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Dynamics of factionalism in Ghana's New Patriotic Party

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Abstract

This study examines factionalism within Ghana's New Patriotic Party (NPP), focusing on its impact on party coherence and candidate selection. It investigates the departure of Alan Kyerematen, prompted by alleged manipulation in candidate processes. Using a case study approach, the research analyzes the NPP's organizational dynamics, highlighting the influence of tradition, personal values, and psychological traits in selecting candidates. The emergence of Dr. Bawumia as the NPP's flagbearer is also explored. Findings indicate that factionalized leadership fosters internal conflict and shifts selection criteria from longevity to popularity and behavioral relations. This research enhances understanding of party politics in Ghana, offering insights into party cohesion, candidate selection, and the risks of party splits.

Keywords: Dynamics, factionalism, coherence, candidate, alleged, manipulation, tradition, psychological traits, criteria, fragmentation, cohesion, coalition, inclusivity

Introduction

This paper explores the complexities of party leadership within Ghana's political landscape, focusing on the New Patriotic Party (NPP). It investigates how factionalized leadership affects party cohesion and candidate selection, particularly in the context of recent events involving Alan John Kwadwo Kyerematen's departure from the NPP and Dr. Bawumia's emergence as the party's flag bearer. The paper begins by examining the historical context and organizational dynamics of the NPP, emphasizing the influence of tradition, personal values, and psychological traits on candidate selection. It employs theories such as the Splinter Party and Big Tent theories to analyze the implications of factionalism for party unity and electoral success (Park 2001; Cox & Rosenbluth, 1996) ^[28, 15]. The study contrasts the traditional focus on longevity in candidate selection with a growing emphasis on popularity, psychological attributes, and grassroots support, reflecting a shift toward selecting candidates based on their ability to connect with the electorate.

Kyerematen's exit, driven by claims of manipulation in the delegate selection process, aligns with findings from Babalola and Abba (2007) ^[6] regarding the patronage dynamics within political parties. The paper posits that factionalized leadership can lead to internal conflict, influenced by ideological divisions and leadership styles. The increasing costs of maintaining organizational integrity amidst factionalism can precipitate splits within parties, as noted by Danielson and Keleş (1980) ^[16].

As the NPP prepared for its presidential primaries, the competition among candidates intensified, with slogans such as "Eye Wo de!" reflecting the traditional notion of seniority in candidate selection. However, this raises questions about the effectiveness of such criteria in a democratic context, where candidate qualifications and future vision should take precedence. The NPP's legacy, rooted in the Danquah-Busia-Dombo tradition, raises further questions about the appropriateness of current selection criteria. The historical contributions of figures like Danquah and Busia to Ghana's political landscape underscore the need for a candidate who can unify the party and resonate with the aspirations of the Ghanaian populace.

This paper reveals that the NPP's candidate selection process is evolving, as evidenced by Dr. Bawumia's recent victory in the flag bearer contest, which highlights the influence of behavioral elements and personal connections with delegates.

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The dynamics of candidate nominations are further complicated by the use of financial incentives to influence voting, as noted by Babalola and Abba (2007) ^[6]. The phenomenon of elite defection, exemplified by Kyerematen's establishment of a new movement, underscores the challenges of maintaining party cohesion in the face of internal dissent (Ichino & Nathan, 2017) ^[21]. The implications of background characteristics on leadership selection, as discussed by Blondel (1987) ^[12], highlight the role of personal traits in determining a candidate's suitability.

Through this study, the author aims to contribute to the literature on party leadership in Ghana by examining the transformative processes within the NPP and the implications of factionalism for internal democracy. The findings suggest that a lack of internal democratic practices can lead to fragmentation and undermine party effectiveness, a trend observable in the current NPP context.

Theories of Party Factions

In contemporary political analysis, understanding the dynamics within political parties is crucial for assessing their effectiveness and responsiveness to societal needs. This paper primarily emphasizes several theories as its foundational frameworks. These theories underscore the importance of connecting with ordinary party members and unifying diverse factions within a political party.

Grassroots Support and Coalition-Building

Grassroots support involves engaging ordinary party members, local activists, and voters to build a broad base of support. Candidates who adeptly mobilize this support can bridge divides and unite different segments of the party. This approach highlights a shifting focus towards meritocracy, where candidates are evaluated not solely by their tenure but by their ability to articulate a compelling vision and mobilize support.

The coalition-building aspect emphasizes forming strategic alliances with various interest groups within the party. By doing so, candidates can enhance their legitimacy and demonstrate their capability to unite differing viewpoints, ultimately increasing their chances of success in internal elections (Holbrook & McClurg, 2005) ^[20]. Such strategies are essential in today's dynamic political landscape, where parties must quickly adapt to changing voter preferences and societal trends.

Splinter Party Theory

The **Splinter Party Theory** posits that the emergence of new parties from existing ones can inject fresh ideas and challenge established norms. This theory suggests that the departure of prominent members or the formation of new movements can serve as catalysts for revitalizing the political system (Park, 2001) ^[28]. In the context of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) in Ghana, this theory will be applied to analyze whether the recent departure of Alan John Kwadwo Kyerematen and the formation of a new movement align with the theory's proposition of fostering innovation and change within the party.

Big Tent Theory

Conversely, the big tent theory emphasizes the importance of maintaining a broad coalition within a party that encompasses diverse viewpoints and interests. This

approach prioritizes unity and inclusivity as essential for a party's long-term sustainability and electoral success. The theory posits that diversity in leadership and ideology can strengthen a party by fostering a wider base of support and resilience against fragmentation.

Application to the New Patriotic Party (NPP)

The application of these theoretical frameworks provides insights into the intricate dynamics of party leadership within the NPP. By juxtaposing the Splinter Party Theory and the Big Tent Theory, this paper aims to explore how factionalized leadership can catalyze organizational change and innovation while assessing the significance of diversity in maintaining the party's coherence and resilience.

Campaign Strategies and Candidate Dynamics

The analysis of campaign strategies is crucial for understanding internal party elections. Drawing on Thomas M. Holbrook's work, "Do Campaigns Matter?" (1996), which examines the impact of primary campaigns on voter preferences and candidate performance, this paper explores the effectiveness of various campaign strategies such as advertising, endorsements, and campaign events in shaping primary outcomes.

In the recent leadership contest within the NPP, the strategies employed by candidates Alan Kyerematen and Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia illustrate the interplay of candidate positioning and primary strategies. While Kyerematen's specific tactics are less documented, Dr. Bawumia's campaign exemplifies successful relationship-building with influential party members, including founding fathers and local executives. Bawumia's respectful and inclusive approach aimed to bridge internal divisions and garner broader support, revealing the complexities of internal party dynamics and the strategic maneuvering needed to secure victory.

Grassroots Support and Coalition Building

Theories of grassroots support and coalition-building emphasize the importance of candidates connecting with ordinary party members and unifying diverse factions within a political party. Candidates who effectively cultivate grassroots support demonstrate legitimacy and popularity and are crucial for mobilizing voters. This strategic approach aligns with the shift towards meritocracy in candidate selection, where the ability to communicate effectively and unite support networks is prioritized (Holbrook & McClurg, 2005) ^[20].

In the context of the NPP, the changing candidate selection criteria reflect a recognition of the necessity for candidates to connect with voters and effectively communicate their messages to maintain relevance in a dynamic political landscape.

Candidate Positioning

Candidate positioning involves assessing the preferences and priorities of party members and adjusting policy platforms and campaign messages accordingly. Research by Nie, Verba, and Petrocik (1976) highlights how candidates adjust their positions to align with shifting party coalitions and voter attitudes. Similarly, Noel (2014) ^[27] examines how candidates position themselves within party platforms to appeal to different ideological factions. In the NPP, Kyerematen and Bawumia both crafted their campaign

messages to resonate with party factions. Kyerematen emphasized an economic turnaround agenda focused on job creation and revitalizing businesses. His background as the former Trades and Industry Minister and his experience with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa positioned him to appeal to delegates concerned with economic development.

Conversely, Dr. Bawumia outlined a vision for a united and stronger NPP, focusing on inclusivity and the benefits of digitization for Ghana's economy. His campaign highlighted past contributions, such as his role in the Highly Indebted Poor Country initiative and his efforts in economic digitization, appealing to party members interested in technological advancements.

Primary Campaign Strategies

Candidates utilize various campaign strategies to win internal party elections. These strategies may include emphasizing policy proposals, showcasing qualifications, building personal relationships, and engaging in coalition-building with influential party members. Skinner (2007) [32] discusses the role of interest groups in shaping primary campaigns, while Niemi and Weisberg (2001) [26] analyze how candidates use various tactics to appeal to voters.

Dr. Bawumia's campaign benefited from significant support from party interest groups, which enhanced his visibility and credibility. He built strong relationships with influential party members, including endorsements from founding fathers of the NPP and municipal executives. For example, Rtd. Sgt. Abdul Karim Salifu Adam publicly endorsed Bawumia, emphasizing his potential to retain the NPP's electoral strength.

Furthermore, the Upper East Region's municipal and district chief executives pledged their support for Bawumia, highlighting his capacity to engage and mobilize influential party members. This strategic coalition-building was instrumental in securing his position as a leading candidate.

Delegate Strategy

Internal party elections often involve the selection of delegates who cast votes for leadership positions. Candidates strategically target these delegates by appealing to their ideological preferences, offering concessions, or forming alliances. Hassell (2017) [19] investigates the role of delegate strategy in congressional primary elections, highlighting how party leaders engage in delegate selection to influence the nomination process and shape candidate choices.

While vote-buying strategies are generally deemed unethical and illegal in democratic systems, they can be analyzed through the lens of Rational Choice Theory. This theory posits that individuals act in their self-interest, making decisions based on a rational assessment of costs and benefits. Buchanan (1965) [13] applies this theory to public choice, exploring how self-interest shapes collective outcomes in political systems. Simpson (2013) [31] further examines vote buying as a political strategy, assessing when politicians engage in this behavior and its implications for democratic governance.

In the context of the New Patriotic Party (NPP), Alan Kyerematen's campaign included elements of a vote-buying strategy. Allegations surfaced that Kyerematen had expended significant resources approximately GHc2 million for nomination packets for NPP members seeking election

as area coordinators and polling station executives. Reports indicated he covered the costs for thousands of nomination forms and associated expenses for aspiring executives in various constituencies.

This campaign strategy can be interpreted within the framework of Rational Choice Theory. Kyerematen may have believed that by providing financial incentives, he could effectively persuade delegates to support his candidacy. Simpson's analysis underscores how financial incentives can shape voter behavior, suggesting that Kyerematen aimed to secure electoral victory by appealing directly to the self-interest of party members.

Party Unity

To succeed in internal party elections, candidates must often balance their positions to appeal to various factions within the party. Emphasizing party unity and minimizing internal divisions are strategies that can enhance a candidate's support base. Lee (2016) [23] explores the dynamics of party unity in the U.S. Congress, examining how leaders navigate the tension between maintaining unity and pursuing individual electoral goals.

Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia's campaign exemplified a focus on party unity. Throughout his campaign, he advocated for a respectful and cohesive approach, emphasizing the importance of unity among party members. He stated, "We are a diverse group of people with a range of interests and backgrounds. However, despite our differences, we are one."

Bawumia's commitment to a campaign free of personal attacks and divisive rhetoric aligns with Lee's findings about the necessity of balancing individual electoral ambitions with the overarching goal of party cohesion. By promoting a positive narrative, Bawumia aimed to unify various factions within the NPP and broaden his appeal among delegates.

Comparative Analysis of Campaign Strategies

In the contemporary context of the NPP, Bawumia's campaign strategies appear to have garnered more support and endorsements compared to those of Kyerematen. Bawumia successfully built relationships with influential party figures, including the founding fathers of the NPP, and received pledges of support from key regional executives.

Bawumia also highlighted his qualifications and past contributions to the party, framing his tenure as vice president as a testament to his capability to enhance the party's electoral prospects. This strategic emphasis on experience and unity likely contributed to his electoral success.

Conversely, the lack of detailed information regarding Kyerematen's campaign strategies suggests that he may not have effectively mobilized support within the party. The comparative analysis indicates that Bawumia's focus on coalition-building and party unity played a crucial role in securing his position as the leading candidate in the NPP's internal elections.

The Case of Ghana's NPP

The paper focuses on the politics of party leadership within the New Patriotic Party (NPP) in Ghana, a case study that is particularly relevant due to the recent departure of Alan John Kwadwo Kyerematen from the NPP and the formation of his movement. This event has sparked questions about the changing dynamics of the NPP's candidate selection

process and the potential for party fragmentation. The NPP is a significant political party in Ghana, having won the 2016 and 2020 presidential elections, and studying the NPP allows for an in-depth analysis of the challenges and consequences of factionalized leadership within a major political party in a democratic African nation. Historically, the NPP has experienced factionalism, with various groups vying for influence and control, making it an ideal case to examine the impact of factionalism on party coherence and candidate selection.

The recent departure of Kyerematen and the emergence of Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia as the flagbearer suggest a notable shift in the NPP's candidate selection process. This transition from longevity-based selection methods to a focus on factors such as popularity and psychological traits warrants further investigation. Additionally, the departure of Kyerematen and the formation of his new movement raise concerns about potential party fragmentation, which could have significant implications for the NPP's electoral success. Understanding the dynamics at play within the NPP is crucial for comprehending the factors that contribute to party splits and the broader consequences for political stability and governance in Ghana.

The political and social context in Ghana, coupled with the observable dynamics within the NPP, offers a compelling case study opportunity. This paper enriches the understanding of party leadership challenges in the contemporary Ghanaian political landscape by examining the intricacies of factionalized leadership, candidate positioning, and the strategies employed by different factions within the party. The implications of these findings extend beyond the NPP, providing insights into the broader phenomena of party dynamics and electoral behavior in democratic contexts.

Methodology

This paper enriches the analysis of leadership and candidate selection within Ghana's New Patriotic Party (NPP) by incorporating data from Afrobarometer, a pan-African research network known for conducting public attitude surveys. By integrating Afrobarometer data, the paper offers a deeper understanding of the external environment influencing the NPP's leadership dynamics and electoral success. The analysis utilizes survey datasets from various rounds of Afrobarometer conducted in Ghana, primarily focusing on R7 (2016/2018) and R9 (2019/2021), coinciding with general election periods. This temporal

How often does party competition lead to conflict

Country-Ghana	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9
Never	17.5%	17.4%	17.9%	33.1%	18.2%	21.1%	18.5%	14.2%	8.2%
Rarely	26.1%	21.8%	27.5%	30.7%	28.9%	24.6%	26.0%	31.3%	19.8%
Often	36.4%	40.6%	35.9%	23.9%	36.3%	29.2%	37.1%	36.4%	44.9%
Always	16.4%	12.9%	14.5%	8.5%	14.3%	18.0%	16.2%	16.3%	26.5%
Missing	0.0%	-	0.1%	-	-	0.2%	-	-	-
No answer; Refused	0.1%	-	-	-	-	-	0.1%	-	0.6%
Don't know	3.5%	7.2%	4.1%	3.9%	2.4%	6.9%	2.1%	1.8%	-
(N)	8,713 (100%)	1,200 (100%)	1,197 (100%)	544 (100%)	1,216 (100%)	1,080 (100%)	1,104 (100%)	1,223 (100%)	1,149 (100%)

Source: Afrobarometer online data analysis tool.

The race for the New Patriotic Party's (NPP) flagbearer has historically been dominated by male candidates since Ghana's Fourth Republic began in 1992, and the current contest continues this trend with all male candidates. This

focus allows for a nuanced examination of public opinion during the NPP's candidate selection process, particularly in light of Alan Kyerematen's departure from the party.

The Afrobarometer data provides valuable insights into public perceptions and priorities regarding political candidates, enabling comparison with the NPP's evolving candidate selection criteria. This comparison reveals whether the party's approach aligns with public expectations and preferences. Furthermore, the paper explores gender norms and attitudes towards women leaders, highlighting women's challenges and opportunities within the NPP, especially given the party's emphasis on traditional values.

In addition to quantitative analysis, qualitative methods were employed, including a thorough review of existing literature on factionalism, party leadership, and candidate selection, drawing from the works of scholars such as Park (2001) [28], Balser (1997) [7]. The paper also incorporates party documents and historical records to contextualize the NPP's origins and ideological foundations. Furthermore, media analysis, including references to news articles and interviews, provides contemporary insights into public opinion and current events affecting the NPP.

This analytical approach investigates the evolving candidate selection process within the New Patriotic Party (NPP), focusing on the implications of Dr. Mahmoud Bawumia's victory, framed through the Big-Tent theory, and Alan Kwadwo Kyerematen's departure from the party, examined via the Splinter theory. The paper explores the affiliations of NPP members with various political parties following Bawumia's success, assesses perceptions regarding gender and leadership effectiveness, and analyzes the role of political parties in contributing to conflict, utilizing Afrobarometer survey data spanning from 2002 to 2023. By evaluating the attitudes and behaviors of these two NPP leaders, the paper seeks to elucidate the trends influencing the party's leadership dynamics.

Close to a political party

Gender of respondent			
Category	Total	Man	Woman
No (does not feel close to any party)	46.8%	44.6%	49.0%
Yes (feels close to a party)	47.8%	50.0%	45.5%
Refused to answer	5.0%	5.0%	5.0%
Does not know	0.4%	0.4%	0.5%
(N)	2,369	1,193	1,176

Source: Afrobarometer online data analysis tool.

analysis explores the relationship between gender and political party affiliation in Ghana, particularly concerning educational backgrounds, using data from the Afrobarometer (R9 2021/2023). Among 1,193 male

respondents, 44.6% reported not feeling close to any political party, compared to 49.0% of women from a total sample of 1,176. Overall, 50.0% of males indicated a closeness to political parties versus 45.5% who did not. These findings suggest that males demonstrate a stronger affiliation with political parties than females, indicating a significant correlation with the New Patriotic Party's dynamics.

The letter N which is 8,713 represents the number of people used in this survey out of the overall population in Ghana. The following explains the number of years used by the Afrobarometer survey. R2 represents 2002/2003, R3 indicates 2005/2006, R8 indicates 2019/2021, and R9 also ranges between 2021/2023. Per the data, in the years

between R2 and R3, there's a reduction in respondents who believe party competition can never lead to conflict from 17.4% and 17.9% in R2 and R3 respectively to 12.9% and 14.5% of people who believe that party competition always leads to conflict in R2 and R3. It can be realized from the Afrobarometer above that there's been a significant change in the years 2019/2021 and 2021/2023. There's been a decrease from respondents who believe party competition can never lead to conflict with 14.2% and 8.2% against those who believe party competition always leads to conflict with 16.3% and 26.5%. There's a ten percent increment from 2019/2021 to that of 2021/2023 which indicates the likelihood of a persistent increment in the future in political party conflicts.

Freeness and fairness of the last national election

	R1		R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9
Country-Ghana									
Not free and fair	10.1%	18.0%	8.7%	5.9%	4.9%	25.2%	2.8%	3.0%	12.7%
Free and fair, with major problems	12.2%	18.1%	7.9%	6.8%	10.2%	21.1%	4.9%	7.0%	20.4%
Free and fair, but with minor problems	27.8%	35.7%	29.7%	21.1%	41.1%	19.5%	23.4%	22.6%	26.3%
Completely free and fair	43.9%	26.5%	47.1%	61.2%	38.2%	24.8%	63.7%	58.1%	36.4%
Do not understand question	0.5%	-	0.9%	-	-	0.4%	0.3%	1.6%	0.2%
Missing	0.2%	1.7%	0.2%	-	-	-	-	-	-
No answer;Refused	0.1%	-	-	-	-	-	0.3%	0.1%	0.1%
Don't know	5.3%	-	5.5%	5.0%	5.6%	9.0%	4.7%	7.7%	4.0%
(N)	8,461 (100%)	948 (100%)	1,197 (100%)	544 (100%)	1,216 (100%)	1,080 (100%)	1,104 (100%)	1,223 (100%)	1,149 (100%)

Source: Afrobarometer online data analysis tool.

Alan John Kwadwo Kyerematen, a longtime presidential contender, asserts that NPP officials are imposing their preferred candidates on delegates, manipulating the candidate selection process to maintain the status quo. This claim aligns with the views of Babalola D and Abba (2007) [6], who argue that political parties in Nigeria have become platforms for wealthy "godfathers" who influence delegate systems and purchase votes. To investigate this assertion, the paper examines the relationship between favoritism and the fairness of elections within the NPP. The analysis focuses on Afrobarometer data, specifically from rounds R7 (2016/2018) and R8 (2019/2021), coinciding with Ghana's general elections in 2016 and 2020, respectively. The findings indicate an increase in perceived unfairness in elections from R7 to R8, with respondents reporting major problems rising from 4.9% to 7.0%. Conversely, those who viewed the elections as completely free and fair decreased from 63.7% to 58.1%. This inverse relationship suggests a growing distrust in the electoral process managed by the Electoral Commission of Ghana, supporting Kyerematen's claims of favoritism among NPP leadership.

Content analysis of Ghanaian news sources

The Ghanaian News Sources I had most of my information from are classified under the Splinter Party and Bent tent theory which I will inculcate in this section.

Splinter Party

Concerns have been raised within the New Patriotic Party (NPP) regarding the departure of Alan Kwadwo Kyerematen, with calls for the party to prioritize unity ahead of the 2024 general elections. Former flagbearer hopeful Mr. Boakye Agyarko emphasized the need to "smoothen ruffled edges" following Kyerematen's resignation, urging the party to reflect seriously rather than engage in

triumphalism. He warned that past experiences show that such incidents often negatively impact electoral outcomes and noted that many members may feel disillusioned, waiting to express their dissatisfaction at the polls. Agyarko encouraged the leadership to address the hurt feelings within the party to achieve their "break eight" agenda ("Make use of Alan's departure to soften the edges of the NPP, says Boakye Agyarko," p. 2).

In a related context, Madam Theresa Amponsah, a long-time NPP member, highlighted the importance of instilling the party's beliefs and principles in younger members, lamenting their ignorance of the party's foundations. She expressed concern over "bizarre and inappropriate" practices that threaten party cohesion but remained optimistic that unity could lead the NPP to electoral success in 2024. Amponsah urged the party leadership to engage discontented supporters and strengthen the party's front for effective campaigning, as reported by the Ghana News Agency (GNA).

Big Tent Theory

Some members of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) believe that Alan Kyerematen's withdrawal from the party will not have severe consequences. Mr. Nkrumah, the NPP's second vice chairman for the Western North Region, described Kyerematen's resignation as regrettable and incorrect, asserting that he would not benefit from it in the future. Mr. Samuel Agyei, a former Regional Organizer and voting official for Kyerematen during the super delegate's conference, expressed to the Ghana News Agency (GNA) that while they are entitled to their decision, he believes an independent candidate cannot succeed in Ghanaian elections and that Kyerematen's resignation could have serious repercussions for the party.

In an interview on Wontumi TV on September 25, 2023, Bernard Antwi Boasiako, the Ashanti Regional Chairman of the NPP, criticized Kyerematen for insincerity, reminding him of the opportunities he had within the party, particularly his appointment as an ambassador by President Kufuor. Bernard noted that this role greatly benefited Kyerematen and his family, stating, "Yourself, your companions, your spouse, and your children appreciated it so much" ("You had a great time with your companions when Kufuor appointed you as ambassador", Wontumi "exposes" Alan Kyerematen, p. 2). He concluded that Kyerematen's decision to leave would not undermine the party's unity and that he would ultimately regret his choice.

In this analysis, NVivo 14 was utilized as a qualitative data analysis tool to systematically code and analyze key themes related to the research question. By meticulously examining themes such as candidate positioning, delegate strategy, party unity, and primary campaign strategies, the paper gained a comprehensive understanding of the factors influencing changes in the New Patriotic Party's (NPP) candidate selection methods. This rigorous methodological approach allowed for a nuanced exploration of complex political dynamics within the NPP. The findings not only enhance the understanding of candidate selection strategies within the party but also contribute to the broader discourse on political dynamics and decision-making in Ghana.

After the data analysis, different themes that emerged were

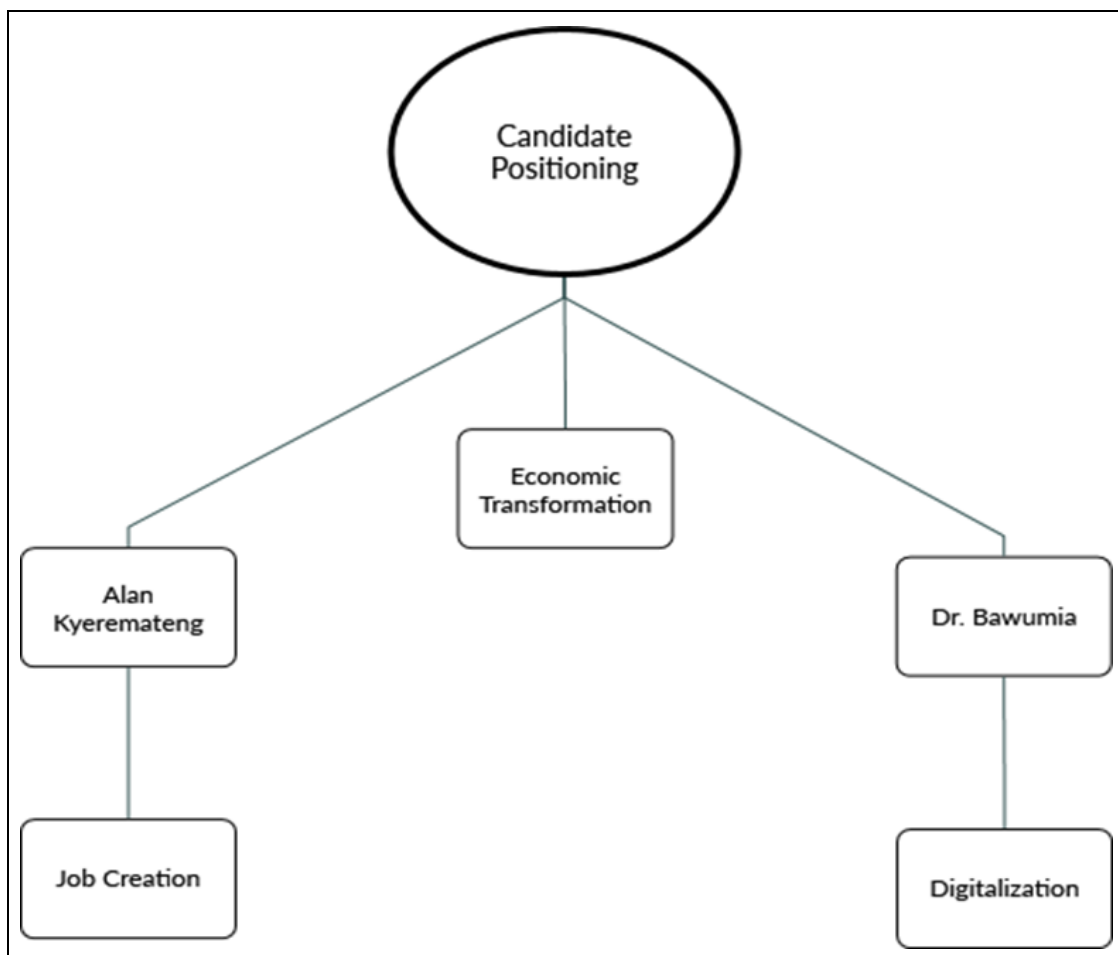
later connected to the main research question of why the New Patriotic Party (NPP) has changed how it selects its candidates. The table below shows a connection between the main research question and the emerging themes.

Why the new patriotic party (NPP) has changed how it selects its candidates.	Candidate Positioning Delegate strategy party unity primary campaign strategies
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Candidate Positioning

After connecting the data analysis to different codes, the author developed codes that contributed to the image of the theme candidates' positioning. The economic transformation agenda was highlighted as one of the strategies under this theme.

According to the Ghana News Agency (GNA) on July 7, 2023, former Trades and Industry Minister Alan Kyerematen emphasized the importance of an economic turnaround agenda during discussions with delegates from three regions. This agenda focuses on job creation, rebuilding industries, and implementing modern governance practices. Meanwhile, Dr. Bawumia highlighted his previous contributions to the party, including his role in the successful Highly Indebted Poor Country initiative and the redenomination of the cedi. He also discussed the benefits of digitization for Ghana's economy and his personal efforts in this area.



Delegate Strategy

The vote-buying strategy was adopted by Alan Kyerematen who tried to influence executives with the pretense of lessening their financial burden. This tactic was highlighted

within this theme.

One of Alan Kyerematen's campaign strategies towards the Super Delegates Congress was based on a vote-buying strategy. On Wednesday, February 23, 2022, to ease the

financial strain on people hoping to become polling station directors and electoral area coordinators for the ruling party, the leadership of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) ordered party mainstays to cease doling out cash.

Party Unity

Dr. Bawumia utilized this team in any campaign that he embarked on, and this is captured and coded as a relevant theme.

On Friday, November 3, 2023, according to Newstex Blogs APO (African Press Organization), Dr. Bawumia's campaign, stressed "the necessity of a respectable campaign free of rancor, and the preservation of unity of the party". Dr. Bawumia reiterated during his interactions with delegates around the nation that he is committed to undertaking a respectable campaign free of slurs, deception, and personal attacks to maintain the party's unity. According to Dr. Bawumia, we are a diverse group of individuals with a range of interests and backgrounds. Nevertheless, despite our differences, we are one.

Primary Campaign Strategies

Per the data the author gathered about party leadership and activities of the New Patriotic Party (N.P.P) in their party politics leadership issues, primary campaign strategy was dominant hence I coded this term in my analysis. Dr. Bawumia's campaign was more effective unlike that of his contenders.

According to information sourced from the Daily Guide Network on July 25, 2023 Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia was characterized by Rtd. Sgt. Abdul Karim Salifu Adam, one of the original leaders of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) in the Northern Region, "as a vibrant and highly powerful leader who would aid the NPP in maintaining its hold on power".

On August 10, 2023, from the Daily Guide Network, a newspaper in Ghana, Oboafu Kwadjo Asante, the Member of Parliament for Suhum in the Eastern Region, expressed his endorsement of Dr. Bawumia, the Vice-President, as the New Patriotic Party's flagbearer.

Also, on Daily Guide Network dated September 28, 2023, there was Dr. Bawumia's designation was made by the Eastern Corridor Alan Group. Officially abandoning their man, the Eastern Corridor campaign coordinators for Alan Kyerematen boarded the Bawumia wagon.

Discussion

The findings from the data and thematic analysis reveal significant insights into shifts in candidate selection strategies within the New Patriotic Party (NPP). Key themes include internal party dynamics, the presence of competing factions, and gender perceptions in leadership, particularly regarding the NPP's flagbearers race. These insights indicate that behavioral factors among leaders, such as Dr. Mahmoud Bawumia and Alan Kyerematen, have more influence than attitudes or perceptions. The research question regarding the NPP's changed candidate selection process can be examined through the theoretical framework of Grassroots Support and Coalition Building, which emphasizes the roles of grassroots engagement and coalition formation.

Vice President Bawumia exemplified this framework by actively mobilizing grassroots support through extensive nationwide tours, listening to party members' concerns, and engaging with constituency executives. He also focused on

coalition building by negotiating endorsements from influential party figures, thereby positioning himself as a unifying candidate. Additionally, Bawumia highlighted his policy expertise in economic development, aligning with the framework's recognition of the importance of substantive policy platforms in garnering support.

Communication strategies were also pivotal, as Bawumia effectively utilized media and social platforms to connect with party members and convey his campaign messages. However, the analysis presents a mixed picture regarding Kyerematen's departure. While some NPP members express concerns about increased factionalization and the need for unity, others believe his exit will have minimal impact, arguing that independent candidates rarely succeed in Ghana. This suggests that while Kyerematen's departure may contribute to factionalism, it is not the sole factor influencing the NPP's coherence and candidate selection.

Ultimately, the evidence suggests that the splinter party theory is currently more relevant than the big tent theory within the NPP context. Kyerematen's departure, driven by perceived manipulation in candidate selection, aligns with the splinter party theory, indicating dissatisfaction with the party. The ongoing internal conflicts and factionalized leadership further contribute to this dynamic, suggesting a shift away from broad coalition efforts. However, due to the ongoing nature of these issues, definitive conclusions about the theory's validity will require additional data and analysis in the future.

Conclusion

This paper examines the politics of party leadership in Ghana, focusing specifically on the New Patriotic Party (NPP). The central research question investigates the shift in the NPP's candidate selection approach from longevity-based criteria to considerations of popularity and psychological traits. The analysis explores the impact of factionalized leadership on party coherence and candidate selection, highlighting the historical context and organizational dynamics within the NPP.

Key findings indicate that internal conflicts and divisions arise from factionalized leadership influenced by organizational objectives, leadership styles, and ideological differences. The paper illustrates a significant departure from traditional longevity-based selection methods, emphasizing the growing importance of candidates' popularity and psychological characteristics as the NPP seeks unity and effectiveness.

However, the research has limitations, including its exclusive focus on the NPP, which may not fully capture broader dynamics in Ghanaian party leadership. Additionally, reliance on historical analysis may overlook recent developments, and the study's dependence on existing literature could introduce biases.

Future research could expand on this topic by conducting comparative analyses of candidate selection processes across various Ghanaian political parties, examining the impact of different selection methods on party performance, and exploring the influence of external factors like public opinion and media. Investigating the long-term effects of factionalized leadership on party stability and the relationship between party leadership and governance effectiveness would also enrich the understanding of the political landscape in Ghana and beyond.

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