding of political parties with the attendant dire consequences for good governance (Nassmacher 2003).

Regulatory measures include bans and limits and disclosure and reporting rules. It is naturally expected that where there are subsidies of political parties, regulations must exist in order to carefully monitor political party finance. However, this is not always the case. Surprisingly, regulations of party finance are minimal in countries, such as Netherlands, South Africa and Sweden, where state subvention of political parties exists. The privacy of political parties and donors has often been cited as reasons for the limited monitoring of party financing in these European countries (Nassmacher 2003).

Nonetheless regulations on party finance exist in Germany, Italy, United States of America and Spain. All of these countries subsidize party finance. In Spain, for instance, donations by foreign entities, government contractors and public enterprises to political parties are completely banned. In the United States of America, there are contribution and spending limits while disclosure and reporting rules exist. The Federal Election Commission (FEC) for instance among other roles "verifies all reports presented and discloses to the public and the media all information available" (Nassmacher 2003). The FEC also "implements the specific rules which apply to the financial aspects of nomination…and the election of presidential candidates" (Nassmacher 2003).

The majority of Latin American countries have very strong regulatory measures. In Bolivia, Brazil and Colombia, private entities that make donations to parties are required by law to provide thorough accounting. In Colombia, any donation made by any corporation to a political party must receive the authorization of more than half of either board

of directors, board members or board of shareholders. And any such authorization must further be duly recorded in the minutes of the meeting.

Ironically a wealth of regulations exists to monitor party finance in countries where there are no state subsidies of political parties. In Malaysia, for example, there are no public subsidies of political parties yet there are regulations that ban foreign donations and limit the expenditure of campaign expenses, among other regulations. African countries such as Benin, Mali and Ghana are also cases in point. There are legal provisions in Benin that limit campaign expenditure; Malian and Ghanaian laws prohibit foreign contributions, donations and loans. Ghanaian laws also have disclosure provisions that enjoin political parties to disclose their sources of funds (Saffu 2003).

Political Party Financing in Ghana

Public Financing

The global trend in political party financing suggests that 59% of the countries in the world have legal provisions that sanction the provision of subsidies for party financing (Pinto-Duschinsky 2002). Nonetheless, the rates of subsidy differ from country to country. All mature democracies, subsidize political party financing. The story is the same for majority of Latin American democracies. Ghana's democracy has stood the test of time and is, arguably, unique, at least, on the continent of Africa. It is unfortunate, however, that political parties have no support from the state in terms of funding. Neither the 1992 Constitution of Ghana nor the Political Parties Act make any provisions for public funding of political parties in Ghana. Given its democratic credentials, public funding of political parties might be a policy of choice by the government. Any such decision by political leaders must be measured against popular opinion on state funding of political parties.

According to a survey conducted by the Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDD) (2005), majority of Ghanaians regard

effective functioning of political parties as critical for democratic consolidation. The survey further suggests that a paucity of financial resources weaken political parties in Ghana. The corollary is that given enough resources, political parties are likely to perform their roles effectively. Yet the same survey is indicative of public opposition to state funding of political parties.

Several factors account for the indifference of the public to state funding of political parties.

First, in Ghana, public expenses on social needs such as poverty, health care, nutrition and basic education among others are prioritized over other issues (Abukari et al. 2015). Basic needs and public finance of political parties are two items where trade-offs are not palatable. In relatively poorer countries such as Bhutan in Asia, there is significant state funding of political parties and yet there are basic needs to meet there too.

Second, it is contended that state funding of political parties might make political parties complacent in the search for new members and funds from voting public (Gyampo 2015). The logic behind public funding of political parties is to support political parties in order to reduce their reliance on 'plutocratic funds' or 'interested money', which could give democracy a deadly blow. On the contrary, state subsidies of political parties are likely to encourage political parties to dwell significantly on other genuine sources of funds such as membership dues.

Third, it is argued that political parties risk losing their independence as they rely on state financing (ACE Electoral Knowledge Network 2012). The greater state funding will result in greater state regulation. Nevertheless, public finance of political parties has the potential of bridging the fundraising gap between larger and smaller parties and thus create a more level playing field for parties to compete.

Private Financing

The absence of public subsidies in cash to political parties in Ghana notwithstanding, multiparty elections have thrived for more than two decades now. In the absence of public subsidies of political parties, it

becomes questionable as to how political parties in Ghana, at least the NDC, NPP, fund their routine administrative expenses and the huge costs associated with election campaigns.

The answer to this question is obviously private financing. But what goes into private financing of political parties in Ghana?

Private financing of political parties includes donations made to political parties by the private sector or individuals. As discussed earlier on, 'plutocratic funding', 'grass-roots funding' and 'assessments', play crucial roles in political party financing in Ghana.

Historical Patterns of Political Party Financing in Ghana

Since independence in 1957, the mainstay of political party financing has been the private sources. Assessments were common among CPP ministers and Assembly Members in the early days of independence while leading figures of the opposition UGCC at the time such as Dr. J.B. Danquah and George Paa Grant made cash and material donations to the party (Austin 1964). The Peoples National Party (PNP), now the Peoples National Convention (PNC), had contributions from Nana Okutwer Bekoe III who was then the party chairman, Kojo Botsio, Kofi Batsa and others (Shillington 1992).

Grass-root financing, via membership dues and fundraising events, were equally common among the early political parties such as the CPP, the Ghana Congress Party (GCP) and the United Party (UP). However, as these sources of funding were inadequate to cover the expenses of political parties, there was a resort to 'plutocratic financing'. Nonetheless ruling parties stood a better chance of being funded by large institutions and corporations. Not only were huge sums accruing to the accounts of CPP in the form of kickbacks from firms and companies, the party also directed state companies to pay yearly subventions into the CPP's coffers. During the Progressive Party's 27-month regime, kickbacks and donations from financial institutions, companies and firms operating in Ghana constituted the main source of funding for the party (Shillington 1992; Chazan 1983).

Existing Patterns and Regulations of Political Party Financing in Ghana

The private finance of political parties today is not entirely different from what existed in other democracies. All four key political parties in Ghana, the NDC, NPP, PNC and CPP are funded privately either through donations made by institutions, kickbacks and corruption, fundraising or membership dues, and nomination fees paid by aspirants of executive positions in political parties as well as parliamentary and presidential aspirants during party primaries and congress. Special emphasis will be laid on the finance of the two major parties in Ghana, the NPP and the NDC.

The constitution of the NPP clearly stipulates the mechanisms for funding the party. Donations and subscriptions are the key sources of funds for the party. According to Article 3 of the 1992 NPP Constitution, all registered members of the party must pay dues that may be determined by the Party. The same Article makes provision for other persons or groups of persons to make donations to the party. Article 9 of the Constitution burdens the party's Finance Committee with the responsibility of raising funds for the running of the party. Apart from fundraising, there are provisions for reporting on the party's finance (Falguera et al. 2012; Nassmacher 2003).

The sources of party financing in NDC is very similar to that in NPP. Nonetheless, the NDC has more elaborate sources of fundraising for its operations. Pursuant to Article 28 of the Constitution of the NDC, "funds for the party shall be derived from contributions of founding members, subscription fees or other monies payable by members and affiliated organizations, donations, public collections and funds from other fundraising activities, investment income, funds from the Central Government to all political parties, if any…". Unlike its counterpart, the NDC's Constitution makes room for the auditing of the party's accounts and quarterly financial reports to the party's Finance Committee and the National Executive Committee.

It is apparent that these parties and others not mentioned here compete for funds from the limited private sources within the country.

Parties are barred by Article 55 (15) of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana and Sect. 24 of the Political Parties Act, 2000, Act 574 from raising funds from non-Ghanaians. The Constitution allows only a citizen of Ghana to make donations to political parties. Section 23 of the Act similarly sanctions only contributions from citizens. The Act defines citizens broadly to include firms, partnerships or enterprises owned by Ghanaians or a company legally registered in Ghana with at least 75% Ghanaian ownership. The Act therefore prohibits any contributions, donations or loans, whether in cash or in kind from non-Ghanaians; individuals or corporations to Ghanaian Political Parties. However, citizens living abroad or Ghanaian companies abroad can make donations towards the funding of political parties in Ghana.

Whereas these laws are meant to prevent the parties and by extension governance in Ghana from any undue external influences, the fact that there are no public subventions for political parties implies that the parties have narrow space for funding. Both political parties consequently have to rely on subscription and membership fees from party members, which are inadequate. Even though these parties have large numbers of followers or supporters, only a handful of their followers and supporters are registered members. Membership fees and subscription therefore contribute only insignificant amounts of monies to the parties.

Fundraising by parties either through special events or loan facilities have also proven to be either insufficient or dangerous sources of revenue. Although Special Fundraising events may suggest that the parties have genuine interest in building stronger relationship with their grass-root supporters, such events could also imply that party financiers are putting their resources into the parties. When the NDC organized a fundraising dinner-dance in 1996, it could only realize a paltry US $600. Ahead of the 2016 elections, the NPP commenced its fundraising activities in January 2016 in Kumasi Sports Stadium where petty traders and 'head potters' allegedly donated to the party. These forms of fundraising sometimes are strong signals of a party that is growing weaker financially and thus can tarnish the reputation or image of the party. It was not surprising that, the Ashanti Regional NPP Chairman, Mr. Bernard Antwi-Bosiako, popularly known as Chairman Wontumi, kicked against this fundraising event for the Nana Addo Dankwa

Akuffo-Addo campaign. More worrying are allegations that funds so raised sometimes end in the pocket of individuals rather than party coffers. Where parties have resorted to raising funds through loans, there have been serious implications. It is alleged that the NPP is currently seriously being sought after for failing to repay a loan worth GHS 2 million Ghana cedis contracted from Prudential Bank for its campaign during the 2012 general elections.

This development has compelled Parties to resort to nomination fees as sources of fund raising for financing. This unconventional means for funding parties have raised serious questions on the internal democracies of the parties. In 2011, for example, some CPP members protested against skyrocketing nomination fees to be paid by aspirants of executive positions in the party. In 2015, parliamentary candidates of the NDC filed their nomination forms at a fee of GHS5000 (female aspirants), GHS10,000 (male aspirants), respectively, and for the presidential slot, GHS 50,000. Even though this practice can generate significant revenue for the parties, party members with potential leadership competence are cut out from participating in leadership positions in the governance of the country because they may not have the means. Such a development taints the internal democracy of parties and may have negative consequences for national governance. Should incompetent, dishonest but rich people file nomination and get elected to represent their parties at national positions, the harm to the integrity of the country's democracy is enormous.

The absence of public funding of political parties pushes political parties to depend on unlawful and 'Plutocratic funding'. Civil Society Organizations such as the Institute for Democratic Governance have reiterated the link between lack of public funding of political parties and increased corruption on the part of political parties. This is usually more pronounced with incumbent parties. The Institute posits that there are damning reports indicating that political parties receive all sorts of funds from non-citizens contrary to the laws on party finance in Ghana. Such acts create fertile grounds for corruption.

With regard to plutocratic financing, the parties receive donations from large institutions, corporations and businesses. Of course, such donations are not illegal so far as the donation is by a Ghanaian

businessman or companies with at least 75% Ghanaian ownership. The risk is that these financiers may wield undue influence on the political parties to such an extent that a party that gets elected into government may pursue policies and programmes that will satisfy its 'plutocratic' financiers.

The prohibition of contributions and donations by non-Ghanaians is well known by all. According to Section 21 of the Political Parties Act, "a political party shall, within six months from 31st December of each year, file with the Commission…the state of its accounts, the sources of its funds, membership dues paid, contributions or donations in cash or kind, the properties of the party and time of acquisition, and any other particulars as the Commission may reasonably require". The law permits, the Commission to hire the services of an auditor to either audit the accounts of a political party as it deems reasonable, or "inspect… copies of the returns and audited accounts of a political party filed with the Commission…". Political elites have questioned the extent to which the Electoral Commission enforces these laws. Dr Nii Allotey Brew-Hammond, Chairman of the Progressive People's Party (PPP) have contended that the EC has failed in the area of enforcing regulations on political party finance especially regarding the auditing of political parties (Audit political parties—PPP urges EC at http://pppghana.org/index.php/2016/03/16/audit-political-parties-ppp-urges-ec/ [Accessed: 29/03/2016]). The political parties have been violating these laws with impunity.

To resolve these challenges and thus minimize the potential and real threats that the current funding system pose to Ghana's democracy, many political elites and leaders of Civil Society Organizations have called for legislation to be enacted for public funding of political parties. The issue of public funding of political parties has also been considered by Parliament. A draft Bill was even prepared by Members from both sides of the political divide on public funding of political parties. Unfortunately, the provisions of the constitution, as so far interpreted, do not permit private members Bills in Parliament. It should never be lost to us that research findings by CDD Ghana are indicative of public opposition to state funding of political parties.

Although there have been strong proposals from sections of Civil Society Organizations on public finance of political parties, these proposals have yet to be given any due considerations. The Institute for Democratic Governance (IDEG) under its flagship programme, Multiparty Governance Reforms Programme (MPGRP) does not mince words on state funding of political parties. The IDEG, for instance, calls on stakeholders to set up multiparty democracy fund. This Fund would aim at supporting political parties develop their manifestoes, policy programmes and annual conferences. Such a fund would also support political parties to build policy research departments within the parties. Similarly, the IEA has drafted a bill on public finance of political parties with the main objective of supporting political parties to perform their functions effectively.

Recommendations on Political Party Financing in Ghana

From the global trend, a strong case has been made for some contribution of the state or the public to the funding of political parties in Ghana. The examples of Latin America, Western Europe, the Anglo-Saxon Orbit (USA, Canada and Australia) and some Asian countries suggest that public finance of political parties is a necessity. Apart from state subsidies for political parties in these parts of the world, there are also laws that allow private financing. The logic is that complete state funding of political parties have serious economic and political implications on the State. So does complete private financing of political parties. A mixed method of political financing is therefore the preferred option in most countries.

Ghana, as one of the stable, if not the most stable democracies, in Africa, can therefore not continue to allow private funding of political parties to be the only source of income for political parties. Moving forward, the following recommendations on political party financing are worth considering by policy-makers:

- First, The Republic of Ghana may create a multiparty democracy fund to support political parties in the areas of research, development

of manifestos and programmes. In the United Kingdom, public funding of political parties is limited to research and policy development. The criteria for disbursement of funds to the political parties are several. In some developed democracies, the number of seats won by the party is the preferred criterion while in others a minimum percentage of votes won by parties is the threshold for funding. Still in others, the absolute number of votes won is the preferred criterion. The peculiar challenges in each political system would determine which disbursement criterion to opt for. In the case of Ghana, the number of seats won or the minimum percentage of votes cast may be favourable criteria only to the major political parties. Therefore, the absolute number of votes won could be the appropriate criterion for disbursement of funds if the smaller political parties are ever going to benefit from such a fund.

- Second, Ghana could establish a regulated fund. The fund will be generated in its entirety through donations and contributions by private sector businesses, organizations and individuals. This option of financing political parties was suggested by CDD in the document it compiled after the survey which is worth considering.

- Third, in the alternative, the proposal of the CDD to establish a Common Fund could be taken. As the name implies this Fund is envisaged as a common (pooled) fund consisting of annual state budgetary support as well as private contributions or donations from individuals, corporate bodies, businesses and if possible foreign governments to support and promote democratic governance in Ghana. This option reflects a shared partnership and sacrifice between the state and the citizenry in promoting and strengthening institutions whose success is widely perceived to be important to the health of democracy. This kind of sharing of the burden minimizes the load that the state has to carry in order to ensure the viability of the multi-party system.

- Finally, the Republic of Ghana may consider the institution of matching funds for political parties. In places like the USA, matching funds constitute an important source of state funding of political parties. Matching funds are funds that are given to political parties to match the amount of funds they are able to raise on their

own. Matching funds are useful to the extent that they encourage parties to raise enough funds in order to attract public subsidies. Nonetheless, the drawback is that parties that have the much fundraising capacity may also attract higher matching funds than their counterparts. To curb this however, a deliberate policy of disproportionately higher matching funds could be allocated to the smaller parties to empower them to play meaningful role in the affairs of the country.

Whichever option may be chosen by stakeholders, there are real and perceived advantages for the integrity of political parties and democracy in Ghana. These include the following:

- Public funding of political parties would grant the Electoral Commission the moral right to enforce regulations banning illegal funding of political parties. It will also confer the moral obligation to Parties to comply with the laws on party financing.
- Public funding of political parties would level the playing field for both big and small parties and thus ensure effective competition for political power among the political parties
- Public funding of political parties would minimize political corruption. Since the EC would have access to annual financing and audit report of political parties, traceability of the sources of political funds would become easy. Parties that are financed illegally could then be made to face the law.

Conclusion

The role of political parties in democratic consolidation cannot be understated. The emergence of political parties has given meaning to the concept of democracy in the world. The quality of a country's democracy, undoubtedly, depends on the efficacy of political parties. This has not yet sunk in many parts of the developing world, especially in Africa. Ghana is no exception. From the above, the verdict is that one cannot have real democracy without public financing of political parties.

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Voter Motivations in a Developing Democracy: A Marketing Perspective

**Anas Sulemana, E Y Tweneboah-Koduah
and Kobby Mensah**

Abstract The relevance of motivation literature in the study and understanding of human behaviour has been widely acknowledged. This work integrates popular motivation theories and extends them to electoral market to help understand why the electorate behave the way they do in elections. Using qualitative approach, 48 respondents purposively chosen from 12 communities across the three regions of northern Ghana were interviewed. The study found that voter motivation (among the

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133

study sample) is multidimensional. It can be positive, negative or neutral. Contrary to the view that extrinsic factors do not have motivational characteristic, the study found in particular, that material/financial inducements and social relations are strong positive motivators of voter behaviour among the sample studied in northern Ghana.

Keywords Motivation · Needs · Consumer · Human behaviour Democracy

Introduction

Marketing has become an important component of modern democratic systems. Consumer behaviour principles and techniques have also been shown to be relevant to the study and understanding of voter behaviour in electoral markets (Shama 1973; O' Cass and Pecotich 2003). Newman (1995) in defining the new thinking in political marketing says it involves identifying the needs and wants of the electorate and developing appropriate satisfiers/motivators to meet these needs better than competing political parties. Haron and Mokhtar (2010) commenting on the new political marketing orientation argue that in a total political marketing strategy, the needs are the focus and satisfiers/motivators are the goals. Arguably, in both developed and developing democracies, motivating and satisfying the electorates appropriately continue to remain a challenge for political organizations. Motivation and needs have played a very important role in researchers' understanding of human behaviour for decades. Since the pioneering work of Ditcher (1964), researchers' interest in consumer psychology and more specifically consumer motivation has grown significantly. Contributing to the field of consumer psychology, marketing researchers have borrowed and used motivation-need models/theories to explain why buyers behave the way they do. Despite the growing recognition and the increased application of motivation theories in the study of consumer behaviour, there have been little research efforts to apply motivation-need models to the study of voter behaviour.

In voter behaviour literature, popular models that have been developed to help understand the electorate include Marketing Consumer–Voter Model (Bartle and Griffiths 2002), Model of Primary Voter Behaviour (Newman and Sheth 1985) and Dynamics of Voter Behaviour Model (O'Cass and 2003). Though these models are very important, Lindberg and Morrison (2008) have noted that there is still the need for voter behaviour models that include the possibility of many rationales and motives for voting. Content-based motivation models could be appropriate in achieving this goal because they have been successfully used in commercial markets to help explain the variety of reasons for buying. Such models can therefore, be employed to help explain the different reasons for voting in an election.

This work therefore, adopts widely accepted human motivation principles and models and extends them to voter markets. Using qualitative data it attempts to explore reasons that underpin the voting behaviour of the electorate in Northern Ghana; an area where in the opinion of Kelly and Bening (2007) little research has been done in the field of voter behaviour. The overarching aim of the study is to determine reasons that motivate the electorate to vote for or against a political party or a candidate in an election. It also seeks to determine whether there are factors which though are very important, do not have motivational characteristics in elections.

Literature Review

Motivation

According to Simon (1986), everyone agrees that people have a reason for what they do. They have motivations and they use reason (well or badly) to respond to these motivations and reach specific goals in their lives. What then is motivation? Motivation is the driving force within individuals that impels them to action (Jackson et al. 2004; van Raaij and Wandwossen 1978). A motivated consumer (voter) is willing and ready to engage in behaviour that he/she believes will satisfy

an unfulfilled need or sets of needs at a particular time. Iguisi (2009) supports the argument that motivation is concerned with the 'why' of the behaviour. Aaron et al. (2007) argue that why people vote and how they vote are closely related. Essentially, the reason a voter is voting will invariably influence the party or the candidate he/she votes for in an election. Golshan et al. (2011) have looked at motivation differently emphasizing the benefits people receive in an exchange relationship. This definition underscores the crucial role of incentives and gifts in influencing human behaviour. In traditional marketing, sellers have over the years used sales promotion as a means of incentivizing and stimulating demand (Fill 1999). Decenzo (2001) says motivation is the result of interaction between the individual and the situation. He introduces situational and personal dimensions to motivation. Iguisi (2009) corroborates this position by noting that individuals' motivations vary from situation to situation and from culture to culture.

According to Robbins (2001), motivation is the willingness to exert a persistent and high level of efforts towards organizational goals, conditioned by the efforts' ability to satisfy individual needs. Robbins (2001) emphasizes the two dimensions to motivation; organizational goals and individual needs. Each of the parties in the relationship has goals they want to achieve. Robbins (2001) also identifies elements of motivation which include human need (Maslow 1970), intensity of motivation (Locke 1976), direction of motivation, (Bob-Milliar 2012; Herzberg 1968; Locke 1976; Schiffman and Kanuk 2009) and volition or discretionism motivation (Bob-Milliar 2012). These elements are very important in the current work because they provide basic guiding blocks. In human behaviour literature, two categories of motivational theories have been identified (Iguisi 2009). They are namely content and process motivational theories. This work is based on content motivational theories which focus on motivational factors and not the cognitive processes underlying human motivation. The specific content theories to guide the work include Herzberg (1968) two-factor theory and positive and negative motivation model (Blythe 2008; Jackson et al. 2004; Schiffman and Kanuk 2009).

Positive Versus Negative Motivation

Blythe (2008) proposed the positive and negative motivation model. The positive–negative consumer motivation model also appears in the works of Jackson et al. (2004) and Schiffman and Kanuk (2009). Positive motivation is a driving force towards some object or condition. Conversely, negative motivation is a driving force away from some object or condition. In commercial marketing, a consumer may be impelled towards or away from a company's product. The model has been widely used in motivational studies because of its directness and simplicity. It however, fails to consider other dimensions of human motivation. For example, van Raaij and Wandwossen (1978) have argued that motivation can be neutral; a dimension neglected by the positive–negative model.

Herzberg's Two-Factor Theory

Herzberg (1968) proposed the motivator-hygiene theory. He theorized that motivational stimulus could be internal or external to an individual. Internal motivational stimuli are described as intrinsic and external motivational stimuli are called extrinsic factors. Herzberg (1968) classified intrinsic factors as motivators. These factors include recognition, achievement, possibility for growth, advancement and responsibility. The motivators are consistent with Maslow's (1970) high order needs. In effect, Herzberg's (1968) argument is that motivators have a stronger potential to induce positive behaviour; they can drive a consumer towards some object.

Herzberg's (1968) theory and the positive–negative models are integrated to develop positive–negative–neutral motivation model. First, positive motivation is termed as pull motivation because the force pulls/drives a person towards an object or an organization. Negative motivation is termed as push motivation because it describes a force that pushes or drives a person away from an object or an organization. Finally, neutral motivation describes where the presence of a factor causes zero motivation. It is termed as position motivation because

motivation remains unchanged. The person's position (in terms of motivation) does not change.

Positive–Negative–Neutral Motivation Model of Voter Behaviour

The model borrows from widely used human motivation theories (Herzberg 1968; Maslow 1970; Blythe 2008). Motivation and needs are central to the study and understanding of voter behaviour in electoral markets just as they are in the study of consumer behaviour in commercial markets. Arguably, there is a driving force within voters that impels them to action (i.e. vote for or against a party or a candidate in election). This is believed to guide voter action in an election. Based on evidence in motivation literature, it is argued that voter motivation has three dimensions. They are positive voter motivations, negative voter motivations and neutral voter motivations.

Positive voter motivation is termed pull voter motivation because the forces drive/pull a voter towards a political party. Therefore, voting for a political party in an election is assumed to be a reward to that party for anticipating and/or providing appropriate motivators or satisfiers to the electorate. Negative voter motivation is termed push voter motivation because the forces drive or push the voter away from a political party/ or a candidate. Voting against a party in an election is assumed to signal protest or punishment to the party for engaging in acts or mistakes that infringe on sensibilities or cause disquiet/disaffection among electorates. Finally, neutral voter motivation is termed position voter motivation because the availability of these motivational forces is not sufficient to pull/drive a voter towards a political party but that is necessary to prevent disquiet and dissatisfaction. When these factors are available motivation attains zero (van Raaij and Wandwossen 1978) implying that it is neither positive nor negative In other words voters will not necessarily reward the availability of neutral motivation factors but will punish political parties that fail to provide these "necessary political products".

The Research Setting and Methodology

The research takes place in Northern Ghana. The area comprises Northern, Upper East and Upper West Regions. Northern Ghana according to Awedoba (2006) is united by history and geography. It occupies approximately 97,703 sq/km which represents 40% of Ghana's land area. However, Northern Ghana is home to less than 20% of Ghana's population (Ghana Statistical Service 2012). The area in terms of socioeconomic conditions is described as the most deprived region in Ghana. Levels of poverty and illiteracy are very high (SADA 2010). Despite the levels of deprivation, voter interest in politics and voter turnout rates in the area during general elections continue to be very high (EC 2012). The pattern of voting in the north continues to engage the attention of researchers. Kelly and Bening (2007) have done a study on politics in the Northern Ghana but have also called for further study to understand the behaviour of the northern voter.

Research Approach

The study employed a qualitative research approach. The current work has been designed to discover the voter's subconscious or hidden motivations. Malhotra and Dash (2011) argue that rich insight into underlying behaviour of consumers can be obtained by using qualitative procedures.

Exploratory Qualitative Research Methods

The work is exploratory in terms of its design. Zikmund and Babin (2010) have argued that qualitative approach is most often used in exploratory research design. According to Britten (1995), much qualitative research is interview based which is normally interactive and sensitive to the language of the interviewee.

Target Population

The work targeted eligible voters who had taken part in general elections in Ghana and residing in their native communities at the time of the research. The voter population in Northern Ghana is diverse. They include men and women, rural and urban dwellers, young and old adult, literates and illiterates. These variations informed the choice of sampling technique and strategies.

Sampling Design

The study used purposive sampling technique. Creswell (2009) has argued that purposive sampling is used in qualitative research. According to Patton (2002), purposive sampling focuses on information-rich cases, yields insights and in-depth understanding rather than theoretical generalizations. Patton (2002) has proposed a number of strategies for purposive sampling. They include maximum variation, deviant case, intensity and critical case sampling strategies to mention but a few. The maximum variation strategy used in the study aims to capture the central themes that cut across the study (Patton 2002). Where participants are heterogeneous as in the case of voters in Northern Ghana (rural, urban, men, women, young adults and adults, literates and illiterates), the strategy becomes appropriate (Creswell 2009).

The choice of the 12 communities was based on their sociopolitical relevance to the Northern Ghana. In each of the three regions the four communities selected for the study included the regional capital, a district capital and two villages at different levels of socioeconomic development. The communities include native homes of first president of the third republic, fourth president of the fourth republic, vice president in the fourth republic (2000–2008), and running mate of New Patriotic Party (the main opposition party in Ghana) in the 2012 general elections. The mode of selection was designed to take care of the

major variations in the conditions of the communities that make up Northern Ghana. Using the maximum variation strategy matrix proposed by Patton (2002) the work selected and interviewed four people with different socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds in each of the twelve communities. A total of 48 people were interviewed. In identifying and choosing respondents, the snowballing approach supported the purposive sampling technique to ensure that the right contacts were established. The data recording was done in two forms. First, the oral interviews were recorded. The interviewer sought permission in all cases before the recording was done. In addition to the recording, the researcher took short notes which focused on very pertinent points the interviewees made during the interview.

Method of Analyzing the Qualitative Data

The thematic technique for data analysis was used. It is a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data (Braun and Clarke 2006). It involves thematising meanings with a view to gaining understanding from raw qualitative data. In order to use the approach, it was important to transform the raw data into a form capable of being analyzed. The first task involved the researcher transcribing the interviews for study and analysis. Patton (1990) has proposed two methods of transcribing data. They are full and partial transcriptions. For purposes of this work, the researcher used the partial transcription method. The volume of data would not permit the researcher to use the full transcription method. In using the partial transcription, the interviews recorded were compared with the short notes taken during the interview. This allowed the researcher to identify very relevant quotations and comments by interviewees. Also, the repeated readings of the notes helped the researcher to identify inconsistencies and contradictions in the responses which formed part of the data cleaning process. Twenty-six participants were contacted as a way of follow up for clarification and confirmation of key issues in the work.

Analysis of Findings

Pull Voter Motivation

In human motivation literature, there are factors that have motivational characteristics. They drive people towards objects or conditions. In consumer behaviour, van Raaij and Wandwossen (1978) have described them as facilitators/motivating product attributes. According to interviewees, factors that drive/pull them towards a political party include sociocultural factors, money and material incentives (especially when the incentives are provided close to an election), party manifesto, party tradition, the candidate and opportunity for personal growth and development.

Sociocultural Factors

Family influences, ethnicity, regionalism and religion emerged as important sociocultural forces that motivate voter choices in the communities studied. Commenting on voting motivation in the 2012 elections, an MP aspirant who was interviewed asserted that the president and his NDC party won in his ethnic home land. That view expressed by the MP aspirant and similar opinions expressed by other interviewees are consistent with the opinion by Posner (2007) who argues that ethnic groups seek through voting to elevate leaders from their cultural groups to position of power so that they can gain collective representation. Regionalism emerged as a strong factor across the three regions. For example, there were responses such as "the candidate is a northerner", "he comes from the north". "He's one of us". These responses appear to epitomize the strength of regional feeling among the electorate in the area. A study by Kelly and Bening (2007) found regionalism as a determinant of voter behaviour in northern politics. Religion emerged a weaker factor among the interviewees across the three regions. Interviewees who mentioned religion explain that they are motivated to vote on religious lines because they want their faith to be fairly represented in government. However, the interviewees admitted that other factors were stronger determinants of voting motivations than religion.

Financial and Material Incentives

Interviewees commenting on what motivate them to vote for a party also mentioned financial and material incentives. Interviewees admitted having in the past received one form of incentive or another from politicians. The responses appear to be consistent with numerous studies that associate politics in developing countries with clientelism (Lindberg and Morrison 2008; Wantchekon 2003). However, when responses from the small districts (villages) were compared with those in the big cities, some significant differences emerged. In the big cities of Tamale, Wa and Bolga, interviewees intimated that material incentives did not play important role their voting decisions in 2012 general elections. In the rural areas, interviewees mentioned particularly, money, bicycles, clothing and food as gifts that politicians use to influence their voting motivations. Studies have revealed that levels of poverty in rural areas in Africa is high (Sarris and Shams 1991). It is therefore, understandable why some people in these communities are influenced by gifts of basic necessities of life. However, if material inducement is viewed as sales promotional technique in politics (vote promotion) it may be a good motivator of buying (voting) behaviour (Fill 1999) especially when it is provided close to elections.

Political Party Tradition

According to interviewees their party choices in elections have been motivated by the political traditions in Ghana. Interviewees described themselves as belonging to the Centre-left because they are motivated by the party`s social democratic stance. Other responses included answers such as; "my father belongs to the UP tradition"; "it is a family party". These responses are consistent with the argument by Anebo (1997) that voting patterns in Ghana followed the two main traditions; Centre-right (described as UP tradition) and Centre-left (described as Nkrumahist tradition). It was also reported that 80% of Ghanaian voters said they are affiliated to one party or the other (Kelly and Bening 2007; Anebo 1997).

Political Party Candidate

A candidate may be voted for based on factors such as likeability, physical attributes, religion and career background (Alsamydai and Al Khasawneh 2013). Regarding party candidates' interviewees provided responses, such as "I just like the candidate"; "the candidate has good personality". Some other interviewees focused on the candidates' personal characteristics emphasizing honesty, trustworthiness and dependability. Newman (1995) in a study argued that the politician is a service provider. In services marketing, the physical and personal characteristics of the seller all help sell his/her products. Voters as consumers will consider a politician's physical attributes and other important personal factors before casting their ballot. Therefore, the views of the interviewees agree together with available literature on why some voters vote for political party candidates in elections.

Party Manifesto

Majority of Ghanaians say they vote on the basis of party manifesto and agenda. The responses in the study were consistent with this view. Interviewees mentioned party manifesto as one of the factors that drive them towards a political party. Asked if they know the manifestos of the parties they support, interviewees gave answers such as "I have not read it", and "I follow what they say on the platform". These responses only confirm the view that party manifestos even though very important in political marketing, some voters do not read these important documents. Careful evaluation of the pattern of responses suggests some of the interviewees believe that their voting choices must be guided by manifesto. In reality, they do not know the manifestos of the parties they vote for. Given that platform promises were in some cases equated to manifestos by some interviewees, an attempt was made to draw a distinction between party manifestos and personalized or individualized platform promises. It emerged that platform promises were good drivers of motivations among the 48 interviewees especially those in deprived districts.

Recognition and Opportunity for Growth and Development

In human behaviour literature, recognition is regarded as a strong motivator of behaviour. Recognition and respect for the electorate emerged as an important driver of voter behaviour among interviewees. An interesting observation that was made was that the 'politically active' interviewees are driven by power and access to resources at the disposal of the state. For example, a lecturer who was interviewed intimated that he expects economic benefit and power when his party wins election. Asked what he meant by power he said ministerial position or becoming a District Chief Executive (DCE). Conversely, the ordinary voters in the study were motivated largely by factors that dignified and projected the entire community. For example, interviewees in Upper West Region were very proud that they have been given a university in their area. Regarding this university, there were responses such as "this region is now also important" "other people now travel to this place for education". The responses are consistent with human behaviour literature (Herzberg 1968).

In the in-depth interview, personal growth and development emerged as a strong motivator for party choice and voting behaviour. This was noted from interviewees' responses to a follow up question; would you support a party because of direct personal interest? A lecturer commenting on his party's contribution to his situation revealed that, the party helped him to do his Ph.D. abroad and admits that it has made significant impact on his life.

Push Voter Motivation

In literature on human behaviour, there are factors that demotivate or drive people away from objects or conditions. In voter behaviour literature, these are factors that infringe on peoples' sensibilities or cause disaffection so that voters loose trust and faith in a party or its leadership (Hartley 1995; Haron and Mokhtar 2010). Interviewees mentioned discrimination against a segment of the electorate, failure to fulfill election promises, insensitivity and neglect of the electorates, arrogance and

complacency on the part of party leadership, weak party position and voter desire for change as factors that motivate them to vote against a political party in an election.

Failure to Fulfill Party Promises

Party leadership's failure or inability to fulfill party promises emerged as the strongest push motivating factor across all sections of the electorates in the study. Interviewees opine that leaders who are unable to fulfill their promises they make do not deserve to lead. As one interviewee aptly put it:

> This is a breach of trust and leadership is about trust

Relating to platform promises, some interviewees in the study said they voted for a party based on convincing platform promises and messages. Some other interviewees said they voted against other parties because of the same platform promises. It appears therefore, that party's plat promises can motivate a section but can also demotivate another section depending on how it is done. What became clear from the interviews was that some promises made by politicians in some cases satisfy a section but cause disquiet for another section of the same society.

Discrimination and Social Isolation

According to some interviewees, discrimination and social isolation are major push factors that drive them away from political parties. There were responses such as "no member of our ethnic group has been appointed as a minister". "The government has given them electricity but we don't have, we'll show them where power lies". When a section of the society feels a sense of discrimination, they react by rejecting the institution that is the source of that condition. This is consistent with the argument by Bratton et al. (2012) which states that, groups that feel a sense of discrimination against their cultural group will punish the party by voting against that party in an election.

Neglect and Arrogance on the Part of Party Officers

Interviewees also mentioned neglect by party officials after elections as a major push factor that influences future voting motivations. When asked to describe what political neglect means an interviewee had this to say:

> If the party leaders don't care about people and if they don't appear in the community at all and if they don't attend our social occasions

According to interviewees, they will punish politicians they think do not show interest in their wellbeing. Also, arrogance on the part of politicians emerged as one of the major causes of party defeat in elections. For example, a lecturer who was interviewed said he predicted the fall of his preferred party because the leadership had become very arrogant. His assertion has been corroborated by an opinion leader in one of the communities who had this to say:

> I listened to what one of our party officers said to the people and I said to myself these people do not know what they are doing. The people will punish them in the elections and it came to pass. We lost in the 2012 elections.

The Desire for Change

In the study, some interviewees also said that they voted in the past against parties that stayed too long in power. Commenting on their voting motivations, interviewees said things such as "we wanted change", "we are fed up with them", "they should make way for others to also come in and we see what they can also do". In a study in Malaysia, Haron and Mokhtar (2010) found the desire for change as a strong push factor causing voters to vote to remove long sitting incumbents. The responses by the interviewees, therefore, agree together with evidence in literature.

Party Competitive Position in the Electoral Market

Some interviewees explaining why they voted against their preferred parties cited the weak competitive position of those parties. The interviewees intimated that they voted against their preferred parties that are weaker because voting for them will be waste of efforts. An interviewee admitted that he belongs to the Nkrumahist tradition but he voted against that party because it could not win the 2012 elections in Ghana. This is consistent with the strategic voting theory which says that rational voters vote against their preferred parties when they believe the party cannot win elections (Myatt 2007; Blais et al. 2005).

Position Voter Motivation

In human behaviour literature, it has been argued that some forces do not have motivational characteristics but their absence creates dissatisfaction (Herzberg 1968). In consumer behavior, van Raaij and Wandwossen (1978) have described these factors as 'necessary product attributes'. These attributes are so important that their absence results in disquiet.

Inferring from the various responses by interviewees, the factors that are very important but are unable to influence their voting choices include basic necessities, provision of basic infrastructure, law and order, freedoms and personal liberties, education infrastructure and good economic conditions. As per the interviews respondents classify these factors as the normal duties of a government. These factors are needed in a country to ensure social equilibrium. Their absence will result in social disequilibrium and widespread dissatisfaction. There were responses such as "we are entitled to these conditions", "the government is not doing us a favour by providing these conditions", "we deserve those conditions". According to van Raaij and Wandwossen (1978), a deficiency in any of the necessary product attributes will demotivate but their presence will not motivate.

In the in-depth interview, respondents providing specific examples of 'necessary political product attributes' mentioned the national

school feeding programme, government's free school uniforms and the National Health Insurance Scheme. An opinion leader in one of the communities had this to say:

> The school feeding programme is important but parents failed to recognize it and so they failed to reward the NPP government for introducing it. They voted the party out of office.

These programmes mentioned by the interviewees are parallel to what van Raaij and Wandwossen (1978) describe as necessary product attributes. Their absence could create hardship for the poor but their introduction failed to motivate the poor electorates in the study.

The economic condition and electoral success argument came up from the responses. Interviewees were unanimous that governments that fail to improve economic conditions must be voted out. However, good economic conditions did not appear to be a strong driver of interviewees' voting motivations. Interviewees described Gross Domestic Income growth, low inflation, stable micro and macroeconomic environments conditions as basic economic functions of every government. Interviewees said things such as "that's normal government business", "they have an obligation to do that".

What emerged from the study is consistent with the argument by Bratton et al. (2012) that voters will punish governments for poor performance but do not reward success. Another argument is that recession boosts elections turnout but economic boom does not. In other words, dissatisfied voters turn out to throw out the incumbent in times of recession.

Conclusion

Having analyzed the findings, the study concludes with a number of important observations. Sociocultural factors, financial and material incentives, party tradition, party candidate personality, party manifesto, recognition and voter personal interest are major pull voter motivation factors (motivators) among the interviewees in the study. The factors

have the potential to drive the electorate (in the study) towards a party or a candidate. This confirms the popular view in literature that motivators have positive impact on behaviour. Discrimination, failure to fulfill campaign promises, voter neglect, the desire for change and weak party position are determinants of push voter motivation among interviewees in the study. The factors drive the electorate (in the study) away from political parties or candidates in elections. This has also been confirmed by evidence in literature that push factors cause dissatisfaction and, therefore, have negative effects on behaviour.

Basic necessities, basic infrastructure, economic conditions, law and order, freedoms and personal liberties and education infrastructure are zero inhibitors/hygiene or determinants of position voter motivation. They satisfy voter deficiency needs and usually operate to restore equilibrium and eliminate some form of deprivation. When they are available they prevent or minimize voter dissatisfaction but do not motivate. Their absence, however, creates serious state of deprivation and discomfort and consequently pushes the voter away from the party or the candidate.

This work has, however, made a number of important observations. Contrary to the Herzbergian view that motivation is unidirectional, it was observed in this study that interviewees' motivation in the study area is multidimensional. It can be positive, negative or neutral. Also, contrary to the popular view that financial, material benefits and social relations are extrinsic factors and therefore, do not motivate, the study found that these forces are important motivators or pull factors among the interviewees in Northern Ghana.

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8

Political Management and Human Resources Practices of Political Parties in Ghana

James B. Abugre

Abstract Despite an increasing awareness of the need for a well-coordinated and functional human resource practices to enhance organizational bureaucracies, political parties in Ghana have still not appreciated the role of HRM in improving their operational functions. This chapter therefore attempted to examine the HR practices used by political parties in Ghana. Using a qualitative in-depth interviews of personnel working in the two major political parties in Ghana (NDC and NPP) and document anlaysis, results showed that the main political parties do not apply HRM policies to the day-to-day administration of their work. The findings also revealed that basic HR functions like recruitment of personnel, rewarding workers in the various party offices and appraising their jobs did not follow laid down procedures.

Keywords National democratic congress · New patriotic party Human resource management · Ghana · Bureaucracy

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Introduction

A strong and sustainable democracy is dependent on the existence of well-functioning political parties. Well-functioning political parties have well-developed organizational structures that enable an effective communication and coordinating mechanism. Consequently, researchers from Aston University identified the formalization of organizational tasks and roles as a key attribute of modern organizational structure (Pugh et al. 1963). Political parties are vital players in bringing together various and different interest groups into the party organization. They are responsible for recruiting and presenting candidates and developing competing strategic schemes that provide the electorate with a choice. This therefore calls for proper and formalization of functions to enable behaviours within political parties be standardized. Behaviours in political organizations can be standardized and function well when political leadership embraces the effective administration of their Human Resource Management (HRM). The process of managing human talents within an organization to achieve the organization's objectives is what HRM is all about.

HRM can be described as the formal system that includes philosophy, policies and practices that an organization employs to ensure that it effectively utilizes the knowledge, skills, abilities and other characteristics of its employees to achieve organizational goals (Pynes 2009). It involves selecting the best ways to manage people, their skills and knowledge through established rules, regulations, procedures and techniques. Consequently, Political management of HRM is about gaining political party's members' commitment and adaptability, and standardizing their contracts with the political party in line with policies, practices and ideologies of the party.

According to Schlesinger (1984), the character of political parties emerge from a combination of three facets of organization in a unique manner: (1) Political parties must sustain themselves through market-exchange, making it similar to the business firm and not like the interest groups or public bureaus; (2) Political parties' output consists of collective goods, making them similar to the interest groups and public

bureaus yet different from business; and (3) Political parties compensate their participants indirectly, making it similar to the interest group yet distinct from the bureau or business. Therefore, a political party is an organized structure that must be understood on its own terms in terms of processes and policies. This presupposes that political parties must run their organizations and human resources as a business function that manages, leads, facilitates and provides tools for the management of their members. HRM runs many critical processes like Recruitment and Staffing, Compenzation, Training and Development of leadership for modern organizations. Recruitment and staffing the party's offices with skilful personnel will have a direct and positive bearing on the party's operations. Training and developing party personnel on behavioural training to change their attitudes and develop their basic skills for strategic performance rather than political ideologies would engender political party performance. After all, individuals engage in political activities to pursue particular goals, and they decide to participate in these political activities when the benefits of such activity outweigh the costs (Aldrich 1993; Whiteley 1995).

Measurement of the performance of political parties and their microorganizations have for a long time been the central interest of political party membership and their political leadership. Nonetheless, political party management in Ghana has tended to restrict itself to winning political power, by mostly using frameworks and limited approach drawn primarily from the opinions of their domineering leadership stratagem and rather neglecting the opinions of membership who form the bulk at the base. These approaches to political management and HR practices of Ghanaian political parties have rather rendered political party management ineffective, and in most cases resulted in threats of disintegration and formation of a new party from the old parties. Political parties which fail to win elections due to bad management and domineering practices of their human resources, and more important, hold no prospects of winning in the future, face collapse as well. This has happened to the two major political parties in Ghana, The National Democratic Congress (NDC) and The New Patriotic Party (NPP) which have both experienced and got caught up in this management quagmire—The product of administrative lapses of political

management of membership. When membership of political organizations become cynical due to non-standardized management practices, they become more resentful leading to the desire to changeover/leave the party. However, adopting best and standard HR practices would help motivate party members and reduce their intention to leave (Mudor and Tooksoon 2011).

Effective Political management and HR practices have the potentials to build political party organizational capabilities in Ghana. This chapter examines and provides some contributions of strategic political management and HR practices to the electorates and the political parties in Ghana. Using empirical research of interviews of a sampled political leaders and a document analysis of the policies and constitutions of both the NDC and NPP, this chapter provides the reader with knowledge of how political management in the Ghanaian political landscape is practiced through the lens of effective HR practices such as managing a political office, political HR, conflict management, membership relationship management, training, information management, policy implementation and delivery from top to grass-roots political organization.

Management in Political Organizations

Extant research indicates the importance of managing people in the political socialization process of political parties. Thus, participatory democracy requires a political party organization to have, not only electorates who will vote for it, but personnel who are capable of managing the various administrative functions and party offices. Beyond the kind of end results implicit in political party organization, which is looking for numbers to win an election and enjoy political power, there are additional factors which lead to the superiority of governance of a political party with business orientation and goals. The clarity, lack of ambiguity in its management and coordination mechanisms, and regular quality check of its human resources will help to achieve its goals than that of a less competently managed political organization.

Political management is the process of using the organizational resources to achieve political goals by planning, organizing, leading and

controlling the human resources of that political party organization. The human resources of a political party are the best political assets of the party. Consequently, effectively managing people in political party organizations would improve the capabilities of the political party and its membership and subsequently enhancing the democratic processes of a nation state. This is because, political parties are fundamental players in the democratic dispenzation of a nation's governance system. They bring together diverse people and characters, recruit and present candidates, and offer challenging policy proposals that provide people with a choice. Based on this, political parties are required to adjust their operations towards the current political environment accordingly (Poguntke 2000). This calls for the adoption of effective management of their human resource (HR) practices.

Human Resource Management (HRM) Practices

Corporate performance and HRM have received considerable attention in the field of behavioural sciences indicating that there is a link between HRM practices and the performance of organizations (Georgiadis and Pitelis 2012). Consequently, many researchers have highlighted the significant role of HRM in the organization's ability to achieve its organizational objectives and to develop a sustainable competitive advantage within a competitive marketplace (Shaw et al. 2009). Thus, political parties can be competitive if they build solid HR practices. HR practices in a political party refer to all the activities dedicated to the management of the party's pool of human resources as well as ensuring that these resources are employed towards the achievement of organizational goals (Altarawmneh and Al-Kilani 2010).

Studies suggest that HR practices affect organizational outcomes by shaping employee behaviours and attitudes (Kehoe and Wright 2010), and this is not different from political organizations. Perceptions of HR practices within political parties have also been suggested to be close predictors of individual attitudes and behaviours (Nishii and Wright 2008) which can help to standardize political conduct. Thus, HR practices

regarded as best practices would help motivate party members and reduce their intention to leave their party (Mudor and Tooksoon 2011).

Consequently, political party organizations are encouraged to adopt suitable HRM practices since these actions are demonstrated to influence better administration of the political parties. The first point of contact within their human resources is to recruit people who can administer party affairs effectively as a business function. Training and development of staff is significant in building and maintaining knowledge, skills and abilities required to maintain their standard performance in the changing competitive environment (Joarder et al. 2011). Rewards play a major role in motivating employees who work in an organizational setting. Since party staff in the various party offices offer their services for rewards and benefits in return, it is thus proper to consider rewards as a crucial component of HR practices. The next section reviews work on the individual HRM practices mentioned previously.

Recruitment and Selection

Recruitment can be described as the process used to attract and create a pool of job candidates where the most suitable person for the job requirements will be selected for the job. Every business organization and association would have to recruit staff to replenish the stock of its human resources so do political parties too. An essential element of party financing in Ghana is the strength of party membership. Conventionally, party members contribute to the financing of the party's day-to-day operations as well as to the election campaign. Accordingly, recruitment and selection of the right people for a political office would enhance the administrative mechanism and directions of the political party. Party offices are the areas where party members most frequently contribute directly to party organization. They are critical learning environments of political party ideologies and strategies and therefore, recruitment and selection of candidates, and types of office

holders to occupy these offices are vitally significant for political party management.

Recruitment and selection as processes begin with the creation of a job specification born out of a job description, and ends when the choice of an applicant is settled on (Boella and Turner 2008). The selection process then narrows down the application and choice of best candidates that meet all the requirements by going through several stages to get rid of unsuitable candidates. The recruitment process finally ends when the selected candidates are placed on the job for which they applied. It is evident then that through the of effective recruitment and selection strategies, the right personnel for the job is chosen, and this can help the organization in terms of performance.

It is therefore important that political organizations implement proper recruitment and selection processes to ensure that the right people are employed in the political party offices to man and enhance best practices of people management of the political party. Consequently, a more realistic, competitive and attractive employment package should be advertised during the recruitment process to attract and maintain the right people for the various jobs and functions of the political parties.

Training and Development

In today's competitive democracy, political parties' leadership and members are continuously facing new issues and challenges resulting from contemporary developments and social change. This therefore calls for political organizations to take steps in order to prepare their members for new challenges and responsibilities of modern political democracies through training and development of their personnel.

Training programmes in organizations have been found to initiate outcomes including employees' commitment (Bulut and Culha 2010). Training and development has also been found to stimulate behaviours that enable organizations to achieve competitive advantage. Therefore, political parties must strive to design training policies in order to gain the commitment of the people working in the various functions of the

political party. Training helps to improve the intellectual capital of the workforce by developing a valuable and committed staff of a political grouping. Training and development of personnel draws out knowledge, skills and abilities—highlighting the impact of the resource-based view of the firm, which suggests that investments in HR will develop, maintain and update the appropriate skills of staff, and hence, create a unique core competency critical for the organization's competitive sustainability (Barney 1991). This is vital for political party organizations.

Rewards and Benefits

Rewards and Benefits are described as the cumulative financial and non-financial compenzation employees receive in return for their services in an organization (Bergiel et al. 2009). The purpose of Rewards and benefits management applies to all types of organizations both small and large including private and public organizations. Thus, rewards and benefits are very significant to political party organizations and survival.

The total rewards system of a political party organization is therefore made up of both the rewards and benefits that party staff are expected to receive in return for their labour. Financial rewards consist of base pay (fixed) and incentive pay (variable). Non-financial rewards include fringe benefits, welfare packages, praise and recognition of which some are legally required. It is evident therefore that, both financial and non-financial rewards are commonly based on the value of the job, and level of personal contributions or performance of the workforce. According to Namasivayam, Miao and Zhao (2007), financial rewards in the form of money can be classified into:

1. Direct Rewards: This comprises salary and pay incentives like bonuses and profit sharing.
2. Indirect Rewards: This includes benefits given to the individual employee like health and unemployment insurance.

Financial benefits have been recognized as a possible antecedent of organizational commitment and would consequently make employees to stay. Traditionally, rewards systems have been used to attract and retain staff and to motivate them to increase their effort and outputs towards the attainment of organizational goals (Chew and Chan 2008). As a result, many organizations use their rewards system to recognize the efforts and contributions of their staff and also, as a motivational tool (Bergiel et al. 2009) that would improve productivity and retention of the workforce. Rewards are also important in aligning employees' interests with organizational goals. Outcomes of rewards have been studied and reported extensively in literature. For example, salary growth and other non-salary benefits provided to employees of political organizations will stimulate membership motivation and drive.

Importance of HR Practices in Political Organizations

A number of theories have provided the context for the prediction of the relationships between effective HR practices and organizational performance. For example, the dynamic capabilities framework (Teece et al. 1997) suggests that organizations focus on dynamic processes that build HR capabilities. Consequently, the importance of HR practices to successful political party organization cannot be overstated. Management is closely linked to perception of the political system, and therefore it appears that any form of mismanagement within political parties have a strong negative impact on citizens' consent towards the political system they live in and on the legitimacy of the political party itself. Consequently, it is a serious task for all parties to continuously improve their party management systems, to adapt it to the changes and challenges within the societies they represent and to search for institutionalized forms of party management that guarantees good governance (Schläger and Christ 2014). The significance of good management practices of political parties' rests on the assumption that effective HR practices are extremely important and necessary to improve on the

productive capacity of political parties. Hence, the strategic orientations of political parties may play a significant role in the application of HR practices and impact on the political party's performance (Teo et al. 2011). In the next section, we discuss briefly a conversational approach to data collection which comprises the narratives of empirical data for this project. The narratives mainly from interviews of participants for this study are then triangulated with a document analysis of the constitutions of the two parties.

Methodology

As stated in the previous paragraph, data for this chapter involved two methods of gathering information on political management and HR practices of the two political parties; The NDC and NPP. First, an in-depth, open-ended and mostly unstructured one-on-one interviews with four executives of the two major political parties under study—the NDC and NPP. Second, a document analysis which involved the examination of the constitutions of both NDC and NPP, focusing on their written policies or rules particularly the constitutional articles dealing with HR issues. The interview data which was tape-recorded took into account a wide array of contextual factors inherent in management practices especially HR practices of the two political parties in Ghana. The interview data was triangulated with the thematic analysis of the constitutions of both parties. Through reading and thematic analysis, and categorizing the themes according to the different roles of HR practices which is the focus of this chapter, we arrived at five main categories (see Table 8.1) as the major findings of this work.

Table 8.1   Categories of common themes

1. Political Management and HR
2. Recruitment and Selection of personnel in Political Parties
3. Training and Selection of Personnel for Political Administration
4. Reward and Benefits in Political Administration
5. Managing Conflict in Political Organizations

Discussions and Conclusion of Findings

The major aim of this chapter is to review the political management and HR practices of NDC and NPP and to build an integrative competency framework of HR practices for political party office management in Ghana. An integrative competency framework is a pool of observable skills, behaviours, and attitudes that impact the quality of work that people do in an organization (Noonan 2012).

The overall analysis of the findings suggests that there is no evidence of a serious commitment to formal management and HRM orientation in the Ghanaian political party administration. This is not altogether surprising since Ghanaian political parties do not see the management of political party office as a business function. So, in relation to category one in Table 8.1, the findings suggest that political management and HR are haphazardly run. Political party administration (despite the availability of party constitutions and party guidelines of the two political parties) has no clear cut or laid down formal structures as in formal management where organizations through laid down structures and control mechanisms can plan, organize and control organizational activities and processes.

Functional organizations are those with proper structures that support a higher degree of effective human resource administration, financial management, and clear cut communication lines displayed by the organization. However, political parties in Ghana are managed hierarchically not based on competency but the popularity of the elected officers. For example, while the NPP constitution states that:

> The Party is a national party and shall accordingly be structured and operated on that basis (Article 5) that of the NDC states that:

> The Party shall be organized at branch, ward (polling division), constituency, district (where appropriate), regional and national levels (Article 11).

The previous clauses do not appear to support a functional and independent character of the political party organization. The inference from the constitutional clause of the NPP stated above suggests an unrestricted

power to rule from the top and hence any decision the party leader takes is abiding. This has made most elected executives and employees of the party to basically rely on the instructions of the party leader, rather than performing their various job roles based on conventional HR practices. Equally, Article 27, 1a of the NDC constitution states clearly that the General Secretary shall "*be responsible for the administration of the Party Secretariat and all Party employees*". This conditional clause equally gives the General Secretary excessive authority over all party employees. He can therefore fire and recruit employees at will without any recourse to prescribed HR regulations. On the other hand, formalized organizational roles are supposed to reduce work ambiguity and render employees with autonomy, and to allow the individual employee or members of the organization to focus, to learn, and to take part in decision making. This will decrease the cost of coordination, and increase efficiency (Perrow 1986), which are outcomes of vital importance for African political party management that are already suffering from meagre resources. The most striking feature of the data (both documentary and interviews) is the pervasive nature of authority and hierarchy of the party leaders, even in the various regional party offices where there is an orientation towards self-determination and self-administration, party leaders still micro-manage these offices from the centre because they wield so much power. For example, a respondent from the NDC party made the following remark about the power of party leadership:

> The administrative power concerning the rules and regulations or whatever on party employees rest on the executive. The accountant who was fired by word of mouth was told his do's and don'ts and if he has fallen contrary to these regulations then summarily dismissal was to be effected and that is what I think the General Secretary said…. he said he cannot work with him so it ends there.

This is counterproductive in human resource management and development, and emphasizes less on strategic HR management that highlights the degree to which the HR function (practices, systems, policies) has a critical role to play in creating and implementing sustainable business strategies aligned with the political management.

On recruitment and selection of party officers and personnel to man the various political party offices, findings from the interviews and the document analysis both show that political parties in Ghana do not have formalized recruitment and selection processes as a management practice. In fact, recruiting party official to work in the various administrative bureaus are done in jumbled and ad hoc approach without any regard to any formal process that begins with the creation of a job specification born out of a job description, and ends when the choice of an applicant is settled on (Boella and Turner 2008). Thus, recruitment and appointments of personnel are mostly chosen based on known relations or party officials and not based on recognized recruitment and selection processes. This is supported by an executive of an NPP interviewee who said:

> We do not advertise positions externally because we are likely to engage someone from the opposition party who can learn our secrets of operations. We make sure we recruit party members we think can do the job, and this responsibility rest on the party general secretary.

Political parties can only recruit the best people to man their administrative offices when they adopt a dedicated recruitment brand that encompasses a selection process that identifies the best candidate in terms of competencies and skills for the role in question, and not to choose administrative workers from people associated with you.

On the part of training and development of personnel for political administration, political parties in Ghana do not have clear cut training programmes for their personnel. Similarly, employees of the various political parties are not developed for the career projections as they work in the different political offices. An interviewee from the NDC party stated that:

> As far as I am aware since I have been here in this part, I have not seen such training for staff but some party elected executives are occasionally given orientation, as for the administrative staff I don't know, unless the General Secretary. If something of that sort had occurred prior to my coming here I wouldn't know.

Equally, an interviewee from NPP party indicated that:

> I am unaware of formal training programmes being organized for administrative staff. I think it may be waste of resources based on the sort of work they do. What I know my party does is to organize training programmes for polling agents who normally guide the various polling stations during elections.

Thus, political parties in Ghana rather consider the cost they will incur from training and development of their employees than the benefits of training and developing the skills and competencies of their employees for the effective management of their party administration. Findings of this work also show that political parties in Ghana have no formal reward and benefit scheme for their administrative employees. Pay and compenzation for workers of the political party offices are administered not based on job analysis and pay for performance but a fixed income. The payment methods for administrative personnel of the various political parties are not channelled through the banks but are given cheques. Sometimes, the administrative personnel are given cash as salaries on table. This demonstrates the informality of reward management practices adopted by political parties. This is what an interviewee from the NPP party said about rewards:

> Our rewards system here is not formalized like those of the mainstream private and public organizations. In political party administration, we depend a lot on the benevolence of our fundraisers and contributions of members. Therefore, there are times that we are unable to pay the salaries of the administrative workers for some time until money is available. Especially, when you are in opposition it is difficult to have sufficient funds for complete administrative issues. So, we sometimes speak to our workers to exercise patience until money is available. More so, the majority of employees work with the aim that when we win political power, then we get them fixed in proper places.

Additionally, findings from this work illustrate the simmering tensions and conflict among party officials working in the various political party

offices and elected party members who hold positions in the executive and legislature arms of government. Tensions and conflict basically stem from the thinking that, who actually does the work for the party and who benefits from the fortunes of the party. The personnel and few elected party executives working in the various offices believe that they have the strategy and principally do all the grounds work towards elections, while the party members who are members of the legislature or executive especially when the party is in power and some of the latter become ministers do not actually work but benefit from the fortunes of the party. This has mostly created conflicts between these two groups of people in both political parties. For example, an interviewee from the NDC party had this to say:

> One confession I can make to you is that apathy is now setting in for those of us who work in the party offices. This is because there is a constant rift between the party lay people who work in the party head office and those who occupy executive positions as ministers. Those in the ministerial positions always feel they know better than those of us working and administering party businesses in the party head office. When we advise them (our party ministers) that things are not going well with the grassroots and that people are complaining about their social and political behaviors, and if we are not careful we may lose political power, it becomes a big disagreement and tension between us.

This statement presupposes that teamwork especially on the part of those party members working in the executive branch and holding ministerial positions on one hand, and those members working the various offices on the other, have serious conflict issues. The consequence of this is intra-party conflict leading to lack of party cohesion, and cynicism in party management and administration. The relationship between value-based HR practices and clear recognition of administrative functions will be strengthened if there exists a well-designed organizational HR strategy for political parties.

Conclusion

From HR development perspective, this chapter may provide the base for planning political management activities where the fundamental questions to be answered by political party administrators are: Should our political management and HR practices be approached more as business or as mere ? What type of competencies, knowledge, skills and abilities, or other characteristics are need for our office holders?

This chapter concludes by suggesting the following: First, that there is the need for clear mechanisms of coordinating the various HR practices of political parties. That there should be unequivocal channels of communication lines, identification of decision-makers in terms of managing the various party administrative processes and those who have to implement these decisions. The party's governance system must set out clear linkages and processes between grass-roots party members and elected officials on one hand, and administrative personnel working in the various political offices on the other.

Second, there is the need for political parties to embrace their strategy of recruiting people with the right skills and competencies to carry out their aims and objectives. In order to keep these key skills in the political business and political power, political parties should provide continuing development and training for their employees as they progress along a long-term career path. Managing a successful political business involves acquiring, developing and maintaining a wide range of HR practices like effective reward and benefit systems to motivate workers in the various party offices.

Third, HR practices in political organizations should centre on identifying, cultivating management values which can leverage political parties to an effective and contemporary management paradigm. Management values must draw on the sharing of knowledge that contributes to political party organizational knowledge and culture. HR selection tests and interviews should include recruitment and selection processes which identify personalities with proactive and empathic values as the basis for strategic management of people in political organizations.

Finally, the purpose of HRM is to hire, train and develop staff to effectively work in organizations, and where necessary to caution, discipline or dismiss them. Through effective training and development, employees in the various political organizations can achieve and perform better within the political parties to accomplish their aims and objectives.

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9

Exploring the Prospects and Limits of Modern Democracy in Africa: The Role of Leaders

Kwasi Dartey-Baah

Abstract This chapter seeks to highlight the prospects of procedural and substantive democracy in Africa, emphasizing the limitation and shortcomings of African countries in their pursuit of democracy, citing a transformational-transactional leadership mix ('transfor-sactional') in countering the shortcomings. It achieves this purpose by reviewing literature on democracy, transformational and transactional leadership styles to develop a leadership mixture (transfor-sactional) and further goes on to draw a conceptual framework to show the relationship between transfor-sactional leadership and democracy. This chapter then discusses the concepts in the framework by explaining the relationship between them. The review of literature shows that procedural democracy has good prospects across the continent; however, African countries are lagging behind with reference to substantive democracy. Additionally, this chapter reveals

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that, the persistent economic hardship, poverty and underdevelopment across the African continent, the role of leaders in mitigating these pertinent human problems cannot be overemphasized. As such, the complementary role of transformational leadership to transactional leadership is shown and thus, leaders who are able to effectively combine attributes of the two leadership styles can achieve effective leadership which is crucial to African countries in achieving growth and development.

Keywords Democracy · Transformational leadership · Transactional leadership · 'Transfor-sactional' leadership · Development · Africa

Introduction

The concept of Western democracy is perhaps the most popular form of governance, judging by its wide acceptance by those who in reality are averse to its tenets (Oyekan 2009). While democracy has been consolidated in Western countries like USA and Britain, Bratton and Houessou (2014) maintain that several countries in Africa, notably Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Uganda and Zimbabwe continue to experience a *deficit of democracy* in which popular demand for democracy greatly exceeds the amount of democracy that political elites are willing or able to supply. Most scholars attribute the economic growth and development of these Western countries to successful democracies. As Haggard (1990) notes in a paper prepared for USAID; in the long run there is a definite positive association between economic prosperity and democracy. However, Samarasinghe (1994) notes that the relationship between democracy and development is a two-way process. Arthur (2010) writes that many African countries sought to pursue democracy and strengthen it, in response to the wave of democracy that blew over the African continent in the late 1970s and 1980s causing them to abandon authoritarian regimes of one form or another, to adopt and pursue multiparty politics and democracy; described by Huntington (1991) as the "third wave of democracy".

Janda and Goldman (1995) attempted a division of democracy into two parts. The first aspect is procedural in nature in the sense that it provides the framework for people to vote, contest election, debate public issues among other things African Countries like Botswana, Benin and Ghana have achieved impressive feats in this aspect. The second aspect focuses on meeting human needs and satisfying basic goals. It is in line with substantive democracy, which lays emphasis on economic rights, growth and development (EISA symposium 2007). Substantive democracy has remained elusive to many African countries though some of these countries are epitomes of procedural democracy.

The initial steps towards democracy with the organization of competitive elections proved not to be enough to deliver on the high expectations for improvement in the lives of people (World Movement for Democracy 2008). International indices of economic growth and development indicate that poverty and corruption levels are high while standards of living and per-capita income are low in many African countries. According to the UNDP Multidimensional Poverty Index, almost 1.5 billion people in 91 developing countries are living in poverty with overlapping deprivations in health, education and living standards (UNDP 2014). In the report, many African countries fell in the category of low human development. Furthermore, out of the last ranked 20 countries, there were 18 African countries (UNDP 2014). In 2013, the Corruption Perception Index indicated that only four African countries, namely Botswana, Cape Verde, Rwanda, Mauritius, scored above 50 points out of 100; where 100 is very clean and 0 is highly corrupt (Corruption Perception Index 2013).

In recent times, poor and ineffective leadership has been highlighted by most scholars as a major cause of Africa's woes. Adejumobi (2000) posits that political megalomaniacs like Mobutu in Zaire; Samuel Doe in Liberia; and Siad Barre in Somalia created for themselves "political fiefdom" in their respective countries; unreservedly obtained national wealth, devalued the lives of the people and destroyed the fabric of the society. Oyekan (2009) argues that there are factors that impede the relationship between democracy and development in Africa, and the most central factor is leadership failure. Therefore, the role of African leaders is essential to attaining substantive democracy. Extensive

research has been conducted on two leadership styles initially propounded by Burns (1978), namely transformational and transactional. While transformational leadership style is one that inspires followers to transcend their self-interests for the good of the organization (Robbins et al. 2009), transactional leadership style is all about an exchange relationship between leaders and subordinates (Bass, 1999), where the leader gives followers something they want in exchange for something the leader wants (Kuhnert and Lewis 1987, as cited in Judge and Piccolo, 2004). Burns (1978) considered the transformational leader to be distinct from the transactional leader; however, Bass (1995) viewed the transformational/transactional leadership paradigm as being comprised of complementary rather than polar opposite constructs and integrated the transformational and transactional styles by recognizing that both styles may be linked to the achievement of desired goals and objectives. Bass, Avolio and Goodheim (1987) suggest that in this view, the transformational leadership style is complementary to the transactional style and likely to be ineffective in the total absence of a transactional relationship between leaders and subordinates (Lowe et al. 1996). All leadership approaches or styles involve some form of transaction, some of which may be medium or long term in nature (Locke et al. 1999). Bass (1985) explains that effective leaders make use of both approaches simultaneously to achieve best results and that transformational leadership actually augments transactional leadership. Dartey-Baah (2015) labels the effective mix of these two leadership theories; transactional and transformational, as "transfor-sactional" leadership.

This paper seeks to throw more light on how far democracy has been consolidated on the African continent and its limits, emphasizing the importance of effective leadership in Africa to augment democracy in reducing poverty and bringing development to the continent. By effective leadership, this chapter stresses the essence of a mixture of transformational and transactional leadership styles (Transfor-sactional leadership), where transformational leadership is seen to support or complement transactional leadership to achieve the best results in leadership.

Literature Review

Democracy

Democracy is generally a heavily contested concept (Sachikonye, 1995). Different scholars from different parts of the world have defined democracy. According to Schattschneider (1960), democracy is a competitive political system in which competing leaders and organizations define the alternatives of public policy in such a way that the public can participate in the decision-making process. Dahl (1971) has identified five main criteria by which a country can ideally be classified as a democracy: equality in voting, enlightened understanding by citizens, effective political participation, access to the agenda of the issues available for decision-making and inclusion of all adult citizens (Arthur 2010). However, Dahl (1989, 1998) has asserted that, given that the ideal form is virtually non-existent, among others, the main elements of a liberal democratic society include political participation, freedom of expression, access to alternative sources of information, the right to association, free and fair as well as competitive elections and the existence of fundamental human rights (Arthur, 2010).

For purposes of this paper, democracy will be conceptually defined as a system which involves the participation of the people in the making of decisions and policies in their countries; upholds and guarantees their rights and liberties (civil, political, economic, social rights, and so on) through a working constitution and also makes concerted efforts at ensuring socioeconomic growth and development to improve living conditions of people.

Prospects of Democracy in Africa

Some African countries like Benin, Botswana and Ghana are considered as yardsticks on the continent as far as periodic elections, multiparty politics and civil rights are concerned. Gyimah-Boadi (2009) points out that the independence and administrative capacity of Ghana's Electoral Commission (EC) has improved with each election, while levels of

public interest in national elections remain high. He maintains that the country's key democratic institutions—the judiciary, Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) and parliament—continue to develop and solidify, and media freedoms and respect for human rights have expanded from one election to the next (Gyimah-Boadi, 2009).

According to Oyekan (2009), a lot of scholars have argued that democracy is an ideal that does not, and cannot deliver on its exaggerated promises. He maintains that some have taken it further, on the evidence of the development of many Western democracies, that its success abroad may not yield the same result for Africa. The problem of democracy has led some scholars to wonder whether its promises are not exaggerated. In fact, they are skeptical about its ability to replicate its much-vaunted results in the west in Africa (Oyekan, 2009). Morrow (1998) postulates that liberal democratic theories go contrary to African indigenous values and could not address developmental problems of countries that were hitherto colonial territories. Thus, it is not farfetched to say that the progress of and prospects for substantive democracy remains marginal in many African countries.

Limits to Democracy in Africa

Bratton and Houessou (2014) note that even though a lot of Africans want and demand democracy, the demand for it far exceeds the supply of it across the continent, based on their survey which revealed that fewer than half (43%) consider their country a democracy and, at the same time, say they are satisfied with the way democracy works.

Brown and Kaiser (2007) assert that impediments to democratization in Africa are stronger than in any other region; the state and civil society, two critical actors in a democracy, both tend to be weak. In addition, African countries generally suffer from long standing economic crises, extreme poverty, little experience with liberal democratic governance, and widespread societal alienation (Brown and Kaiser 2007). Furthermore, Brown and Kaiser (2007) postulate that a fundamental obstacle to democratization throughout the continent is

neo-patrimonial rule, described as "the core feature of politics in Africa" (Bratton and van de Walle 1997). Neo-patrimonialism is inimical to democratization because the distribution of state resources is based on the ruling elite's personal ties, rather than on principles such as the public good, national citizenship or equal opportunities. The ruler's personal prerogatives also eclipse the role of formal institutions and the rule of law (Brown and Kaiser 2007).

A report on the EISA conference highlighted nationalism and ethnicity; religious fundamentalism; high socioeconomic inequalities; the absence of a healthy civil society; and the absence of effective, honest and moral leadership as factors that obstruct the consolidation of substantive democracy over the African continent (EISA Symposium 2007).

One plague that is, and has continued to be inimical to both procedural and substantive democracy and development on the African continent is corrupt, ineffective and inefficient leadership. Adejumobi (2000) maintains that Zaire (now Democratic Republic of the Congo) is one of the largest and richly endowed countries in Africa, yet, it is a country that lacks basic amenities and her citizens live in dire poverty. Apart from the damaging political crimes misdemeanour of Mobutu, the living standards in Zaire under him stooped below that of the pre-independence era (Nzongola, 1982; Sandbrook, 1985; Human Rights Watch, 1997); it was the apogee of political misrule and bad governance (Adejumobi 2000). It is this dearth of effective, transparent, visionary and goal-oriented leadership that many scholars believe is, and has been cankerous to substantive democracy and development across the African continent.

Leadership

Leadership, it seems, is increasingly becoming the panacea of the twenty-first century (Bolden 2004). Winston and Patterson (2006), after reviewing 160 books and articles that contained definitions, scales or constructs of leadership, gave an integrative definition of a leader as; "one or more people who selects, equips, trains, and influences one or more follower(s)

who have diverse gifts, abilities, and skills and focuses the follower(s) to the organization's mission and objectives causing the follower(s) to willingly and enthusiastically expend spiritual, emotional, and physical energy in a concerted coordinated effort to achieve the organizational mission and objectives". Although there are many theories on leadership (see Stodgill, 1948; Argyris 1955; Hemphill and Coons 1957; Mahoney et al. 1960; Likert 1961; Nicholls 1988; Bryman 1992; Quick 1992; Kouzes and Posner 1995; Yukl 1994; Fiedler, 1996; Townsend and Gebhardt 1997), this study will focus on two theories within the organizational context, namely transformational, transactional theories of leadership.

Transformational and transactional leadership style was first introduced by Burns (1978) based on his qualitative analysis of political leaders. Yukl (1989) defined transformational leadership style as the process of influencing major changes in the attitudes and assumptions of organizational members, and building commitment for the organization's mission, objectives and strategies. It is a leadership style that "inspires followers to transcend followers' self-interests for the good of the organization and is capable of having a profound and extra ordinary effect on the followers concern" (Robbins, Judge and Sanghi, 2009). Transformational leaders seek to enhance the relationship by arousing and maintaining trust, confidence and desire (Einstein and Humphreys, 2001). Leaders who are identified with these behaviours show concern and respect for individual group members, open to input from others, treat all group members as equals and are friendly and approachable (Bass, 1990). The leaders in a way build followers respect and encourage them to on the welfare of the group or organization. They are also said to endow visions and sense of missions, and inspire pride in followers through charisma (Bass and Avolio, 1990).

A key objective of transformational leaders is bringing and developing followers to a level where they can successfully accomplish organizational goals and tasks without the direct intervention of the leader (Dartey-Baah et al., 2011). Bass (1985) stated that transformational qualities lead to performance beyond expectations in organizational settings. Transformational leaders are considered to be visionary and enthusiastic, with an inherent ability to motivate followers (Bycio et al.,

1995, as cited in Dartey-Baah et al., 2011). The attributes of transformational leadership are charisma or idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individualized consideration. Charisma or idealized influence is the degree to which the leader behaves in admirable ways that causes followers to identify with the leader. Inspirational motivation is the degree to which the leader articulates a vision that is appealing and inspiring to followers. Intellectual stimulation is the degree to which the leader challenges assumptions, takes risks and solicits followers' creative ideas and lastly, Individualized consideration is the degree to which the leader attends to each follower's needs (Judge and Piccolo, 2004).

Transactional leaders, in contrast, focus on the proper exchange of resources. The concept of transactional leadership is all about an exchange relationship between leaders and subordinates (Bass, 1999). If transformational leadership results in followers identifying with the needs of the leader, the transactional leader gives followers something they want in exchange for something the leader wants (Kuhnert and Lewis 1987, as cited in Judge and Piccolo, 2004). Transactional leaders make clear the task performance expected of subordinates and the rewards for meeting those expectations, anticipating task-oriented problems and taking corrective action (Avolio et al. 1991). Thus, they use rewards and known standards of performance to motivate, encourage and arouse subordinates' commitment. The dimensions of transactional leadership are contingent reward, management by exception—active, and management by exception—passive. Contingent reward is the degree to which the leader sets up constructive transactions or exchanges with followers; the leader clarifies expectations and establishes the rewards for meeting these expectations. Management by exception is the degree to which the leader takes corrective action on the basis of results of leader–follower transactions. Active leaders monitor follower behaviour, anticipate problems and take corrective actions before the behaviour creates serious difficulties. Passive leaders wait until the behaviour has created problems before taking action (Judge and Piccolo, 2004).

"Transfor-Sactional" Leadership (A Transformational–Transactional Mix)

Burns (1978) considered the transformational leader to be distinct from the transactional leader, where the latter is viewed as a leader who initiates contact with subordinates in an effort to exchange something of value, such as rewards for performance, mutual support, or bilateral disclosure and the former as one who engages with others in such a way that the leader and the follower raise one another to a higher level of motivation and morality. Contrarily, Tosi (1982) indicated that every charismatic leader is supported by someone with the ability to manage the mundane, day-to-day events that consume the agendas of many leaders; thus transformational leadership augments transactional management.

Dartey-Baah (2015) argues that the "expansion of knowledge on leadership should be centred on how an effective mix of the transactional and transformational leadership theories would yield best results" (p. 106). The term transfor-sactional leadership seeks to bring a new twist to the transformational–transactional argument. This term denotes a mixture of transformational and transactional leadership styles where the transfor-sactional leader is viewed as one who effectively fuses and exhibits attributes and characteristics of both transformational and transactional leadership styles (Dartey-Baah 2015). Therefore, there should be a converging point between these two leadership styles where effective leadership is activated to induce the best performance from followers and subordinates. By this, the author is of the view that the four attributes of transformational leadership, namely idealized influence, inspirational motivation, individual consideration and intellectual stimulation (Judge and Piccolo, 2004), when combined with the three attributes of transactional leadership, namely contingent management, management-by-exception (active) and management-by-exception (passive) (Judge and Piccolo, 2004) result in effective leadership, hence; transfor-sactional leadership.

Democracy and Transfor-Sactional Leadership-Conceptual Framework

One of the strong principles of democracy is periodic, free and fair elections, that is, where citizens of a country vote leaders into power at all levels of governance (district, national, etc.) to represent them and to promote their interests, needs and wishes through the making of informed policies and decisions. Thus, the concept of leadership plays a very vital role in democracy. These elected leaders are those who will make decisions that will affect the lives of citizens in the country. Therefore, the style of leadership of these representatives is imperative in the attainment of substantive democracy and development on the African continent. In other words, for African countries to enjoy the benefits of substantive democracy, leaders at all levels of governance must endeavour to adopt certain principles and attributes. If leaders adopt appropriate leadership styles, they will in-turn ensure that adequate policies are pursued, while subordinates and employees are properly motivated to be creative, committed and innovative in bringing out ideas in policy formulation and implementation as well as increase productivity in both the public and the private sectors of the economy. In the long run, as these elected leaders exhibit competence, efficiency and effectiveness, the democracy of the country, that is, both procedural and substantive, will be fortified.

Discussion

Democracy, like all other systems of government, has its flaws that come along with its benefits. Oyekan (2009) contends that there is no system of government that is not fraught with problems, meaning that democracy is not an exception and should not be dismissed on the basis of its imperfections. Thus, drawing on knowledge of its success in the western world, African countries could ensure that certain principles and practices be upheld in order to sustain their democracies and reap the full benefits thereof. One of such principles is effective and efficient

leadership, leadership that is visionary, innovative and creative in solving pertinent problems of African countries. One guide for leaders to be effective is through the adoption of leadership styles and the pursuit of their attributes. In the organizational setting, two behavioural leadership styles, namely transformational and transactional, have been subjected to rigorous studies with various variables.

Leadership style has been found to affect a wide range of factors such as job satisfaction, performance, turnover intention and stress (Chen and Silverthorne 2005) and helps achieve organizational success (Rad and Yarmohammadian, 2006). An effective leadership style of the leaders in an organization is capable of providing motivational stimulus and direction to their followers to achieve the organizational mission and goals (Wan Omar and Hussin, 2013). Yousef (2000) found a positive relationship between leadership behaviour and job satisfaction and recommended adoption of appropriate leadership behaviours in order to improve management. Leadership is also known to be one of the determinants of organizational commitment and employee commitment (Aghashahi et al. 2013). Mehta, Dubinski and Anderson (2003) conducted a study on leadership styles, motivation and performances and indicated that leadership styles influence motivation and went further to claim that leadership styles that were participative, supportive and directive motivated the employees more and this resulted in higher levels of performance. Bass and Avolio (1999), in their studies, established a correlation between transformational leadership style and motivation (Buble, Juras and Matic 2014). Evidently, transformational and transactional leadership styles have substantive influences on the job satisfaction, motivation, commitment, among others, that ultimately lead to higher levels of performance.

In a study conducted in Australia, Hong Kong, Singapore and UK on transformational and transactional leadership among building professionals, Chan and Chan (2005) found that "transformational leadership can augment transactional leadership to produce a greater effect on the performance and satisfaction of employees; however, transactional leadership does not augment transformational leadership" (p. 419). They further discussed that "transformational leadership has a substantial add-on effect on transactional leadership in prediction of employees' rated

outcomes of extra effort, perceived leader effectiveness, and satisfaction with the leaders in the sample of building professionals" (p. 420).

However, these behavioural styles of leadership are prominent in the organizational setting. One mind-boggling question that arises then is this: If these behavioural leadership styles have been tested and proven to be effective in increasing organizational performance and growth thereby yielding great financial returns for organizations, why then can leaders at all levels of governance in African countries not adopt these styles in order to induce and incite commitment, motivation, innovation and creativity in solving social and economic problems that plague the continent?

In Fig. 9.1, we see transfor-sactional leadership as comprising transformational and transactional leadership styles, where transformational leadership augments, complements and has an add-on effect on the transactional leadership style resulting in effective leadership that ensures that goals are met, subordinates are satisfied, committed and well motivated, performance is high and sustainable growth is achieved. Research has found transformational and transactional leadership styles to have significant influence on performance and attitude of subordinates and employees to work, where subordinates are motivated, committed to their work, innovative, creative, productive and do not exhibit counterproductive behaviours such as absenteeism, turnover, burnout, among others (Chan and Chan 2005; Stone 1992; Corrigan and Garman 1999; Mehta et al. 2003; Chen and Silverthorne 2005; Wan et al. 2013; Kent and Chelladurai 2001, etc.)

In Africa, one can confidently say that transactional leadership style is dominant. Thus, instead of district executives, members of parliament, ministers and other government officials conforming to procedures of state bureaucracies only, which are in line with transactional leadership, they could adopt principles of transformational style, such as idealized influence, where they would exhibit behaviours that are worthy of emulation such as eschewing corruption and embezzlement of state funds; inspirational motivation, where they would present a vision that is attainable, enticing and worth pursuing to their subordinates; intellectual stimulation, where leaders would challenge the mental abilities and capabilities of subordinates to think outside the box in producing
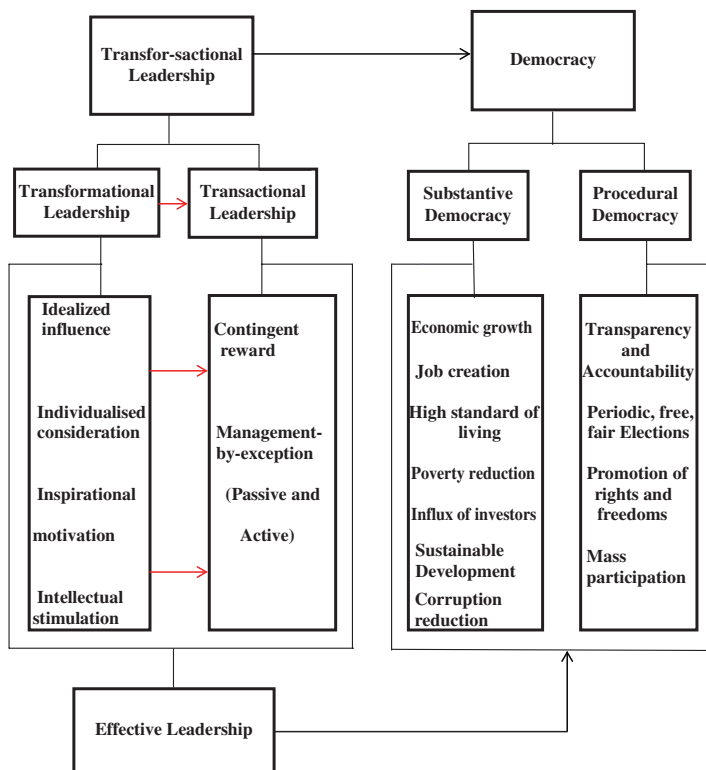
Fig. 9.1   Conceptual framework. *Source:* Dartey-Baah (2015)

lasting solutions to problems that plague the continent such as poverty, malnutrition, low standards of living, low per-capita income, high population growth rate, currency depreciation among others; and individualized consideration, where they would treat their subordinates as not mere civil servants but each as an individual with different potentials, capabilities, weaknesses and needs, at the same time showing concern for their well-being, to complement and augment attributes of transactional leadership style such as; contingent reward, where they make known to subordinates rewards for meeting expectations and sanction for failure to do so; and active management by exception, where the leaders closely monitor behaviours of subordinates and tackles problems at their budding stages.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the demand for democracy seems to be high across the African continent and the prospect of procedural democracy is good. However, that of substantive democracy, where economic growth and development is achieved, does not look promising, looking at international indices for measuring human development. A major limitation to substantive democracy has been poor, ineffective leadership that is not visionary and renders subordinates unproductive. As a way to counter this leadership limitation, this paper has highlighted the introduction and adoption of transfor-sactional leadership, a style that mixes transformational and transactional leadership attributes, where transformational leadership complements the more familiar transactional leadership resulting in effective, visionary leadership that makes subordinates committed, motivated, creative and productive.

In Africa, one can confidently say that transactional leadership style is dominant. Thus, instead of district executives, members of , ministers and other government officials conforming to procedures of state bureaucracies only, which are in line with transactional leadership, they could adopt principles of transformational style such as idealized influence, where they would exhibit behaviours that are worthy of emulation such as eschewing corruption and embezzlement of state funds; inspirational motivation, where they would present a vision that is attainable, enticing and worth pursuing to their subordinates; intellectual stimulation, where leaders would challenge the mental abilities and capabilities of subordinates to think outside the box in producing lasting solutions to problems that plague the continent such as poverty, malnutrition, low standards of living, low per-capita income, high population growth rate, currency depreciation among others; and individualized consideration, where they would treat their subordinates as not mere civil servants but each as an individual with different potentials, capabilities, weaknesses and needs, at the same time showing concern for their well-being, to complement and augment attributes of transactional leadership style such as; contingent reward, where they make known to subordinates rewards for meeting expectations and sanction for failure to do so; and active management by exception, where the leaders closely

monitor behaviours of subordinates and tackles problems at their budding stages.

This leadership mixture can help African leaders and countries achieve significant substantive democracy and strengthen procedural democracy. It is therefore recommended that leaders at all levels of the governance, that is, district, regional and national levels of African countries, be made aware of the attributes of transformational leadership, through avenues such as trainings, seminars, workshops and the benefits associated with it as a complementary and augmenting tool to transactional leadership. This will enable them in the discharge of their duties to obtain optimum commitment, motivation and innovation, creativity, satisfaction, high productivity and performance from subordinates so as to help mitigate political and socioeconomic problems and conflict within their countries. Eventually, this could strengthen the substantive democracy of these countries where they lag greatly behind Western countries and complement their procedural democracies.

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10

Conclusion

Kobby Mensah

Abstract The practice of political marketing is now universally accepted by parties in Ghana, albeit at varying degrees. It is noted that political parties in Ghana are well aware of the importance of marketing to their competitiveness.

The practice of political marketing is now universally accepted by parties in Ghana, albeit at varying degrees. It is noted that political parties in Ghana are well aware of the importance of marketing to their competitiveness. The degree of parties' competitiveness is dependent on both internal and external factors-resource capabilities and leadership commitment as internal factors, and the external factor being the political system as enabling environment.

Whereas party respondents acknowledge leadership commitment (to innovative approaches in managing parties) with the use of marketing and other management concepts, scarcity of resources limits their

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efforts. This is supported by the two chapters in the book that talks about parties' struggle to raise funds for their activities. Given that the two internal factors are somewhat within the control of all parties, the duopolistic nature of the political system seems to be the most limiting factor, especially for smaller parties, to become competitive. In addition, it is noted in the book that duopoly—two-party dominance—of the political system has created media system along the same lines. Here, it is noted that the media space which is supposed to offer an equal platform for competition has increasingly been pushed to align itself with either of the two main parties, NDC and NPP, helping them to perpetuate their dominance. The emergence of social media could offer the solution to cut through the competition if less resourced parties make effective use of the channel. Social media has broadened the channel of distribution, where 'trending news' from social platforms such as Twitter, Facebook and YouTube have become a part of the traditional news broadcast on radio and TV. Hence, political parties could channel their activities on social media but gain access to the traditional channels.

Another area of concern that the book addresses is how the political parties apply branding concepts in managing their image, and how these concepts have been used to influence voter choice in the last 20 years. From voters' perspective in the southern areas of the country, it is noted that voter influence, and reasons for party choice are multilayered. Voters are choosing parties based on leadership traits, organizational and managerial issues, and parties' responsiveness to issues that concern them. The study reveals that voters are increasingly moving towards the centre in party choice, noting that the traditional cues based on which voters identify themselves with parties are changing. This means, in these areas, class and ethnocentric factors are less prevalent as bases for voter–party choice. However, findings from the northern part of the country indicate the persistence of traditional factors such as regionalism, ideology and historic family ties as strong motivators for party support.

We note in this book that the shift in voter-party identity and the eventual choice are a function of change in perceived party behaviour,

which is in turn a function of change in leadership as a response to the new voter characterization. Here, it was discovered that voters align candidate characteristics with perceived party behaviour, suggesting a strong relationship between the two, and their voting patterns for the studied parties: The New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) . It is concluded that despite the existence of the traditional factors such as regionalism, family ties and ideology influencing party choice, there is increasing rise of bipartisanship in Ghana, and the perception that parties are class based are diminishing. Hence, voters are likely to choose parties based on the right mix of options that offer value to them.

From party perspectives it is also evident that political parties in Ghana universally see themselves as brands with unique characteristics that identify them as such. In their branding however, symbolism triumphs 'mechanization' meaning political parties recognise that they can 're-engineer' their image through behavioural changes through creation and maintenance of good internal management systems, party organization and selection of electable candidates. However, they refer to traditional elements such as ideology, logos and colours as predominant in building and maintaining political brands. Party officials believe that name, logo and ideology symbolically associate the party to its foundations, and easily generate recall amongst its target voters. They claim that although it is equally prudent to consider new forms of building reputations through party organizations and candidate image, for example, the society still connects with its past through symbols as representation of history, origin and ownership. This is important to the parties' ideology as people lost their lives in political struggles protecting what they felt were of value to them and their descendants. This shows that parties are somewhat internally driven, with limited attention to the interest of the voters.

The book also highlights a gap in party management, noting that parties have become 'overly electioneering'—only concentrating on activities that directly contribute to bringing them into power. Parties are not paying attention to building internal structures, such as human resource (HR) management issues. They haphazardly run

Table 10.1 Guidance for political marketing and management practitioners in Ghana

Emergence of political marketing means intense competition	Political marketing is universally accepted by parties in Ghana. This means political party leadership are less likely to resist new forms of party administration from business management perspectives. The caution, however, is the lack of funds and fundraising capacity. These are not the biggest obstacles to parties' competitiveness, as avenues for innovation to party funding exist, such as the introduction of mobile money and Internet for fundraising. Rather, practitioners must understand that duopolistic political and media systems were the biggest obstacles to competitiveness. This makes the system more expensive as each of the dominant parties is keen to sway the media space to their advantage, leading to the media 'cashing in' on the state of competition. This means practitioners must be innovative in finding prudent ways of cutting through the competition with limited resources at their disposal
Social media and the emergence of permanent campaign: broadening channels of distribution, electoral targets and giving back to the practitioner the 'control' of their own campaign	The advent of social media means practitioners do not have to wait for the normative campaign season to promote their candidates, programmes and parties. Comparatively, it does not cost much to do as would traditional media. The growing social media space affords practitioners the opportunity to target unusual segments of the electoral market. It is noted that through social media, young people and celebrities have been engaging the political system, making their views known. Social media has also increased the opportunities to create visibility as 'trending' issues make their way to traditional news media broadcast as 'trending news'. Opportunities for practitioners to set their own agenda, and be in 'control' of the message are also provided when social media is used effectively, with proper guidelines for its rollout. The caution, however, is that social media can be double-edged; whereas it affords practitioners control over their own message, it is equally difficult to control malice and untruth peddled by agents of opposing camps. Hence, the need for vigilance, effective monitoring and control mechanisms

Table 10.1 (continued)

The rise of the electorate consumer; and the bipartisan voter	Practitioners must be aware of the changing characteristics of the voter as a citizen to a consumer. It is noted in the book that Ghana, like most capitalist economies is witnessing the influence of 'commercialization' as a result of deregulation and liberalization of the economy. Hence, the proliferation of the media space, for example, has given rise to media choices, with different programmes in entertainment, business, current affairs, etc. on both public and private media channels all competing for the attention of the people. The Ghanaian eventually does not feel 'coerced' to listen to the national broadcaster, or to the famous 7 o'clock news bulletin. Thus, media platforms and their content including government publicity, political advertisement and so on, must compete for the attention of the people. This means, voter behaviour must be analysed and understood from the consumer behaviour theory perspective. It is also noted that the voter is increasingly becoming bipartisan. Class-based party–voter association is diminishing with majority of voters. Regardless of demographic characteristics, voters are prepared to vote either left or right of the ideological divide if offered the right mix of political choices that satisfy their needs
New forms of political branding has emerged, but the old still persist, with symbols, not 'mechanization', differentiating political marketing in Ghana	It has emerged that voters are now choosing parties based on the 'temperament' of the party. This means, the behaviour of the party, as characterised by the traits of its leaders, is as important as the policy options the party presents. Hence, party behaviour and leadership characteristics have become important variables for political branding. The book also makes clear the distinction between political marketing in an emerging democratic jurisdiction in Africa compared to that from the west. This means practitioners must be aware that although parties recognise the use of technology and managerial approaches to branding and political marketing in general, they still prioritize the sociocultural nuances of the party and their constituents. This is crucial in political analysis and strategy development, and differentiates the Ghanaian case from the technology driven process of the West

Table 10.1 (continued)

The increasing rise of 'interested monies' and 'political entrepreneurs' as a result of difficulties in political fundraising	Fundraising is the most challenging aspect of party management as a result of poverty and mistrust of the political system among voters. This has given rise to the phenomenon of 'interested monies' and 'political entrepreneurs' who usually have the motive of gaining unlimited influence when the party comes to power
Advancement in mobile technology, internet and other sources as possible solutions to political fundraising difficulties	If political parties could solve the issue of mistrust of the system among voters, perhaps mobile and internet technologies could be the solutions to fundraising challenges. It is noted that some parties have deployed the internet and mobile money technology to raise funds from members and supporters. The innovation could be enhanced to increase the volume and value of donations, so as to reduce the influence of major donors who seek to influence the system for their individual benefits. It is also noted that parties must have formal commission arrangements/royalties with dealers in the sale of party paraphernalia in order to realise significant contributions. Investing in money market securities are other avenues identified for parties to save and increase income
Call for change in leadership style	On leadership, the book calls for the adoption of trans-for-sactional leadership philosophy, which is missing at the macro level of the political system. In this philosophy, leaders encourage subordinate engagement, effectively create shared visions and goals, and guidance in the pursuit of national goals. The adoption of transfor-sactional leadership can induce commitment, motivation and satisfaction from workers needed to drive African countries towards attaining substantive democracy
Ensuring media independence of the political system—breaking the hegemony	It is suggested that division of the media system along the two dominant political poles is a creation of the political system in order to perpetuate their agenda without the realization of the media. It is recommended that the media system led by National Media Commission (NMC), the Ghana Journalist Association (GJA) and the Ghana Institute of Journalism (GIJ) embark on education for media practitioners to enhance their knowledge in effective news communication through credible, accurate and multiple sources of information. Thus, journalists must be trained to detect the difference between the political and public relations activities of the political parties aimed at propagating their parochial interests

Table 10.1 (continued)

Effective HR practices impact on party Image and voter choice	At a very general level, the findings suggest effective HR practices among employees in political organizations can enhance party personnel performance, which in turn can affect party performance. It is also noted that proper HR practices such as effective recruitment and selection processes, training and development of party staff, and organized reward and benefit systems for party staff have significant effect on party behaviour, party brand image and voter choice eventually

administration with less regard to party constitutions and guidelines, and have no codified (guidelines) managerial processes like corporate organizations do to plan, organize and control the non-political parts of their operations. This lack of good internal structures and processes to facilitate effective planning means lack of space for ideas to become innovative, including fundraising ideas. Thus the status quo reigns, such as allowing 'political entrepreneurs' to make large donations and thereby have undue influence within the party. The book calls upon political parties and other stakeholders to institute measures to manage and control such major party financiers, amongst which includes revisiting the proposal on state funding of political parties.

Internal party issues, as described by the chapter on HR, reflect on leadership quality which is a function of good governance and democracy; factors that have influence on voter choice, according to the chapter on political branding. It is quite clear that there is a relationship between good internal processes and voter choice.

The chapter on leadership observes that procedural democracy has shown glimpses of hope in emerging democracies, such as Ghana. However, substantive democracy has been poor and ineffective thereby rendering subordinates unproductive. Hence, there is a call on people who seek political offices to adopt transfor-sactional leadership—a style that mixes transformational and transactional leadership attributes. This leadership style has the capacity to result in visionary leadership that makes subordinates committed, motivated, creative and productive (Table 10.1).

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Index