



**THE INFLUENTIAL ROLE OF PRESIDENTIAL RUNNING MATES AND PARTYS'
SUCCESS DURING GENERAL ELECTIONS IN GHANA: A CASE OF 2020 AND 2024
ELECTIONS**

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30TH SEPTEMBER 2024

CANDIDATES' DECLARATION

We hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this institute or elsewhere. I am solely responsible for any shortcomings.

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SUPERVISOR'S CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that the preparation of this dissertation was supervised by me in accordance with the guidelines of supervision of dissertation laid down by Ghana Institute of Journalism.

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13TH SEPTEMBER 2024

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to God Almighty, dear parents.

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I would like to acknowledge the efforts of everyone that have played diverse roles to make this study a success.

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ACRONYMS

GIJ: Ghana Institute of Journalism

NPP: New Patriotic Party

NDC: National Democratic Congress

CPP: Conventions People's Party

GUM: Ghana Union Movement

ABSTRACT

Politics, it is said, is about who gets what, when and how, power and the powerful, influence and the influential. Political parties are established to compete for power either to win or lose. The party which wins power through elections is automatically granted legitimate authority to run the country, govern the people and to control resources. This study argues that political parties in Ghana have resorted to many campaign strategies during elections ranging from rallies, door-to-door canvassing, and distribution of gifts in varied forms to mobilize voters to enable them to win elections. However, a new strategy is emerging in recent times which seem to reflect the politics of choosing a Running mate by the flag bearer and the influential role of such a Presidential Running mate episode for the party's success during general elections in Ghana. How could the choice of a particular Presidential Running mate influence the voting behaviour of Ghanaians and for that matter the success story of the party in question during general election in 2020 in retrospect and in 2024 prospectively? Using post-elections survey data from Ghana's 2020 election, and, survey as well as in-depth interviews, this study explores the Influential role of Presidential Running mates for Party's success during general elections in Ghana. Findings revealed that in recent times, choosing a Presidential Running mate has become a very controversial issue in the Ghanaian electoral politics because of the influential nature of the process and the politics of lobbyism. Also, the results showed that although the role of the Presidential Running mate seems to become more attractive and influential, nonetheless, the traditional campaign strategies do have high propensity to galvanize voters' supports for the party's success during elections. It concludes that choosing a Presidential Running mate based on consultation and consensus building is likely for the party to succeed in getting a requisite candidate of the people's choice which could translate into gaining huge supports from the electorate. It suggests that although Presidential Running mates could play influential role for Party's success during general elections in Ghana, other effective strategies reflecting issue-based campaign strategies should be considered during election campaigns for better results.

Keywords: Ghana; Presidential Running mate; influential role; Party's success

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL OVERVIEW AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

Politics, it is said, is about who gets what, when and how (Laswell, 1936), power and the powerful, influence and the influential (Easton 1947-1997). Political parties are established to compete for power either to win or lose. The party which wins power through elections is automatically granted legitimate authority to run the country, govern the people and to control resources. This study argues that political parties in Ghana have resorted to many campaign strategies during elections ranging from rallies, door-to-door canvassing, and distribution of gifts in varied forms to mobilize voters to enable them to win elections (Agyeman-Duah, B., 2008; Akuamoah, E. M., 2017). This study is an investigation about what politicians and members of political parties really care about: getting into office on the back of a successful election campaign. Rather than the general determinants of voting outlined, this is about the choices voters and parties face within a particular system, so they can organize themselves to win. For that they need to play by the rules of the game, which includes developing strategies within electoral systems.

This is because presidential running mate selection can be something of an open-ended mess, creating as many problems for a candidate as it can help with an election (iRIS Research Group (Ghana Report, 2020; Isaac Owusu's Report 2016). The actual impact of a -presidential running mate nomination on an election varies greatly (iRIS Research Group (Ghana Report, 2020; Isaac Owusu's Report 2016). Most have little direct consequence. The presidential running mate nominee carries the ticket and makes the argument for his or her election. This of course is the

crucial choice. The Presidential Running Mate (PRM) nominee complements whatever weaknesses in style, ideology, or political or geographical balance—or in buying off a party faction—the candidate thinks necessary. It is believed that most presidential candidates hope for some plus from their choice but mostly do not want anyone who hurts the ticket or will upstage the nominee. It can be an arbitrary and personal decision and, in fact, is a rather awkward appendage to the whole process and something of an eventual backdoor to the president's office (iRIS Research Group (Ghana Report, 2020; Isaac Owusu's Report 2016).

This led the study to engage in discussion about the influential role of PRM in the electoral systems, processes and calculus, and how the number of parties is affected by the kind of electoral system in place (Alabi, J., & Alabi, G., 2007; Alidu, S., 2019)

It also takes a close look at the factors that assist the winning of elections, and the extent to which the choices of parties and voters are affected by growing instability in the system. However, the point of departure of this study is that a new strategy is emerging in recent times which seems to reflect the politics of choosing a Presidential Running Mate (PRM) by the flag bearer and the influential role of such a Presidential Running Mate (PRM) episode for the party's success during general elections in Ghana. Many issues arise as to whether the choice of a particular Presidential Running Mate (PRM) could influence the voting behaviour of Ghanaians and for that matter the success story of the party in question during general election in 2020 retrospectively and in 2024 prospectively or who partner the Flagbearers as running mates' matter during general election in 2020 retrospectively and in 2024 prospectively, and, the criticality of the role of the PRM to a presidential candidate's elected fortunes during general election in 2020 retrospectively and in 2024 prospectively.

1.1 Statement of Problem

Many researches point to the fact that globally political parties have resorted to many campaign strategies during elections ranging from rallies, door-to-door canvassing, and distribution of gifts in varied forms to mobilize voters to enable them to win elections (Alidu, S., & Aggrey-Darkoh, E., 2018; Asekere, George., 2020b; iRIS Research Group Ghana Report, 2020; Isaac Owusu's Report 2016). However, this study argues that a new strategy is emerging in recent times which seem to reflect the politics of choosing a PRM by the flag bearer and the influential role of such a PRM episode for the party's success during general elections, particularly, for the flag bearer to win the elections. This study observes that a few empirical studies are available, yet, they do not adequately addressed the propensity of the influential role of the PRM episode for flagbearer's success or winning the presidential race.

There is therefore the need to elucidate the understanding of the correlation between the influential role of the PRM and the flagbearer's success story or winning presidential elections. A study conducted by Terris (2015) for instance, revealed a very controversial scenario about PRM. On paper, a PRM may be the perfect running mate: an experienced with a number of terms of holding office, a vigorous campaigner, and a bona fide progressive who also could appeal to swing voters being, for instance, senator Sherrod Brown was a leading contender for the Democratic vice-presidential nomination whom many Democrats wanted him to run for president, in fact, but, like so many other credible candidates who doubted that Hillary Clinton could be defeated for the party's nomination, he declined. So, speculation shifted to the next best thing: a slot on the presidential ticket, as Clinton's running mate. Terris (2015) observed that there was one problem: Brown didn't want it. Not at all. In his words: "I have zero interest

in being vice president” (Terris 2015; 17). Terris (2015) concluded that Brown’s proclaimed disinterest in serving as vice president was not surprising. Throughout US history, the vice presidency has been derided as a dead-end job for ambitious politicians whose talents are spent on helping the presidential candidate to get elected rather than helping the president to govern once in office. In the words of one former vice president, Walter Mondale, “The office is handmade for ridicule and for dismissal. In the nature of it, you always look like a supplicant, a beggar, a person on a string” (Woodward and Broder 1992, 196).

The vice presidency owes its unenviable reputation—notwithstanding many informal expansions of power since the 1970s (see Goldstein 2016)—to its institutional design. Indeed, the US Constitution grants few formal powers to the vice president. These include, first, presiding over the US Senate (a power that Harry Truman’s vice president, Alben Barkley, last exercised with regularity; see Goldstein 2016, 22); second, casting tie-breaking votes in that body (rarely); third, in the presence of the US House and Senate, opening the sealed certificates containing each state’s votes in the Electoral College, and then overseeing the electoral vote count; fourth, and most important, assuming the office of president of the United States upon the president’s death (eight times in US history), resignation (once), removal from office, or incapacitation, and when a presidential election remains unresolved at the time that a new presidential term is scheduled to begin.

Unlike the US case, indeed, the process involved in the selection of PRM in the case of Ghana presents more complex and interesting scenario. Usually, when it is a few months before the General Election, pressure begins to mount on presidential candidates of the various political parties to choose a running mate to complement their candidature as it is happening now in Ghana. Although the decision to choose a running mate is the prerogative of the candidate, it must

be approved by the parties' council of elders and leadership to ensure that the choice fits into the party's campaign agenda (Ayee, J R. A., 2001;; Bauer, G., & Darkwah, A. K., 2020). Since the commencement of the 4th Republic in 1992, the announcements of running mates by the two leading political parties – the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) – have been characterised by mix feelings of anxiety and excitement (Boafo-Auther and Gyampo, R., 2016; Gyimah-Boadi, E., 1994). Usually, the political parties strategically delay the announcement of their preferred running mates to get an idea of the candidate their opponent would present to inform their strategic choice. Discussions surrounding the suitability and acceptability of candidates have often been centered on regional, religious, and ethnic balance, gender, integrity, achievements, ability to pull resources and attract voters, among other considerations. The recent twist to the running mate discourse has been the candidate's appreciation and understanding of the economy as a potential head of the famous Economic Management Team as Vice President (Oquaye, M., 2004; Nugent, P., 2001; Ninsin, K. A. ,2017; Mensa, J. A., 2020). .

Former President John Dramani Mahama is already on the road campaigning following his election as flagbearer of the NDC in May 2023. The former President, who chose Professor Jane Naana Opoku-Agyemang as his running mate for the 2020 General Election, has earlier on given a hint of the identity of the person he has settled on for the 2024 General Election. Speaking during his #BuildingGhana tour in the Bono East Region in November 2023, Mr Mahama hinted that the likely running mate is someone who had served in his government as a minister and discharged his/her duties effectively. He added that his running mate to be is a humble person who has the interest of the people at heart. Sources within the NDC say Mr Mahama had “already” settled on a running mate and would announce the person “soon” (Ichino, N., & Nathan, N. L., 2013b; Arthur, K., 2006).

On the contrary, Vice President Dr Mahamudu Bawumia, the presidential candidate of the NPP, in December 2023 asked the Party to grant him more time to consult broadly to come up with his running mate for the 2024 General Election. The NPP's National Executive Committee granted Dr Bawumia's request, waiving the Party's Constitutional requirement, which mandates the selection of a running mate at least 12 months before a major election if the President is not the candidate. It is not clear when Dr Bawumia would announce his running mate after two months on (Boafo-Arthur, K.,2006; Braimah, A. I., & Bawah, A. S., 2019; Ayee, J. R. A., 2017) In an interview with the Ghana News Agencies, Professor Seidu Alidu, Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, said both former President Mahama and Dr Bawumia must conduct a "SWOT analysis" on their candidature and choose a running mate that can best compliment their strength and weaknesses. He said the identity, experience, understanding of the economy, and the ability of the person to pull resources as well as gender and regional considerations were key indicators to selecting the right running mate. Prof. Alidu said he believed that the two leading presidential contenders already had their preferred candidates but the acceptability of the candidate among stakeholders of the parties and appeasing interested parties that may be disappointed were among the issues that usually contributed to the delays in announcing the candidate (Alidu, S., & Aggrey-Darkoh, E., 2018; Asekere, George., 2020b).

He said as part of the political and campaign strategies of the flagbearers could delay the announcement of their running mates in anticipation of what their opponent would present. Both Bawumia and Mahama have groups that they appeal to and groups that they do not appeal to, and a serious candidate must do a SWOT analysis of his candidature, so that the kind of groups that each of them find to be appealed less to, serve as a guide to pick the running mate from that group so that he can now be appealed to them. So even if they do not like the flagbearer, because of the

candidate that has been chosen as a running mate would resonate with their identity and character and force them to come on board. Insightfully, with the clock continuously running down to December 7, every passing day counts for the presidential candidates to make a decisive step and announce a suitable running mate. The delays in the announcement somewhat suggest that it is not a straightforward decision and that implicitly indicates the complexity of the issue and the competitive nature of the 2024 presidential elections.

In 2016, Prof. Isaac Owusu (*Report of Elections Study of 24 Swing Constituencies*) examined the influence of running mates on the decision of voters. When asked “*does the running mate influence your choice of the president?*”, fifty-one percent (51%) said “*no*”; forty-two percent (42%) said “*yes*”; six percent (6%) said “*don't know*”; and one percent (1%) did not respond.

The survey study was conducted in five regions. In Greater Accra, 51% said yes, 41% said no. In Western countries, 43% said yes, 43% said no. In Brong Ahafo 30% said yes, 66% said no. In Northern, 65% said yes, 31% said no. In Central 30% said yes, 63% said no.

In 2020, when the iRIS Research Group (Ghana 2020 Pre-Election Survey: Report OF The Study Of 36 Competitive Constituencies) asked “*would the selection of the running mate influence your choice of the presidential candidate you would vote for?*” twenty-five percent (25%) answered “*yes*”, seventy-two percent (72%) answered “*no*”, and two percent (2%) answered “*maybe*.”

The survey study was conducted across twelve regions in which eleven (Western, Western North, Central, Greater Accra, Eastern, Ashanti, Ahafo, Bono, Bono East, Northern, Northeast and Upper East) predominantly answered “*no*” and one (Northeast) answered “*yes*.”

When specifically asked about the two main running mates, fifty-nine percent (59%) said yes, forty-one percent (41%) said “*no*” in the case of *Prof. Naana Jane Opoku Agyeman influencing*

their vote for the NDC while forty-nine percent (49%) said “yes,” fifty-one percent said “no” in the case of Dr. Bawumia influencing their vote for the NPP.

What can we learn from the election results? The NDC won the Central Region with Arkah in 1992, Mills in 1996, and Amissah Arthur in 2012. The NDC lost the same region with Amissah Arthur in 2016, and Prof. Naana Jane in 2020. The NDC picked Martin Amidu (Upper East Region) in 2000, Mumuni (Northern Region) in 2004 and John Mahama in 2008 (Northern Region). These regions have traditionally been won by the NDC and so one cannot view the selection of running mates from the region as a strategy to win the region. It is seen as the regional balancing of the ticket.

For the NPP, except for the 1996 elections where the running mate was from the Central Region (Arkah) because of the grand alliance between NPP and the opposition political parties, the party has regularly chosen running mates from the Northern Region, a generally strong hold of their main political rivals (The NDC). So, what has been the political payoffs?

The NPP party has increased its share of the vote from 39% (1996) to 46% (2020) in the Northern Region. In the Upper East Region, they have increased their share of the vote from 17% (1996) to 34% (2020). In the Upper West Region, they have increased their share of the vote from 11% (1996) to 29% (2020). In the newly created Northeast, they won the region by 51% in 2020. So, do running mates influence the outcome of elections? The verdict, at best, is mixed. From the two surveys examined, the verdict appears to be a) overall it does not matter and b) it if matters it depends on the region or the candidate in question.

From election outcomes, it appears that the selection of running mates from the Northern Region has had political payoffs for the NPP, but the case does not appear to be so for the NDC in selecting running mates from the Central Region. Ghana’s two major parties have traditionally done a

regional balancing for the ticket. For the NPP it has been South (Presidential Candidate) and North (Running Mate). With Dr. Bawumia as the 2024 presidential candidate (North), the guess of this study is whether the running mate would be picked from the South. Who from the South, Central or Ashanti or not. The regional balancing for the NDC has been South (Presidential Candidate) and North (Running Mate) in 2000, 2004, 2008, and North (Presidential Candidate) and South (Running Mate) in 2012, 2016, and 2020. With John Mahama (North) as presidential candidate, this study guesses that the running mate for NPP would be picked from the Ashanti once the NDC has repeated its tradition of North -Central. Who from the Ashanti? Will the 2024 running mate for NPP be a woman? Looking on, an important question to ask is “Will the NPP party break with tradition and not go for regional balancing this time? That will make for an exciting election season.

1.2 Research Questions

- Q1. Does the choice of a particular Presidential Running mate influence the voting behaviour of Ghanaians?
- Q2. Does the choice of a particular Presidential Running mate influence the success story of the party in question during general election?
- Q3. How did the choice of a particular Presidential Running mate happen to elections outcomes in 2020 retrospectively and would it be the same in 2024 prospectively?
- Q4. Does who partner the Flagbearers as running mates’ matter during general election in 2020 retrospectively and would it matter in 2024 prospectively?
- Q5. How critical is the role of the running mate to a presidential candidate’s elected fortunes during general election in 2020 retrospectively and would it be the same in 2024 prospectively?

1.3 Research Objectives

This study has twofold objectives namely broad and specific. Broadly speaking this study explores a new strategy emerging in recent times which seem to reflect the politics of choosing a Running mate by the flag bearer and the influential role of such a Presidential Running mate episode for the party's success during general elections in Ghana. However, specifically, it sought to:

1. Explore the influence of the choice of a particular Presidential Running mate on the voting behaviour of Ghanaians.
2. Determine whether the choice of a particular Presidential Running Mate matter for the success story of the party in question during general election.
3. Ascertain what the choice of a particular running mate happened to election outcomes in 2020 retrospectively and whether it would be the same in 2024 prospectively,
4. Investigate whether or not who partners the Flagbearers as running mates' matters during general election in 2020 retrospectively and in 2024 prospectively.
5. Analyze the criticality of the role of the running mate to a presidential candidate's election fortunes during general election in 2020 retrospectively and in 2024 prospectively.

1.4 Scope of the Study

This study focuses on exploring the Influential role of Presidential Running mates for Party's success during general elections in Ghana: A case of 2020 and 2024 Elections. It delves into a new strategy emerging in recent times which is reflecting the politics of choosing a Running mate by the flag bearer and the influential role of such a Presidential Running mate episode for the party's success during general elections in Ghana. How could the choice of a particular Presidential

Running mate influence the voting behaviour of Ghanaians and for that matter the success story of the party in question during general election in 2020 in retrospect and in 2024 prospectively

1.5 Significance of the Study

Politics, it is said, is about who gets what, when and how, power and the powerful, influence and the influential. Political parties are established to compete for power either to win or lose. The party which wins power through elections is automatically granted legitimate authority to run the country, govern the people and to control resources. This study argues that political parties in Ghana have resorted to many campaign strategies during elections ranging from rallies, door-to-door canvassing, and distribution of gifts in varied forms to mobilize voters to enable them to win elections. However, a new strategy emerging in recent times needs urgent attention such that the politics of choosing a Running mate by the flag bearer and the influential role of such a Presidential Running mate episode be given an empirical study to unravel the dynamics and the trajectories of choosing a presidential running mate for the party's success during general elections in Ghana. How the choice of a particular Presidential Running mate could influence the voting behaviour of Ghanaians and for that matter the success story of the party in question during general election in 2020 in retrospect and in 2024 prospectively, have gained a tremendous attention by politicians but have received very little attention in the conversation about strategies for winning presidential election. Hesitating in choosing a presidential running mate, choosing a wrong person with popular acclamation or selecting the right person but without funds do have a dire consequence on both the presidential candidate and the election success as well as the party's effective governance after the elections. Selection of a presidential running mate is very crucial not only for the party or presidential flag bearer's victory but also the ability of the party which wins power to consolidate effective governance due to being very rational in choosing the candidates.

1.6 Broad Narrative of the Study

There are five chapters in this study. The first chapter covers the general overview and background to the study, introduction, statement of the problem, research questions, research objectives, scope of the study, significance of the study, and characterization of the study. Chapter two consists of an introduction, theoretical underpinning, review of linked and relevant literature, assumptions, concepts, definition of terms, operational definitions of concepts, research importance, and conclusion. Methodology, methods, research design, population, sampling techniques, sample frame and size, data collecting tools, data sources, data analysis procedures, and limits and delimitations are all covered in Chapter Three. The penultimate chapter, Chapter 4, analyzes and discusses major findings, while Chapter 5 summarizes them, draws conclusions, and offers some recommendations

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Introduction

This chapter discussed literature on the influential role of presidential running mates (PRM) for party's success during general elections in Ghana using 2020 elections retrospectively and 2024 elections prospectively as a case study. It provides an analysis and discussion of the theoretical foundation to elucidate the comprehensibility of the influential role of PRM for party's success during general elections in Ghana using 2020 elections retrospectively and 2024 elections prospectively. It also highlights the basic assumption, the conceptual framework, relevance of the study and draws conclusion reflecting the lacuna in the literature and to conduct field study to bridge the knowledge gap.

2.1. Theoretical Foundation

This section provides a discussion on influential role of presidential running mates for party's success during general elections in Ghana using 2020 elections retrospectively and 2024 elections prospectively. It is meant to develop an overview of extant knowledge, meant as a starting point for understanding the current state of research on influential role of presidential running mates for party's success during general elections in Ghana using 2020 elections retrospectively and 2024 elections prospectively. The section thus focuses mainly on choosing presidential running mates for 2024 general elections on December 7. Therefore, the underlying theories of this study are Vice Presidential Appeal, Voter Ideologies, Voters' Choice and Election Turnouts

Primaries frequently exacerbate ideological divisions within a party. When parties select more moderate candidates whom they believe will appeal to a broader audience, the nominee must find a way to win over their party's base. This study theorizes the potential rewards of using the vice-presidential nominee to increase voter turnout among those ideologically alienated by a party's moderate nominee. It also theorizes the risks of a more extreme vice-presidential nominee costing a president the support of moderate voters. To perform this theoretical analysis, this study examines how voters' ideologies and attitudes toward presidential running mates' selection affected their voter turnout and their vote choice. By doing this, it is becoming possible to assess the effectiveness of the attempt to activate the base and find that while vice presidential nominees may provide the opportunity to effectively target ideological groups, they may also contribute to a loss of support from moderately inclined voters. The so-called vice presidential home-state advantage (Devine 2010; Devine and Kopco 2013; Dudley and Rappaport 1989) has attracted the attention of several scholars, as has the effect vice presidential candidates have on the presidential vote (Adkinson 1982; Grofman and Kline 2010; Holbrook 1994; Romero 2001; Ulbig 2010; Wattenberg 1995). Particular attention of late has been paid to the vice-presidential candidacy of the NPP and the NDC in this regard (Baumgartner, Morris, and Walth 2012; Brox and Cassels 2009; Court and Lynch 2015; Elis, Hillygus, and Nie 2010; Knuckey 2008). Analysis of vice-presidential favorability polling data for the past four vice presidents suggests that there is a mismatch between how scholars and the public perceive the vice presidency. Specifically, data illustrate that vice presidential favorability is overwhelmingly influenced by presidential favorability. While vice presidents advise and help their presidents carry out any number of important tasks, most citizens do not seem to form independent opinions about them. The analysis adds to our understanding of the institution and has normative implications, inasmuch as it suggests

that there may be a lack of democratic accountability associated with one of the only two nationally elected officials in Ghana. This study provides theoretical underpinnings to explicate the factors that drive the selection of a vice-presidential nominee. Demographic and political characteristics of the individuals on the presidential nominees' short lists, as well as various measures of presidential ticket balance, are modeled for the contested major party vice presidential nominations from 2020 through 2024. Discrete choice analysis highlights the idea that the calculus used by presidential nominees to select their running mate has become more complex in the modern era. Years served in national political office, exposure in the national media, bringing either gender or racial/ethnic diversity to the ticket, and youth are all factors that seem to matter in the selection process.

2.2. Basic Assumption

Despite the generally held view that choosing a presidential running mate (PRM) matters when it comes to winning an election, unfortunately, there is sometimes a mismatch between the presidential running mate influence and the desired outcomes of the elections. So, this study hypothesizes that although PRM may play an influential role in the electoral processes, the influence may not necessarily result in election victory, particularly the flagbearer. influential role of PRMs for party's success in elections

2.3 Review of Related and Relevant Literature

As already indicated in the previous chapter and summarised in the abstract, this study takes keen interest with the issue of influential role PRM for party's success during general elections in Ghana using 2020 elections retrospectively and 2024 elections prospectively. This review provides

explanations to the evolution of the vice-presidential selection process and the news media's essential role in the modern "veepstakes." That system only became practical in the 1970s, once presidential candidates established their primary role in the selection of a running mate and party reforms made it possible to thoroughly vet candidates prior to formal nomination at the national party conventions. Jimmy Carter, in 1976, pioneered this system, while also making the veepstakes more newsworthy by working with his eventual running mate, Walter Mondale, to establish a more powerful, modern (or "White House") vice presidency. As Carter's selection process demonstrates, presidential candidates often rely on the news media to help vet potential running mates during the veepstakes period, by uncovering potentially damaging information prior to selection. This points to the importance of substantive veepstakes media coverage—indeed, its potential to serve the public interest.

2.3.1 A Dominant Party's Strategies and Resources and Election Victory

Most research explaining a dominant party's strategies and resources, even though many dominant parties—including those in Israel, Italy, Japan, Sweden, Botswana and Ghana and more—rarely, if ever, win crushing popular majorities. Rather, such dominant parties stay in power because the opposition typically consists of multiple, fractious and ideologically disparate parties. When votes are spread across many opposition parties, the translation of votes into seats is often less efficient and the formation of an opposition government requires coordination amongst many parties. If the opposition instead consists of a single major party, displacing the dominant party becomes easier because opposition votes are consolidated behind a party that can form a stable government in the event of an election victory. Yet, little scholarly work has investigated the conditions under which oppositions in dominant-party systems eventually consolidate behind a large party. To address this

omission in the literature, this study argues that two conditions facilitate the emergence of a major opposition party capable of challenging a dominant party: first, the presence of a political organization inherited from the pre-democratic period and second, the presence of a single, salient two-sided social cleavage. When opposition parties (or other political associations) pre-date democratization and have experience with mass mobilization, they typically have considerable advantages over newer opposition forces. They often possess organizing capacities that allow them to more quickly mobilize discontent and better understand what types of appeals will resonate with voters. When no longstanding political organization exists from the pre-democratic period, a single two-sided social cleavage can also facilitate the emergence of a major opposition party. The opposition is more likely to successfully consolidate behind a one party when the dominant party is identified with one side of a salient social cleavage and the opposition can draw upon symbols and grievances associated with the other side of that social cleavage.

2.3.2 Influence of Running Mates on the Decision of Voters.

It is insightful to note that Isaac Owusu's Report of Elections Study of 24 Swing Constituencies examined the influence of running mates on the of voters in 2016 on the subject "does the running mate influence your choice of president?" was so reveling, for instance, 51 per cent said "no"; 42 per cent said "yes"; six per cent said "don't know"; and one per cent did not respond. The survey was conducted in five regions. In Greater Accra, 51 per cent said yes, 41 per cent said no. In Western countries, 43 per cent said yes, 43 per cent said no. In Brong Ahafo 30 per cent said yes, 66 per cent said no. In Northern, 65 per cent said yes, 31 per cent said no. In Central 30 per cent said yes, 63 per cent said no. For the NPP, except for the 1996 election where the running mate was from the Central Region (Arkah) because of the grand alliance between NPP and the

opposition political parties, the party has regularly chosen running mates from the Northern Region, a generally strong hold of their main political rivals (The NDC). So, what has been the political payoffs?

As I shared weeks ago in one of my Daily Graphic op-ed pieces, the party had increased its share of the vote from 39 per cent (1996) to 46 per cent (2020) in the Northern region. In the Upper East Region, they have increased their share of the vote from 17 per cent (1996) to 34 per cent (2020). In the Upper West Region, they have increased their share of the vote from 11 per cent (1996) to 29 per cent (2020). In the newly created Northeast, they won the region by 51 per cent in 2020. The issue such as, so, do running mates influence the outcome of elections of president has indeed, become a rhetorical question. The verdict, at best, is mixed. From the two surveys examined, the verdict appears to be a) overall it does not matter and b) if it matters, it depends on the region or the candidate in question (Baumgartner, Morris, and Walth 2012; Brox and Cassels 2009; Court and Lynch 2015; Elis, Hillygus, and Nie 2010; Knuckey 2008n).

From election outcomes, it appears that the selection of running mates from the Northern Region has had political payoffs for the NPP, but the case does not appear to be so for the NDC in selecting running mates from the Central. The two main parties have traditionally done a regional balancing for the ticket. For the NPP, it has been South (Presidential Candidate) and North (Running Mate). With Dr Bawumia as the 2024 presidential candidate (North), my guess is the running mate will be picked from the south. Who from the South? We wait to see. The regional balancing for the NDC has been South (Presidential Candidate) and North (Running Mate) in 2000, 2004, 2008, and North (Presidential Candidate) and South (Running Mate) in 2012, 2016, and 2020. With John Mahama (North) as presidential candidate, my guess is the running mate will be picked from the South. Who from the South? The 2020 running mate? We wait to see. Or will both parties break

with tradition and not go for regional balancing this time? That will make for an exciting election season.

2.3.3 The Influence of choosing a Preferred Running mate on the Presidential candidate.

The Influence of choosing a Preferred Running mate on the Presidential candidate voted for the iRIS Research Group (Ghana, 2020 Pre-Election Survey: Report of the study of 36 Competitive Constituencies) asked “would the selection of the running mate influence your choice of the presidential candidate you would vote for?” 25 per cent answered “yes”, 72 per cent answered “no”, and two per cent answered “maybe.” The survey was conducted across 12 regions in which 11 (Western, Western North, Central, Greater Accra, Eastern, Ashanti, Ahafo, Bono, Bono East, Northern, Northeast and Upper East) predominantly answered “no” and one (North East) answered “yes.” When specifically asked about the two main running mates, 59 per cent said yes, 41 per cent said “no” in the case of Prof. Naana Jane Opoku Agyeman influencing their vote for the National Democratic Congress (NDC) while 49 per cent said “yes,” 51 per cent said “no” in the case of Dr Mahamudu Bawumia influencing their vote for the New Patriotic Party (NPP). What can we learn from election results? The NDC won the Central Region with Arkah in 1992, Mills in 1996, and Amissah Arthur in 2012. The NDC lost the same region with Amissah Arthur in 2016, and Prof. Naana Jane in 2020. The NDC picked Martin Amidu (Upper East) in 2000, Mumuni (Northern Region) in 2004 and John Mahama in 2008 (Northern Region). These regions have traditionally been won by the NDC and so one cannot view the selection of running mates from the region as a strategy to win the region. It has been considered as the regional balancing of the ticket.

2.3.4 Bawumia and Mahama's selection of PRMs.

Picking of the PRM should consider someone who appeals to various components of the Democratic party, candidate should appeal to African Americans, women and must also appeal to kind of across the board. Candidate must not really be out of step with the party on any particular issues. Candidate should also be kind of a conventional pick because candidate must appeal to members of parliament to be able undertake the typical vice-presidential candidate's task. Candidate must show that he/she has qualifications, that he/she has experience in elections and a variety of other things that would help in the campaign and in the future if they win the election (Owusu Mensah, 2016).

2.3.5 PRMs really matter as a game changer in Elections in Ghana.

Research showed that PRMs do not matter very much. People tend to focus on the top of the ticket. There used to be some notion that the vice-presidential candidate could help in their home state, but that doesn't really apply in this case because California would have gone for Biden most likely anyway. So, it's more about perhaps mobilizing Democratic voters who would be a little bit more enthusiastic because of the vice-presidential candidate, but it's not going to change people's minds to switch to Biden because he chose Harris (Owusu Mensah, 2016).

2.3.6. Choosing Nominees and their PRMs in Presidential Elections in Ghana.

Research showed that in the 1800s, the conventions on their own chose the president and on their own chose the vice president. So, it was not that the presidential nominee could expect that they would choose the vice-presidential nominee. The conventions would meet and there was not really

any information about who the public supported because there were no presidential primaries and no public opinion polls. It was basically the delegates at the convention negotiating and figuring out who would be supportive. (Owusu Mensah, 2016)

However, in the 1900s, there are some cases where the presidential nominee had some influence over who became the vice president, but there are also cases where other parts of the party had more influence over who became the vice-presidential nominee. So, it was not until about the 1960s that it is always expect that the presidential nominee would have control or influence over who would be the vice president (Owusu Mensah, 2016).

In terms of how vice presidents are chosen today, the turning point is actually 1976, because with the increase in primaries in the early '70s and delegates being selected to be committed to candidates, we had a new system where we would know who the presumptive presidential nominee would be several months before the convention. So that allowed these presumptive nominees to start vetting potential vice presidents. Jimmy Carter was the first to have that opportunity. He brought in a number of people to see how they got along in terms of issues and personalities. So, the idea that you would have a presumptive nominee having time to vet potential candidates really dates to 1976 (Owusu Mensah, 2016).

2.3.7 Clashes of Flagbearers during the Primary Campaign Debates

The primary phase is candidates running within the party, and they have slightly different positions trying to win supportive voters. But in the general election, the idea is that the party comes together. We can see some of that already with a variety of different individuals supporting Biden after he became the presumptive nominee. So, the idea is that the party starts to focus on unifying rather than on division. Typically, it is one of the main roles of the convention to unify

the party and stress the qualities of the presidential candidate and the vice-presidential candidate. We are not sure how well virtual conventions (this year 2024) are going to do that. But there is a difference between the primary phase, where you see the nuanced differences within the party, and then, in the general election, coming together against the opposite party (Owusu Mensa, 2016).

2.3.8 Voters' Expectations from Bawumia and Mahama Campaigns

Traditionally, the vice-presidential nominee can act as a sort of surrogate for the presidential nominee and go to some of the states that the presidential nominee does not have time to go to. Obviously, again, that is not going to work as well this year as in the past. We see some attempts to attack Harris the same way that we see the opposite party attack the presidential candidate, trying to put a different kind of perspective on them. So, it is going to be something where we have some sort of team effort in terms of appealing to different groups in the party and perhaps trying to convince some independent voters to support the party (Owusu Mensah, 2016).

2.4. Conceptual Framework

2.4.1 Vice Presidential Role

The primary responsibility of the Vice President of the United States is to be ready at a moment's notice to assume the Presidency if the President is unable to perform his or her duties. Overseeing, guiding, and evaluating the work of the other employees. Monitor implementation of program policies and practices. Prepare operational budgets and look for ways to increase revenue and decrease costs. Support program growth and development. Manage the company's daily

operations. The duties of the vice-president of Ghana are presiding of various meetings in absence of the President. acting President when the president is out of the country.

Ghana's 2024 Presidential Running Mate

With barely 10 months to the 2024 General Election, pressure has been mounting on presidential candidates of the various political parties to choose a running mate to complement their candidature.

It was a very turf exercise for both political parties to have settled on a candidate, the governing New Patriotic Party (NPP), and the National Democratic Congress (NDC).

Although the decision to choose a running mate is the prerogative of the candidate, it must be approved by the parties' council of elders and leadership to ensure that the choice fits into the party's campaign agenda. This unfolds scenario presents mix feelings –anxiety and excitement, flagbearers' dilemma, calling for SWOT Analysis and complexity etc.

2.4.2 Anxiety and Excitement

Since the commencement of the 4th Republic in 1992, the announcements of running mates by the two leading political parties – NPP and NDC – have been characterised by anxiety and excitement.

Usually, the political parties strategically delay the announcement of their preferred running mates to get an idea of the candidate their opponent would present to inform their strategic choice. Meanwhile, the party's faithful or loyal members engage in debate about who should be the right candidates. The prospective candidates also become anxious and continuously put

themselves in a very uncompromising and disturbing situation, so perplexed and waiting anxiously to get the nod. At the same time hold discussions surrounding the suitability and acceptability of candidates has often been centered on regional, religious, and ethnic balance, gender, integrity, achievements, ability to pull resources and attract voters, among other considerations. Indeed, it creates an atmosphere full of tensions amidst dramas. But the twist to the running mate discourse has been the candidate's appreciation and understanding of the economy as a potential head of the famous Economic Management Team as Vice President.

2.4.3 Flagbearers' Dilemma

Both the former President John Dramani Mahama and Vice President Dr Alhaji Mahamadou Bawumia already on the road campaigning following their election as flagbearers of the NDC in May 2023 and the NPP respectively. The former President, who chose Professor Jane Naana Opoku-Agyemang as his running mate for the 2020 General Election, gave a hint of the identity of the person he has settled on for the 2024 General Election. Speaking during his #BuildingGhana tour in the Bono East Region in November 2023, Mr Mahama hinted that the likely running mate is someone who had served in his government as a minister and discharged his/her duties effectively. He added that his running mate to be is a humble person who has the interest of the people at heart. Sources within the NDC say Mr Mahama had "already" settled on a running mate and would announce the person "soon". It always puts Ghanaians in limbo or suspense eagerly to know who the would-be PRM will be. When tensions were mounting on the flagbearers to announce their PRM Vice President Dr Mahamudu Bawumia, the presidential candidate of the NPP, in December 2023 asked the Party to grant him more time to consult broadly to come up with his running mate for the 2024 General Election. The NPP's National Executive Committee

granted Dr Bawumia's request, waiving the Party's Constitutional requirement, which mandates the selection of a running mate at least 12 months before a major election if the President is not the candidate. It is not clear when Dr Bawumia will announce his running mate two months on. What makes the process so exciting is the kind of prophecies, suggestions and the directives from almost all the conners of the country.

2.4.4 SWOT Analysis

In an interview with the Ghana News Agencies (2024), Professor Seidu Alidu, Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, said both former President Mahama and Dr Bawumia must conduct a "SWOT analysis" on their candidature and choose a running mate that can best compliment their strength and weaknesses. He said the identity, experience, understanding of the economy, and the ability of the person to pull resources as well as gender and regional considerations were key indicators to selecting the right running mate.

Prof. Alidu said he believed that the two leading presidential contenders already had their preferred candidates but the acceptability of the candidate among stakeholders of the parties and appeasing interested parties that may be disappointed were among the issues that usually contributed to the delays in announcing the candidate. He said as part of the political and campaign strategies of the flagbearers could delay the announcement of their running mates in anticipation of what their opponent would present. Both Bawumia and Mahama have groups that they appeal to and groups that they do not appeal to, and a serious candidate must do a SWOT analysis of his candidature. So the kind of groups that you appeal less to, you pick your running mate from that group so that he can appeal to them. "So even if they don't like the flagbearer, because of the candidate that you're choosing as a running mate will resonate with their identity and character and force them

to come on board,” Prof. Alidu said. With the clock continuously running down to December 7, every passing day counts for the presidential candidates to make a decisive step and announce a suitable running mate. The delays in the announcement somewhat suggest that it is not a straightforward decision and that indicates the complexity of the issue and the competitive nature of the 2024 presidential elections. The 2024 is officially an election season so Ghanaians would want to know who the flagbearers and their running mates are for the two main political parties. The issue about knowing who and who are to partner the flagbearers as running mates and does it matter to Ghanaians the issue of running mates, and how critical is the role of the running mate to a presidential candidate’s electoral fortunes considering the delay in announcing them, a dilemma which continues to confront Ghanaians. The two major parties have traditionally done a regional balancing for the ticket. The NDC has already announced their running mate. But for the NPP it has not done it. Dr. Bawumia as the 2024 presidential candidate from the North has twisted the composition and direction uttering the tradition in position thereby presenting a challenge to the flagbearer in a bid to choose the running mate. Perhaps this gives credence to the cause for the delay in announcing the running mate. There are a number of guesses as to who the running mate will be and from where he /she will be picked. As already indicated, the regional balancing for the NDC has been South (Presidential Candidate) and North (Running Mate) in 2000, 2004, 2008, and North (Presidential Candidate) and South (Running Mate) in 2012, 2016, and 2020. John Mahama, a presidential candidate from the Northern region as a and Bawumia presidential candidate also from Northern region are both breaking with parties’ tradition by ensuring regional balancing to make for an exciting election season.

2.5 Operational Definition of Terms

Presidential Running Mate (PRM): An election candidate for the lesser of two closely associated political offices

Influential role: The capacity or power of persons or things to be a compelling force on or produce effect on the actions, behavior, opinions etc. of others. He used political, charismatic influence to get the contract.

Party's success: winning presidential elections

General Elections: elections conducted in Ghana which allows universal adult suffrage to exercise their franchise

2.6. Relevance of then Study

This study advances the frontiers of knowledge in the area of excitement and complexities associated with elections in Ghanaian politics. As Ghana has reached a crossroad to decide breaking the eight or maintaining the status quo, with the December 2024 presidential elections looming large in Ghana, the imminent choice of running mate for the two main parties has become a focal point of political speculation. This is an interesting phenomenon which most Ghanaians would want to experience due to a history to be made associated with the NPP picking a flagbearer from the Northern region and at the same time forging to break the tradition of go for eight and return the power.

There Ghanaians high anticipation surrounding the selection of the ruling New Patriotic Party (NPP) stems from presidential candidate Mahamudu Bawumia's influential role as vice president

and his expertise in economic matters needs to be documented. Who will choose to complement his resume and contribute to the party's campaign is also frontline news trending daily.

The opposition National Democratic Congress (NDC), led by former President John Dramani Mahama, is navigating its own set of considerations as the party aims to position itself strategically to return to power. The selection of a running mate is a consequential decision that can influence voter perceptions, party dynamics and the overall trajectory of the election campaign, a (Nana Akwasi Agyeman, *The Africa Report 2024*).

The Dynamics and Trajectories

The theories and predictions circulating in the political sphere reflect the dynamic nature of Ghana's electoral landscape. Factors such as regional balance, experience and public appeal are all likely considerations for both candidates as they make this crucial decision. Ultimately, the choices made by Bawumia and Mahama will not only define their respective tickets but will also set the stage for a competitive and closely watched presidential race," says political marketing consultant Bernard Tutu-Boahene. Many Ghanaians believe that the chosen running mates will not only bring additional expertise and experience to the campaign, but also help attract support from key demographics. The choice of running mates can make a real difference in convincing voters about which campaign can best address the pressing issues facing Ghanaians, such as job creation, infrastructure development and social welfare.

Bawumia's emphasis on economic policies and his role in initiatives, such as digitalization, have garnered support from many who prioritize economic growth. On the other hand, former president Mahama may appeal to voters nostalgic for his leadership or those seeking a change in governance.

Already, certain names have been floated in the media as potential running mates for the two political figures.

Coming from the north and as the first Muslim flagbearer of the governing NPP, Bawumia will want to choose a Christian from the party's Ashanti region stronghold. "The Muslim suburbs are going to vote massively for Bawumia because it will be the first time one of their own will swear by the Quran and that will be a plus for them," Agyeman says. "That's why Bawumia's running mate must be a staunch Christian to pull votes from that fraternity."

Emerging names

Names that have emerged on the NPP side include those of Matthew Opoku Prempeh (minister of energy); Osei Kyei-Mensah-Bonsu (parliament majority leader); Joseph Osei Owusu (first deputy speaker); Ursula Owusu-Ekuful (communications minister); and Akosua Frema Osei-Opare (presidential chief of staff) also, Apostle Opoku Onyinah (the immediate past chairman of the Church of Pentecost); Isaac Osei (a former MP); and Yaw Osei Adutwum (minister of education).

Meanwhile, the NDC's Mahama faces a dilemma over whether to retain his running mate from the 2020 election, Jane Naana Opoku Agyemang. Pollster Ben Ephson says it would be political suicide. "Mahama has to change his running mate," Ephson tells *The Africa Report*. "He will lose the elections if he keeps the same running mate. He must repackage his campaign and come with a new face who can attract votes." Possible alternatives include

- Julius Debrah, a former presidential chief of staff and a Mahama loyalist.
- Kojo Bonsu, a former failed presidential aspirant of the NDC.
- Zanetor Konadu Agyeman Rawlings, a member of parliament and daughter of the late president and NDC party founder Jerry Rawlings.
- Kwame Awuah-Darko, former managing director of Tema Oil Refinery (TOR); and
- Kofi Boakye, a famous retired senior police officer.

“Mahama will lose if he picks a Muslim as running mate because they already have a choice to vote for Bawumia as their first president,” Agyeman says. He says Mahama can bank his hopes on Alan_Kyerematen (an NPP breakaway presidential candidate and former trade minister) to draw a lot of Bawumia’s votes in the Muslim-dominated north.

“If Alan is able to get 2% of votes in the election, then we would head into a runoff, which will give Mahama a chance because he can look at forming [an] alliance with Alan and the others,” Agyeman says. “Mahama must exert all his energies in the swing regions like Greater Accra and Central to amass some votes.”

The Gender factor

In the event Mahama drops Opoku Agyemang as his running mate, it will be another major blow to Ghanaian women. Ghana lags far behind some of its African peers in female representation and participation in politics, including Rwanda, South Africa and Ethiopia, according to a report by the Center for Development Studies of the University of Bath. Even though women represent about 52% of Ghana’s population, in 2012, they only made up 11% of parliament, or 29 out of 275 seats. That jumped to 35 women in 2016 (13%) and 40 (14.5%) after the 2020 elections.

Several factors have pushed women away from politics in the West African country, including lack of access to campaign financing; lack of political will by parties to support women; corruption, ignorance and discrimination; lack of self-confidence; and unsupportive family as well as other cultural factors.

Gender activist Ivy Fofie has called for the passage of Affirmative Action legislation to get many more women elected to power. Over the years, political parties have made several promises on affirmative action. But they never deliver on those promises, hence the need to make it convenient for women to enter politics without fear or favour.

2.7 Chapter Summary

From the review of the literature, it is crystally clear that democracy does not guarantee genuine political competition; a party is able to dominate electoral politics even when elections are free and fair and vice versa, and irrespective of the choice of a particular presidential running mate and vice versa. Thus, the party's ability to identify its strengths and weakness and openly communicate them to the electorate in a more appealing manner to win the sentimental enthusiasm of the electorate. This study has examined the conditions associated with selection of a presidential running mate to influence a party dominance in election outcomes occurring across many states and Ghana in particular. In particular, the focus has been on the selection of strategies that lead some flag bearers to coalesce behind populist appeal from the major party stakeholders capable of eventually determining the right candidate for ensuring the party's dominance if not the election success or the flag bearer's victory. The main argument suggests three important lessons for the study of party success or dominance. The first lesson concerns the importance of party's consolidation, rather than mounting attacks on the opposition parties in ensuring the party's success or dominance. In contexts where the dominant party does not usually win the support of most voters due to the kind of presidential running mate, or, because the dominant party loses electoral support and is no longer much larger than the other parties, either because of the party's inability to present itself more appealing to the electorate or, because the opposition coordinates during and after elections, or because the opposition gained support from the other minor parties to consolidate itself.

From the literature review it revealed that most existing literature emphasizes perhaps the surest way to create a competitive party system and how it mitigates concerns about collapsing opposition governments or creating a fragmented opposition vote. Indeed, a party's selection of the

presidential running mate may play more or less a significant role or influence on the party domination in elections and its durably consolidated a party' election strategies for a victory. The consolidation of previously fragmented oppositions behind a large opposition party, has arguably played an important role in the emergence of competitive party systems in dominant party systems in Ghana. The second lesson concerns the conceptualization of party dominance. How questions are posed about a party's election victory resulting from the choice of the right presidential candidate and the correlation to the dominance of the party's success in election likely affects the responses received. Does the party's election success correlate with the selection of a presidential running mate or does the party's loss of power have nothing to do with the role of the presidential running mate? The factors that explain a dominant party's brief ouster from power may not be the same factors explaining the emergence of a truly competitive party system. The third lesson concerns the continuing relevance of historical legacies for a party's dominance. Party systems in new democracies seldom arise completely anew. Rather, they often reflect legacies from previous, non-democratic eras. The resources available to opposition forces to contest the grip of a dominant party often hinge on what they, and the dominant party, have inherited from the past. Throughout much of the world, democratization occurred along with decolonization, meaning that the colonial era shaped the resources available to many dominant parties and their rivals. With the rise of competitive authoritarian regimes in the 21st century, democratic transitions in the future are likely to involve gradual transitions from manifestly unfair electoral competition to increasingly level playing fields, as was the case in Mexico and Malaysia. The future ability of opposition parties to challenge these regimes' dominant parties may well rest on the resources bequeathed to the opposition decades earlier during periods of blatantly unfair electoral competition. In conclusion, the choice of presidential running mate should not only reflect winning elections but also running

the government successfully. Past experiences regarding selection of presidential running mate have over concentrated on election winning rather than ensuring both election success and effective governance. This is the point of departure of this study, and for which reason it merits consideration. It therefore unravels the knowledge gaps identified and seeks to bridge them accordingly and appropriately.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

In this chapter, I present my ontological and epistemological assumptions and methodological choices. As a structured dissertation, the practical methods are presented in this chapter thus provides a general description of the research design process and methods used.

3.1 Philosophical foundation

Methodology is “the intricate set of ontological and epistemological commitments that a researcher brings to his or her work” (Prasad 1997, p. 103). I set out this research process with a constructivist view and the knowledge that we all view the world based on prior experiences and underlying assumptions and affect it according to those views. In the words of Klotz and Lynch (2007, p.3), “individuals and groups are not only shaped by their world but can also change it”. With reality being considered “subjective, pluralistic, and elastic” (Bisman and Highfield 2012, p. 5), our experiences and assumptions consequently guide us in how we view the world. Thus, it affects the choices we make, including research purpose, questions, and theoretical approaches (Klotz and Lynch, 2007).

As all researchers bring their experiences and underlying assumptions into the field, complete neutrality and objectivity is not possible (Charmaz, 2006). From a constructivist perspective, research can help us provide meaning and insights, and make sense of the world (Bisman and Highfield, 2012). With such a foundation, qualitative research affords the researcher the opportunity to closely examine an organization or issue, and to explore the understanding and interpretation of the perceived reality of the respondents.

Being close to what is being studied, taking a holistic view of certain contexts or structures, and pursuing an understanding of the individuals' interpretations of the world (Holme and Solvang, 1997) enables a thorough understanding of the topic at hand. As internal brand management in the public sector is currently underinvestigated, a predominantly qualitative, in-depth study was deemed suitable. However, throughout the dissertation process, pragmatist thinking has increasingly influenced my philosophical foundation.

Pragmatists “tend to view the social world in terms of processes that connect all sorts of entities in relational and recursive ways” (Farjoun et al., 2015, p. 1789). While quite process-oriented, it acknowledges that processes and structures are inherently interconnected (Farjoun et al., 2015). In essence, pragmatism is a problem-solving philosophy with certain fundamental principles: “a rich and behaviorally plausible model of human nature, an emphasis on the interplay of action and meaning, a strong distrust of dualisms (“means versus ends”), and an appreciation of recursive influences; it highlights process, time, events, and relations without neglecting structures and entities” (Farjoun et al., 2015, p. 1788) Pragmatism focuses on understanding a certain issue, question, or phenomenon using the best research method for the purpose (Farjoun et al., 2015).

Thus, the method chosen is less a result of underlying philosophical foundations and more a question of whether the method allows the researcher to answer the research question at hand. As such, throughout the research process it was found that a multi-method approach would be useful. It was chosen for two reasons: the nature of the topic studied and because it provides a comprehensive understanding of the topic. Internal brand management in the public sector is a complex issue. Affective outcomes of influential role of PRMs is not solely a result of a single, or a few interrelated, factors but can rather be described as a web of factors that combine to support desired party's success story during elections.

The understanding of these interrelated factors is facilitated by collecting different types of data to study different aspects of the issue. By combining qualitative and quantitative research, it is possible to surpass the findings of one single method, and thus forge the findings into an overall account (Bryman, 2007) and highlight similarities and differences between various issues related to a certain phenomenon (Bernardi et al., 2007).

Commencing with a literature review, the empirical research that followed consisted of a qualitative case study based on interviews, observations, and influential role of PRMs related documents. Finally, a quantitative study was conducted through a survey. Each part of the research process captured different aspects of influential role of PRMs for party's success in elections. The methods thus complemented each other and provide a deeper understanding of the processes and structures that affect the topic at hand.

3.2 Methods

This study deployed the qualitative methods with purposive and convenient sampling techniques to explore the understanding of the influential role of PRMs for party's success in elections in Ghana. As already indicated, this study deployed both quantitative and qualitative research approaches. Survey questionnaire with a few In-depth interviews to purposively and conveniently gather data from selected political party activist and Ghanaian electorate or Ghana's grassroots electorate as informants who were selected from the communities in Accra in the Greater Accra Region.

Despite the generally held view that the influential role of PRMs is significant for the party's success in elections, unfortunately, there is sometimes a mismatch. This study hypothesises that

Despite the generally held view that choosing a presidential running mate (PRM) matters when it comes to winning an election, unfortunately, there is sometimes a mismatch between the presidential running mate's influence and the desired outcomes of the elections. So, this study hypothesizes that although PRM may play an influential role in the electoral processes, the influence may not necessarily result in election victory, particularly the flagbearer.

3.3 Research Design

Descriptive research design was used in this study. According to Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2007), a descriptive design involves planning, organizing, collecting and analysing of data so as to provide the information being sought. It portrays an accurate profile of persons, events or situations and allows the collection of data from a sizeable population in a highly economical way. According to Orodho (2003), descriptive research design is a method of collecting information by interviewing or administering a questionnaire to a sample of individuals.

The design was relevant as the study collected data using qualitative (interview guide) data collection instruments. The goals and objectives of the interviews data collection were to establish the rapport of trust, field notes, open-ended questions, and less structured style (Miles; Huberman, 1994). The reason for choosing the qualitative research method was because it focuses on the collection of first-hand information which will give the researcher a vivid picture of the problem under study. It offers visions to different problems and helps in developing concepts or theories for potential quantitative research. With analysis to look deeper into problems, the qualitative approach will help the researcher discover new thoughts and individual views.

3.4 Population or Participants

The population consisted of the political party activist and Ghanaian electorate in Accra in the Greater Accra Region. Ten participants made up of **randomly** selected political activists, Ghanaian electorate and political analysts.

persons were sampled using the convenience sampling method. Findings revealed a mismatched of the influential role of PRMs for party's success in elections in Ghana.

. This study explored the relationship between PRM influences and the success of the party and the flagbearer during elections in Ghana using Ghana education service as a case study. This study takes keen interest with the issue of corporate image status of educational institutions in Ghana during 2020 general elections retrospectively and how it is likely to be in 2024 general elections prospectively.

3.5 Sampling Techniques

The study adopted purposive sampling technique to randomly select ten participants. This involves identification and selection of individuals that are proficient and well-informed with a phenomenon of interest. In addition to knowledge and experience, the importance of availability and willingness to participate, and the ability to communicate experiences and opinions in an articulate, expressive, and reflective manner (Etikan, I. et al. 2015).

3.6 Sources of Data

It used peer-reviewed studies as secondary data with qualitative and quantitative approaches for primary data and analyzed the influential role of PRMs for party's success in elections. The study was exploratory-descriptive. Data used were both primary and secondary sources. Primary data

comprised of interviews to elicit information from participants. Secondary data also obtainable from peer reviewed journals, articles, and books consulted. The researcher reason for using interviews was the researcher's quest to collect detailed information about the study and to secure in-depth information to buttress the quantitative analysis for precision and factual.

3.7 Data Collection Tool

As indicated above, this study adopted the qualitative design, it was prudent on the part of the researcher to adopt the use of the interview guide. An interview is a conversation for gathering information, and a research interview involves an interviewer, who coordinates the process of the conversation and asks questions, and an interviewee, who responds to those questions. Interviews were conducted face-to-face and also over the telephone; this is supported by the assertion made by Easwaramoorth and Zarinpoush (2006). Interviews were useful because the topic of inquiry related to issues that required complex questioning and considerable probing hence face-to-face interviews were suitable for the target population because it ensured that communicate through face-to-face conversations was better than otherwise would have been communicated through writing or phone conversations as indicated by Easwaramoorth and Zarinpoush (2006) in their study.

Interviews can be designed differently depending on the needs being addressed and the information. They can be grouped into three types: structured interviews, semi-structured interviews, and unstructured interviews (Easwar Moorthy and Zarinpoush, 2006). For this study, the study adopted the semi-structured interview. According to Easwar Moorthy and Zarinpoush, (2006), in a semi-structured interview, the interviewer uses a set of predetermined questions, and the respondents answer in their own words. Some interviewers use a topic guide that serves as a

checklist to ensure that all respondents provide information on the same topics. The interviewer can probe areas based on the respondent's answers or ask supplementary questions for clarification. Semi-structured interviews are useful when there is a need to collect in-depth information in a systematic manner from a number of respondents or interviewees (Easwaramoorthy & Zarinpoush, 2006).

3.8 Data Analysis Techniques

Thematic analysis process was used to analyse the data collected from the interviews. Below is a depiction of the six stages and process of thematic analysis that reflect procedural measures in this study.

Thematic Stages:

- (1) Data Familiarization (2) Generating Initial Codes (3) Searching for Themes
- (4) Analyzing the Themes (5) Classification and Naming Themes (6) Report Production

Source: Braun and Clarke (2006)

First, verbal electronic (audio) data recorded during interviews was imported for subsequent transcription into text with colour coding. This made it readable and easy to read the text.

The use of the recorder means that the participants' moods and feelings are recorded, and the researcher does not need to write while engaging the participants or probing. Transcription was done by the researcher specifically ensuring that the recorded text is not misunderstood (verbatim) as the interviewees; words because transcription is a dynamic method according to Sandelowski (1994) that can hardly be free of inaccuracies and can defy ethical problems (Dickson-Swift,

James, Kippen & Liamputtong, 2007) particularly when transcriptionist(s) is/are recruited. The first instance that will cause one to be familiar with the data is transcription.

process. This method also allowed for more familiarisation with the raw data and some notes taken as preparation to start generating the initial code stage.

In the second phase of the process, after adequate understanding and ideas collected from the point of view of participants in stage one, preliminary codes were manually generated from the printed data. The initial coding was carried out around a set of perceived questions relating to the study under consideration, because the themes are data driven. Step two then prepared the data through code assignments into meaningful, manageable sections. Each part of the transcript was read systematically and thoroughly, using different colour markers to label probable patterns. First, defined codes were paired with extracts of data and finally collated for each case (code).

In the third stage, the researcher used the codes defined in the preceding stage to search for themes in the data.

The various codes and their extracts were grouped here to form the wider primary themes and sub-themes. Codes that spoke to a particular topic were correctly classified under different themes using the printed data (transcript) as a reference using the technique since it was the same in terms of structure (format) as the soft copy. At stage four, themes emerging from stage three were subjected to a review process and focused on some basic questions:

(i) Has each theme found sufficient evidence to be analytical? (ii) Is a theme likely to slide into another theme(s)? (iii) Is a theme too large to disintegrate to form two or more themes? (iv) Are there codes and extracts that are not part of any theme yet?

To Easwar Moorthy and Zarinpoush (2006), the researcher needs to further synthesize the current themes and note that all the questions I ii, iii, iv) were valid. In the fifth stage, themes and sub-themes were then identified and named. While themes and sub-themes that arose were aptly identified in previous phases (3 and 4), the current phase redefined them to be placed in the right perspective in the light of the objectives and research questions of the research. The findings of the empirical data were presented in narrative format thematically and compared to the literature examined, including the relevant works, as described in chapter two, which lead to conclusions.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

Ethics is a systematic approach of understanding, Analysing and distinguishing matters of right and wrong, good and bad, admirable and deplorable as they are to the well-being of and the relationship among sentient beings (Rich, 2010). This study considered three basic research ethical principles which included: informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality. According to Farrimond, (2017) the principle of ‘informed consent’ is a fundamental one in ethical research, stemming from the notion that individuals have personal autonomy and decision-making capacity to decide for themselves whether to participate in a given research project or not. All the participants of the study were duly informed about the purpose and objectives of the study.

The researcher sought the consent of the respondents before proceeding to gather data from them for the study. The purpose of offering participants anonymity (not using their real name) and confidentiality (not disclosing what they say to others) was to protect their privacy as the ethical principle of confidentiality posits (Farrimond, 2017). As the principle of anonymity basically calls on researchers to conceal the actual identities of participants or respondents in a study, the study did not go otherwise as posited by Farrimond, (2017). Confidentiality as an ethical principle in

research was also duly applied in the study as the researcher ensured that all data gathered from the participants was appropriately used and for the purpose of the study only. Information or data gathered from these participants was not disclosed to any third or interested parties.

3.10 Limitations and Delimitations

While this dissertation provides valuable insights into the influential role of PRMs for party's success in elections in Ghana where further research is needed. As such, there are no claims that the dissertation provides a greater understanding of influential role of PRMs for party's success in elections. One future avenue of research is therefore whether or not, similar results can be found in influential role of PRMs for party's success in elections in Ghana. A final note is important that we gain further insights into influential role of PRMs for party's success in elections without consideration for the context then, it may have the potential of hindering the political party's success story. Therefore, a more critical exploration of influential role of PRMs for party's success in elections in Ghana is imperative.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF THE INFLUENTIAL ROLE OF PRESIDENTIAL RUNNING MATES AND PARTYS' SUCCESS DURING GENERAL ELECTIONS IN GHANA: A CASE OF 2020 AND 2024 ELECTIONS

4.0. Overview

This chapter presents an analysis and interpretation of Key findings. The analysis and interpretation were done as per the objectives of the study. This chapter therefore flows from the objectives, i.e. it sought to achieve twofold objectives namely broad and specific. Broadly speaking this study explores a new strategy emerging in recent times which seem to reflect the politics of choosing a Running mate by the flag bearer and the influential role of such a Presidential Running mate episode for the party's success during general elections in Ghana. However, specifically, it sought to:

1. Explore the influence of the choice of a particular Presidential Running mate on the voting behaviour of Ghanaians.
2. Determine whether the choice of a particular Presidential Running Mate matter for the success story of the party in question during general election.
3. Ascertain what the choice of a particular running mate happened to election outcomes in 2020 retrospectively and whether it would be the same in 2024 prospectively,
4. Investigate whether or not who partners the Flagbearers as running mates' matters during general election in 2020 retrospectively and in 2024 prospectively.
5. Analyze the criticality of the role of the running mate to a presidential candidate's election fortunes during general election in 2020 retrospectively and in 2024 prospectively.

The objectives above were derived from the research questions which helped the study to delve into the dynamic and trajectories of the influential role of the PRM for election success in 2020 retrospectively and predicting the same in 2024 prospectively. As indicated in the methodology chapter, this study combined qualitative and quantitative approaches for data collection. In view of this the study provides the analysis of the key findings by first of all, presenting a demographic characteristic of the respondents and the participants, and secondly, it discusses the key findings in the lights of the objectives and the responses from the questionnaires and interviews provided by the participants or respondents. Under the qualitative approach, the researcher dealt with non-empirical data which only relied on theory hence did not involve any observations and experimentations, while on quantitative analysis, it involved empirical data that had been observed and experimented. The key findings were summarised via statistical presentations and discussions.

4.1. Participatory Rate

From the twelve participants targeted, eight were available for the interviews and given the participatory rate of eighty percent which according to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) a participatory rate of seventy percent or above signifies excellent participation hence the participatory rate for this study is excellent.

4.2. Background Information

The study sought to find out the demographic information which includes, sex, age of the participants, occupation, and level of education.

4.2.1 Sex of Participants

The participants were asked to indicate their sexes. Sex issues are very significant in the choice of a running given that males and females are socially oriented differently predisposing them to differ greatly on sexes roles. The results are shown below. The sex distribution of the participants indicates that fifty-eight percent of the participants were male while sixty-two percent were female, this means that most of the respondents were females which also means that of late females' participation in partisan politics is gaining a tremendous attention, particular the ongoing debate about the passage of the affirmative bill perhaps explain the dominant nature of females. Given the female population being more than the male and the endorsement of recruiting more females in the Ghanaian politics in particular, females are most likely to be more than men in the participation of elections. The key informants were found to be mainly males given that men dominate the leadership and given that female are often quasi politician.

4.2.2 Age of Participants

The age distribution shows that fifty-three percent of the participants were aged between forty-one years and fifty years. Twenty-three percent of the participants were aged between thirty-one years and forty years. Seventeen percent of the participants were aged between fifty years and above while eight percent of the participants were aged up to thirty years. Most of the participants were aged above forty years meaning most of them are above average age. The young people up to thirty years constitutes the smallest group. Most of the informants were aged forty-one and above. Perhaps this constitutes a group of people with many experiences who may be more enthusiastic about partisan politics and have gained greater exposure in political activism.

4.2.3 Occupations

Findings from the educational background indicate that forty-one percent of the respondents were politicians. Twenty-six percent were students, twenty-one percent were government officials of staff and thirteen percent were self-employed. This showed that majority of the participants were political activists, which points to the emergence of a new dimension of occupational activity among the young adults. Also, it points to the fact that partisan politics has not only become a very lucrative profession but more attractive to the young people because it is a short cut to wealth creation. Ironically, majority of the young people who aspire to become politicians are faced with financial constraints hence old people still dominate the business of partisan politics.

4.2.4 Education

In addition, the participants were asked to indicate their highest level of education. Sixty percent of participants had attained tertiary education, twenty-eight percent had attained secondary education and twelve percent of the participants had attained postgraduate education level. This depicts that most of the participants had gone beyond secondary education. Findings from the interviews showed that the Key informants had at least tertiary education. This is because the educated often take up leadership positions hence they have a high level of enthusiasm to participate in active politics.

4.3. Discussion of Results

In the previous chapters, i.e. chapters 1,2 and 3, this study diagnosed the research problem by providing the general overview and background to the study including statement of problem,

research objectives and questions, scope of the study, justification of the study as well as the broad narrative of the study. It also examined the existing empirical literature with the intention of establishing the knowledge gaps. It provided methodological rigor, setting out the research design including methods, population and sample size and sampling techniques. However, this chapter does some prognosis in the light of the findings and the objectives to verify if the gaps in the literature have adequately or otherwise been filled. To achieve the objectives of this study a number of questions were raised in the form of an interview guide and purposively selected participants with the requisite knowledge pertinent to the influential role of the PRM to the successful elections to provide responses. When asked questions such as Q1. Does the choice of a particular Presidential Running mate influence the voting behaviour of Ghanaians?

ANSQ1: An informant interviewed said:

It is a constitutional mandate for all presidential candidates or flagbearers of any political party to have or to select a running mate who becomes the vice president when the candidate or the flagbearer emerges or wins the elections. This also makes it very relevant, the role of the running mate in supporting the flagbearer to win the elections. But when it comes to how the running mate influences voters' voting behaviour, it is a dicey issue because it may depend upon the persona of the presidential running mate, the perception of the electorate, the party dynamics, and of course, the electoral area. These factors mentioned above may work in relative terms to provide the direction or kind of answer to the influential role of the presidential running mate in shaping voters' voting behaviour. In my opinion, perception of electorate about the persona of the running mate can

have a high propensity to shape voting behaviours of voters positively and negatively depending upon favorability or unfavourability respectively. Besides, party dynamics involving choosing a candidate of the party members' favorite will work well as opposed to imposing candidate on the party members. Similarly, electoral areas, for instance, a swing constituency may have different levels of endorsement as opposed to the strong-holds and weak holds and vice versa.

Indeed, this finding corroborated the report of a quantitative study conducted in 2016 by Isaac Owusu whose on "Elections Study of 24 Swing Constituencies" which examined the influence of running mates on the decision of voters indicated as follows: When asked "does the running mate influence your choice of president?" 51 per cent said "no"; 42 per cent said "yes"; six per cent said "don't know"; and one per cent did not respond. The survey was conducted in five regions. In Greater Accra, 51 per cent said yes, 41 per cent said no. In Western countries, 43 per cent said yes, 43 per cent said no. In Brong Ahafo 30 per cent said yes, 66 per cent said no. In Northern, 65 per cent said yes, 31 per cent said no. In Central 30 per cent said yes, 63 per cent said no. It is obvious to admit that both the findings of the quantitative and the qualitative studies reaffirm the degree of the relativity of the influential role of the PRM on the voting behaviors of voters. This is very useful information for handling PRM issues in the contemporary selection of PRM and winning elections in political context.

This study asked a follow-up question, Q2. Does the choice of a particular Presidential Running mate influence the success story of the party in question during general elections?

ANSQ2: An informant interviewed said:

Ideally, that selecting a particular presidential running mate by flagbearers of any political party is usually informed by the high hope of winning the elections and for the running mate to become the vice president. So, with this backdrop, it is incumbent on the flagbearer to strategically select the candidate who can complement the efforts of the flagbearer to sell the party's vision and mission so as to emerge or win the elections. This makes it very relevant the criteria for selecting the running mate, such that the role of the running mate in supporting the flagbearer to win the elections becomes very critical. But when it comes to how the running mate influences the success of the election outcomes, it is unpredictable because it may depend upon a number of factors which include but not limited to political party's financial resources, campaign strategy, persona of both the flagbearer and the presidential running mate, the perception of the electorate, the party dynamics, and of course, the nature of the constituency or the electoral area politics.

It is important to note that the finding above is very consistent with the literature reviewed which alluded to the fact that the party's success story in the general elections reflect mosaic of factors which this study summed them up as "political party's dynamics and trajectories". Similarly, the volume of literature attest to the fact that no single strategy is adequate enough to secure a victory for any political party (Owusu Mensah 2016; Bratton and Van de Wale, 2008). Some scholars also argue that strategic planning and enhanced institutional capacity offer clear benefits to political parties. The party and the party organization can enhance their performance and respond more quickly (and more successfully) to changing circumstances. Clearer insights into a party's strengths, weaknesses

and priorities allow it to achieve better results using fewer resources. In this context, better results do not mean better electoral results, but achieving organizational goals such as stable or increased levels of funding, enhanced capacity to organize party primaries and campaigns, more effective and efficient ways of selecting candidates, and better training programmes for party members.

This study alluded to the fact that a strategic attitude can also enhance understanding and the capacity for organizational learning. Hence an informant interviewed confirmed that:

This leads to more conscious, more disciplined and better-informed methods of self-analysis and decision making and that adequate planning turns to improve external communications and societal and political support, because it helps a party communicate its core ideas and objectives more effectively— making it more recognizable and creating a more positive, consistent and confident public image.

Now, the study delved into the election outcomes of both the 2020 in retrospect and the election 2024 in prospect, so, the question is Q3. How did the choice of a particular presidential running mate happen to elections outcomes in 2020 retrospectively and would it be the same in 2024 prospectively? ANSQ3: An informant interviewed said:

Ghanaians went to the polls on 7 December 2020, for the 8th successive time since the return to constitutional rule in 1993, to elect a President and 275 Members of Parliament. The incumbent President Nana Akufo-Addo defeated former President John Mahama and the National Democratic Congress, to secure a second term mandate, on the ticket of the New Patriotic Party. In the Parliamentary race, both parties secured 137 seats each with one independent seat. The outcome of the elections, therefore, did not follow the same trend as those held in Ghana in 1992/93, 1996, 2000,

2004, 2008, 2012 and 2016 in which a victorious party won the presidential and secured majority of the seats in parliament. The outcome of the polls also saw a change in the country's governance system where for the first time, the Speaker of Parliament came from the opposition party. Also, the National Democratic Congress, for the first time, officially rejected the outcome of the polls and mounted a challenge in the country's apex court. The process of the conduct of the 2020 general elections had a number of issues which affected the outcome and the voting pattern and its implications for electoral politics in Ghana. This revealed that the Ghanaian electorate have become rational actors who reward hard work and punish mediocracy and not based on destructive ethnic voting. Also, the outcome reiterated the need for vigilance at both the polling stations and collation centres to ensure undisputed elections and to consolidate the gains in Ghana's electoral politics. Given this unfolded scenario, the outcome of the 2024 elections will reflect a number of dynamics which include among other things, capacities in internal management, internal party democracy, financial management, ideological identity, inclusivity of women and youth, campaigning and parties' capability to govern.

This finding above indeed, corroborate the argument advanced by Carothers 2006: 97). Electoral campaign planning in particular has received much attention, mostly from organizations that are themselves linked to political parties' internal dynamics including the selectivity of both the flagbearer and the running mate such that the more strategic the solagates are, the more attractive the party becomes and the higher the probability or chances of the party's success in election.

The study took keen interest in trying to determine whether the candidate who partners the flagbearer matters and how it contributed to 2020 elections outcome and whether similar situation should be anticipated in the coming 2024 general elections. So the question, Q4. Does who partner the Flagbearers as running mates' matter during general election in 2020 retrospectively and would it matter in 2024 prospectively?

ANSQ4: An informant interviewed said:

The issue such as, so, do running mates influence the outcome of elections of president has indeed, become a rhetorical question. This is because in the vibrant landscape of Ghanaian politics, the call for change echoes through the corridors of democracy. The informant made a reference to the 2020 elections outcomes particularly, the iRIS Research Group (Ghana 2020 Pre-Election Survey: Report of the study of 36 competitive constituencies) when respondents were asked “would the selection of the running mate matter and will it influence your choice of the presidential candidate you would vote for?” 25 per cent answered “yes”, 72 per cent answered “no”, and two per cent answered “maybe.” The informant was critical about this report, and therefore concluded that even so, the majority were indifferent about the influential role of the presidential running mate, there are lessons to be learnt given the scenario of the results of the 2020 general elections. Emphasizing that the survey was conducted across 12 regions in which 11 (Western, Western North, Central, Greater Accra, Eastern, Ashanti, Ahafo, Bono, Bono East, Northern, North East and Upper East) predominantly answered “no” and one (North East) answered “yes.”

The informant alluded to the key role of the party dynamics and trajectories as already intimated in this study when said:

Citing typical example using for instance, when specifically asked about the two main running mates, 59 per cent said yes, 41 per cent said “no” in the case of Prof. Naana Jane Opoku Agyeman influencing their vote for the National Democratic Congress (NDC) while 49 per cent said “yes,” 51 per cent said “no” in the case of Dr Mahamudu Bawumia influencing their vote for the New Patriotic Party (NPP).

What can we learn from party dynamics and trajectories and the election results? The informant said:

The NDC won the Central Region with Arkah in 1992, Mills in 1996, and Amissah Arthur in 2012. The NDC lost the same region with Amissah Arthur in 2016, and Prof. Naana Jane in 2020. The NDC picked Martin Amidu (Upper East) in 2000, Mumuni (Northern Region) in 2004 and John Mahama in 2008 (Northern Region). These regions have traditionally been won by the NDC and so one cannot view the selection of running mates from the region as a strategy to win the region. I see it as the regional balancing of the ticket.

Indeed, the findings above corroborated the generally held view that “presidential running mate selection can be something of an open-ended mess, creating as many problems for a candidate as it can help with an election. The actual impact of a presidential running mate nomination on an election varies greatly and that most have little direct consequence.

An informant added that:

The 2024 election is a watershed moment for Ghana's democratic deepening. It will test fate and more importantly stability if not the survival of party politics. It will not just be a walk in the park as perceived by many Ghanaians. And that the verdict, at best, is mixed. From the exemplified two surveys which confirmed that the verdict appears to be a) overall it does not matter and b) if it matters, it depends on the region or the candidate in question

The final question has to do with Q5. How critical is the role of the running mate to a presidential candidate's elected fortunes during general election in 2020 retrospectively and would it be the same in 2024 prospectively?

ANSQ5: An informant answered by saying:

The presidential running mate nominee carries the ticket and makes the argument for his or her election. This of course is the crucial choice. The presidential running mate nominee complements whatever weaknesses in style, ideology, or political or geographical balance—or in buying off a party faction—the candidate thinks necessary. I believe most presidential candidates hope for some plus from their choice but mostly do not want anyone who hurts the ticket or will upstage the nominee. It can be an arbitrary and personal decision and, in fact, is a rather awkward appendage to the whole process and something of an eventual backdoor to the president's office.

It is insightful to note that in this study greater lessons about the crucial nature of presidential running mate selection have been disclosed which hitherto were not open to scholars and politicians. Such invaluable lessons is knowledge about an optimum outcome of the presidential running mate selection as intended to be an electoral plus, adding balance to the ticket and hopefully greater voter appeal. Also, the folk wisdom is that these nominees should be able to take on the responsibilities of the presidency in a heartbeat. Political considerations are far more important than any presidential potential. As for balance, that depends on the candidate's perceived weak points. It can be geographical, ideological, a buy-off of a party faction, a cover for a weak or unpopular campaigner, or simply someone the candidate likes and can get along with. It is fascinating reviewing the choices presidential nominees have made and the reasoning behind them. John Kennedy's choice of Lyndon Johnson after a bitter nomination contest was unpopular with Robert Kennedy and northern liberals. Johnson added a regional and believed ideological balance—though he turned out to be far more liberal than Kennedy—and no one questioned his experience or ability to handle the president's office. Jimmy Carter chose Walter Mondale for ideological balance and a broader party-based appeal. Mondale was adventuresome and went for gender balance, picking Geraldine Ferraro, a risky decision given her husband's associates and business dealings. An apolitical and older Dwight Eisenhower was forced to take Richard Nixon, a man he neither liked nor respected, to give conservative party credentials to his candidacy and a younger, considerably more aggressive campaigner to carry the party's message.

For the NPP, except for the 1996 election where the running mate was from the Central Region (Arkah) because of the grand alliance between NPP and the opposition political parties, the party has regularly chosen running mates from the Northern Region, a generally strong hold of their main political rivals (The NDC). So, that has been the political payoffs, the party had increased

its share of the vote from 39 per cent (1996) to 46 per cent (2020) in the Northern region. In the Upper East Region, they have increased their share of the vote from 17 per cent (1996) to 34 per cent (2020). In the Upper West Region, they have increased their share of the vote from 11 per cent (1996) to 29 per cent (2020). In the newly created Northeast, they won the region by 51 per cent in 2020.

The issue such as, so, do running mates influence the outcome of elections of president has indeed, become a rhetorical question. The verdict, at best, is mixed. From the two surveys examined, the verdict appears to be a) overall it does not matter and b) if it matters, it depends on the region or the candidate in question.

From election outcomes, it appears that the selection of running mates from the Northern Region has had political payoffs for the NPP, but the case does not appear to be so for the NDC in selecting running mates from the Central. The two main parties have traditionally done a regional balancing for the ticket. For the NPP, it has been South (Presidential Candidate) and North (Running Mate). With Dr Bawumia as the 2024 presidential candidate (North), my guess is the running mate will be picked from the south. Who from the South? We wait to see.

The regional balancing for the NDC has been South (Presidential Candidate) and North (Running Mate) in 2000, 2004, 2008, and North (Presidential Candidate) and South (Running Mate) in 2012, 2016, and 2020. With John Mahama (North) as presidential candidate, my guess is the running mate will be picked from the South, or both parties will break with tradition and not go for regional balancing this time. This makes for an exciting election season. the implications that come with selecting a running mate, why presidential nominees have gotten to choose their vice presidents only since the mid-20th century, and that will be different about the presidential race between now and December 7, 2024.

Picking someone who appeals to various components of the party. So, obviously, will appeal to the electorate be it man or women. But the candidate also appeals kind of across the board. will not really out of step with the party on any particular issues. It's also kind of a conventional pick because the candidate is a typical vice-presidential candidate in making. It shows that the candidate has qualifications and experience in elections and a variety of other things that would help in the campaign and in the future if they win the election.

Political science researchers say it does not matter very much. People tend to focus on the top of the ticket. There used to be some notion that the vice-presidential candidate could help in their home state, but that does not really apply in this case because California would have gone for Biden most likely anyway. So, it is more about perhaps mobilizing Democratic voters who would be a little bit more enthusiastic because of the vice-presidential candidate, but it is not going to change people's minds to switch to any candidate because of choice of candidate of the presidential preference.

4.4. Conclusion

It concludes that if we go back to the 1800s, the conventions on choosing the presidents and on their own to choose the vice president was not that the presidential nominee could expect that they would choose the vice-presidential nominee. The conventions would meet and there was not really any information about who the public supported because there were no presidential primaries and no public opinion polls. It was basically the delegates at the convention negotiating and figuring out who would be supportive.

When you get into the 1900s, there are some cases where the presidential nominee had some influence over who became the vice president, but there are also cases where other parts of the party had more influence over who became the vice-presidential nominee. So, it wasn't until about

the 1960s that you could always expect that the presidential nominee would have control or influence over who would be the vice president.

In terms of how we choose vice presidents today, the turning point is actually 1976, because with the increase in primaries in the early '70s and delegates being selected to be committed to candidates, you had a new system where we would know who the presumptive presidential nominee would be several months before the convention. So that allowed these presumptive nominees to start vetting potential vice presidents. Jimmy Carter was the first to have that opportunity. He brought in a number of people to see how they got along in terms of issues and personalities. So, the idea that you would have a presumptive nominee having time to vet potential candidates really dates to 1976.

The primary phase is candidates running within the party, and they have slightly different positions trying to win supportive voters. But in the general election, the idea is that the party comes together. You can see some of that already with a variety of different individuals supporting Biden after he became the presumptive nominee. So, the idea is that the party starts to focus on unifying rather than on division. Typically, one of the main roles of the convention is to unify the party and stress the qualities of the presidential candidate and the vice-presidential candidate. I'm not sure how well virtual conventions (this year) are going to do that. But there is a difference between the primary phase, where you see the nuanced differences within the party, and then, in the general election, coming together against the opposite party.

Traditionally, the vice-presidential nominee can act as sort of a surrogate for the presidential nominee and go to some of the states that the presidential nominee doesn't have time to go to. Obviously, again, that's not going to work as well this year as in the past. You are going to see some attempts to attack the presidential candidate the same way that you see the opposition party

attack the presidential candidate, trying to put a different kind of perspective on them. So, it is going to be something where you have some sort of team effort in terms of appealing to different groups in the party and perhaps trying to convince some independent voters to support the party.

With the December 2024 presidential elections looming large in Ghana, the imminent choice of running mate for the two main parties has become a focal point of political speculation.

The anticipation surrounding the selection of the ruling New Patriotic Party (NPP) stems from presidential candidate Mahamudu Bawumia's influential role as vice president and his expertise in economic matters. Whoever he will choose will be to complement his resume and contribute to the party's campaign.

The opposition National Democratic Congress (NDC), led by former President John Dramani Mahama, is navigating its own set of considerations as the party aims to position itself strategically to return to power.

The selection of a running mate is a consequential decision that can influence voter perceptions, party dynamics and the overall trajectory of the election campaign. The theories and predictions circulating in the political sphere reflect the dynamic nature of Ghana's electoral landscape. Factors such as regional balance, experience and public appeal are all likely considerations for both candidates as they make this crucial decision.

Ultimately, the choices made by Bawumia and Mahama will not only define their respective tickets but will also set the stage for a competitive and closely watched presidential race. Many believe that the chosen running mates will not only bring additional expertise and experience to the campaign, but also help attract support from key demographics. The choice of running mates can make a real difference in convincing voters about which campaign can best address the pressing issues facing Ghanaians, such as job creation, infrastructure development and social welfare.

Bawumia's emphasis on economic policies and his role in initiatives, such as digitalization, have garnered support from many who prioritize economic growth. On the other hand, former president Mahama may appeal to voters nostalgic for his leadership or those seeking a change in governance. Coming from the north and as the first Muslim flagbearer of the governing NPP, Bawumia chose a Christian from the party's Ashanti region stronghold. The Muslim suburbs are going to vote massively for Bawumia because it will be the first time one of their own will swear by the Quran and that will be a plus for them to pull vote from that fraternity.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0. Introduction

This chapter deals with the summary of key findings, provides the cumulative conclusions and makes some recommendations for stakeholders' consideration and future research and praxis. As indicated already in the penultimate chapter, that is chapter 4, this study sets out to provide the prognosis of the diagnosed research problem based on the research objectives. The subject of engagement was to investigate the influential role of the presidential running mate (PRM) as a

catalyst for party's election victory using the 2020 general elections in retrospect and to determine its replicability in the coming 2024 general elections prospectively.

5.1. Summary of Key Findings

Here this study summarizes the key findings from both the theoretical reflections and empirical discussions as treated in the previous chapter, chapter four.

Key findings revealed that it is a constitutional mandate for all presidential candidates or flagbearers of any political party to have or to select a running mate who becomes the vice president when the candidate or the flagbearer emerges or wins the elections. This also makes it very relevant, the role of the running mate in supporting the flagbearer to win the elections. But when it comes to how the running mate influences voters' voting behaviour, it is a dicey issue because it may depend upon the persona of the presidential running mate, the perception of the electorate, the party dynamics, and of course, the electoral area. These factors mentioned above, may work in relative terms to provide the direction or kind of answer to the influential role of the presidential running mate in shaping voters' voting behaviour. In my opinion, perception of electorate about the persona of the running mate can have a high propensity to shape voting behaviours of voters positively and negatively depending upon favorability or unfavorability respectively. Besides, party dynamics involving choosing a candidate of the party members' favorite will work well as opposed to imposing candidate on the party members. Similarly, electoral areas, for instance, a swing constituency may have different levels of endorsement as opposed to the strong-holds and weak holds and vice versa.

Indeed, this finding corroborated the report of a quantitative study conducted in 2016 by Isaac Owusu whose on “Elections Study of 24 Swing Constituencies” which examined the influence of running mates on the decision of voters indicated as follows: When asked “does the running mate influence your choice of president?” 51 per cent said “no”; 42 per cent said “yes”; six per cent said “don’t know”; and one per cent did not respond. The survey was conducted in five regions. In Greater Accra, 51 per cent said yes, 41 per cent said no. In Western countries, 43 per cent said yes, 43 per cent said no. In Brong Ahafo 30 per cent said yes, 66 per cent said no. In Northern, 65 per cent said yes, 31 per cent said no. In Central 30 per cent said yes, 63 per cent said no. It is obvious to admit that both the findings of the quantitative and the qualitative studies reaffirm the degree of the relativity of the influential role of the PRM on the voting behaviors of voters. This is very useful information for handling PRM issues in the contemporary selection of PRM and winning elections in political context.

Another informant interviewed said: Ideally, that selecting a particular presidential running mate by flagbearers of any political party is usually informed by the high hope of winning the elections and for the running mate to become the vice president. So, with this backdrop, it is incumbent on the flagbearer to strategically select the candidate who can complement the efforts of the flagbearer to sell the party’s vision and mission so as to emerge or win the elections. This makes it very relevant the criteria for selecting the running mate, such that the role of the running mate in supporting the flagbearer to win the elections becomes very critical. But when it comes to how the running mate influences the success of the election outcomes, it is a unpredictable because it may depend upon a number of factors which include but not limited to political party’s financial resources, campaign strategy, persona of both the flagbearer and the presidential running mate, the

perception of the electorate, the party dynamics, and of course, the nature of the constituency or the electoral area politics.

It is important to note that the finding above is very consistent with the literature reviewed which alluded to the fact that the party's success story in the general elections reflect mosaic of factors which this study summed them up as "political party's dynamics and trajectories". Similarly, the volume of literature attest to the fact that no single strategy is adequate enough to secure a victory for any political party (Owusu Mensah 2016; Bratton and Van de Wale, 2008). Some scholars also argue that strategic planning and enhanced institutional capacity offer clear benefits to political parties. The party and the party organization can enhance their performance and respond more quickly (and more successfully) to changing circumstances. Clearer insights into a party's strengths, weaknesses and priorities allow it to achieve better results using fewer resources. In this context, better results do not mean better electoral results, but achieving organizational goals such as stable or increased levels of funding, enhanced capacity to organize party primaries and campaigns, more effective and efficient ways of selecting candidates, and better training programmes for party members.

This study alluded to the fact that a strategic attitude can also enhance understanding and the capacity for organizational learning. Hence an informant interviewed confirmed that: This leads to more conscious, more disciplined and better-informed methods of self-analysis and decision making and that adequate planning turns to improve external communications and societal and political support, because it helps a party communicate its core ideas and objectives more effectively— making it more recognizable and creating a more positive, consistent and confident public image.

Now, the study delved into the election outcomes of both the 2020 in retrospect and the election 2024 in prospect, an informant interviewed said: Ghanaians went to the polls on 7 December 2020, for the 8th successive time since the return to constitutional rule in 1993, to elect a President and

275 Members of Parliament. The incumbent President Nana Akufo-Addo defeated former President John Mahama and the National Democratic Congress, to secure a second term mandate, on the ticket of the New Patriotic Party. In the Parliamentary race, both parties secured 137 seats each with one independent seat. The outcome of the elections, therefore, did not follow the same trend as those held in Ghana in 1992/93, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012 and 2016 in which a victorious party won the presidential and secured majority of the seats in parliament. The outcome of the polls also saw a change in the country's governance system where for the first time, the Speaker of Parliament came from the opposition party. Also, the National Democratic Congress, for the first time, officially rejected the outcome of the polls and mounted a challenge in the country's apex court. The process of the conduct of the 2020 general elections had a number of issues which affected the outcome and the voting pattern and its implications for electoral politics in Ghana. This revealed that the Ghanaian electorate have become rational actors who reward hard work and punish mediocracy and not based on destructive ethnic voting. Also, the outcome reiterated the need for vigilance at both the polling stations and collation centres to ensure undisputed elections and to consolidate the gains in Ghana's electoral politics. Given this unfolded scenario, the outcome of the 2024 elections will reflect a number of dynamics which include among other things, capacities in internal management, internal party democracy, financial management, ideological identity, inclusivity of women and youth, campaigning and parties' capability to govern. This finding above indeed, corroborate the argument advanced by Carothers 2006: 97). Electoral campaign planning in particular has received much attention, mostly from organizations that are themselves linked to political parties' internal dynamics including the selectivity of both the flagbearer and the running mate such that the more strategic the solagates are, the more attractive the party becomes and the higher the probability or chances of the party's success in election.

The study took keen interest in trying to determine whether the candidate who partners the flagbearer matters and how it contributed to 2020 elections outcome and whether similar situation should be anticipated in the coming 2024 general elections

An informant interviewed said: The issue such as, so, do running mates influence the outcome of elections of president has indeed, become a rhetorical question. This is because in the vibrant landscape of Ghanaian politics, the call for change echoes through the corridors of democracy. The informant made a reference to the 2020 elections outcomes particularly, the iRIS Research Group (Ghana 2020 Pre-Election Survey: Report of the study of 36 competitive constituencies) when respondents were asked “would the selection of the running mate matter and will it influence your choice of the presidential candidate you would vote for?” 25 per cent answered “yes”, 72 per cent answered “no”, and two per cent answered “maybe.” The informant was critical about this report, and therefore concluded that even so, the majority were indifferent about the influential role of the presidential running mate, there are lessons to be learnt given the scenario of the results of the 2020 general elections. Emphasizing that the survey was conducted across 12 regions in which 11 (Western, Western North, Central, Greater Accra, Eastern, Ashanti, Ahafo, Bono, Bono East, Northern, Northeast and Upper East) predominantly answered “no” and one (North East) answered “yes.”

The informant alluded to the key role of the party dynamics and trajectories as already intimated in this study when said: Citing typical example using for instance, when specifically asked about the two main running mates, 59 per cent said yes, 41 per cent said “no” in the case of Prof. Naana Jane Opoku Agyeman influencing their vote for the National Democratic Congress (NDC) while 49 per cent said “yes,” 51 per cent said “no” in the case of Dr Mahamudu Bawumia influencing their vote for the New Patriotic Party (NPP).

The informant said: The NDC won the Central Region with Arkah in 1992, Mills in 1996, and Amissah Arthur in 2012. The NDC lost the same region with Amissah Arthur in 2016, and Prof. Naana Jane in 2020. The NDC picked Martin Amidu (Upper East) in 2000, Mumuni (Northern Region) in 2004 and John Mahama in 2008 (Northern Region). These regions have traditionally been won by the NDC and so one cannot view the selection of running mates from the region as a strategy to win the region. I see it as the regional balancing of the ticket.

Indeed, the findings above corroborated the generally held view that “presidential running mate selection can be something of an open-ended mess, creating as many problems for a candidate as it can help with an election. The actual impact of a presidential running mate nomination on an election varies greatly and that most have little direct consequence.

Another informant added that: The 2024 election is a watershed moment for Ghana’s democratic deepening. It will test fate and more importantly stability if not the survival of party politics. It will not just be a walk in the park as perceived by many Ghanaians. And that the verdict, at best, is mixed. From the exemplified two surveys which confirmed that the verdict appears to be a) overall it does not matter and b) if it matters, it depends on the region or the candidate in question.

Another informant shared the opinion that: The presidential running mate nominee carries the ticket and makes the argument for his or her election. This of course is the crucial choice. The presidential running mate nominee complements whatever weaknesses in style, ideology, or political or geographical balance—or in buying off a party faction—the candidate thinks necessary. I believe most presidential candidates hope for some plus from their choice but mostly do not want anyone who hurts the ticket or will upstage the nominee. It can be an arbitrary and

personal decision and, in fact, is a rather awkward appendage to the whole process and something of an eventual backdoor to the president's office.

It is insightful to note that in this study greater lessons about the crucial nature of presidential running mate selection have been disclosed which hitherto were not open to scholars and politicians. Such invaluable lessons is knowledge about an optimum outcome of the presidential running mate selection as intended to be an electoral plus, adding balance to the ticket and hopefully greater voter appeal. Also, the folk wisdom is that these nominees should be able to take on the responsibilities of the presidency in a heartbeat. Political considerations are far more important than any presidential potential. As for balance, that depends on the candidate's perceived weak points. It can be geographical, ideological, a buy-off of a party faction, a cover for a weak or unpopular campaigner, or simply someone the candidate likes and can get along with. It is fascinating reviewing the choices presidential nominees have made and the reasoning behind them. John Kennedy's choice of Lyndon Johnson after a bitter nomination contest was unpopular with Robert Kennedy and northern liberals. Johnson added a regional and believed ideological balance—though he turned out to be far more liberal than Kennedy—and no one questioned his experience or ability to handle the president's office. Jimmy Carter chose Walter Mondale for ideological balance and a broader party-based appeal. Mondale was adventuresome and went for gender balance, picking Geraldine Ferraro, a risky decision given her husband's associates and business dealings. An apolitical and older Dwight Eisenhower was forced to take Richard Nixon, a man he neither liked nor respected, to give conservative party credentials to his candidacy and a younger, considerably more aggressive campaigner to carry the party's message.

For the NPP, except for the 1996 election where the running mate was from the Central Region (Arkah) because of the grand alliance between NPP and the opposition political parties, the party has regularly chosen running mates from the Northern Region, a generally strong hold of their main political rivals (The NDC). So, that has been the political payoffs, the party had increased its share of the vote from 39 per cent (1996) to 46 per cent (2020) in the Northern region. In the Upper East Region, they have increased their share of the vote from 17 per cent (1996) to 34 per cent (2020). In the Upper West Region, they have increased their share of the vote from 11 per cent (1996) to 29 per cent (2020). In the newly created Northeast, they won the region by 51 per cent in 2020.

The issue such as, so, do running mates influence the outcome of elections of president has indeed, become a rhetorical question. The verdict, at best, is mixed. From the two surveys examined, the verdict appears to be a) overall it does not matter and b) if it matters, it depends on the region or the candidate in question.

From election outcomes, it appears that the selection of running mates from the Northern Region has had political payoffs for the NPP, but the case does not appear to be so for the NDC in selecting running mates from the Central. The two main parties have traditionally done a regional balancing for the ticket. For the NPP, it has been South (Presidential Candidate) and North (Running Mate). With Dr Bawumia as the 2024 presidential candidate (North), my guess is the running mate will be picked from the south. Who from the South? We wait to see.

The regional balancing for the NDC has been South (Presidential Candidate) and North (Running Mate) in 2000, 2004, 2008, and North (Presidential Candidate) and South (Running Mate) in 2012, 2016, and 2020. With John Mahama (North) as presidential candidate, my guess is the running mate will be picked from the South, or both parties will break with tradition and not go for regional

balancing this time. This makes for an exciting election season. the implications that come with selecting a running mate, why presidential nominees have gotten to choose their vice presidents only since the mid-20th century, and that will be different about the presidential race between now and December 7, 2024.

Picking someone who appeals to various components of the party. So, obviously, will appeal to the electorate be it man or women. But the candidate also appeals kind of across the board. will not really out of step with the party on any particular issues. It's also kind of a conventional pick because the candidate is a typical vice-presidential candidate in making. It shows that the candidate has qualifications and experience in elections and a variety of other things that would help in the campaign and in the future if they win the election.

Political science researchers say it does not matter very much. People tend to focus on the top of the ticket. There used to be some notion that the vice-presidential candidate could help in their home state, but that does not really apply in this case because California would have gone for Biden most likely anyway. So, it is more about perhaps mobilizing Democratic voters who would be a little bit more enthusiastic because of the vice-presidential candidate, but it is not going to change people's minds to switch to any candidate because of choice of candidate of the presidential preference.

5.2. Conclusions

This study draws on a number of recommendations based on the findings and discussions. It concludes that ultimately, the choices made by Bawumia and Mahama will not only define their respective tickets but will also set the stage for a competitive and closely watched presidential race. Many believe that the chosen running mates will not only bring additional expertise and

experience to the campaign, but also help attract support from key demographics. Also, it concludes that the choice of running mates could make a real difference in convincing voters about which campaign can best address the pressing issues facing Ghanaians, such as job creation, infrastructure development and social welfare.

Moreover, it concludes that Bawumia's emphasis on economic policies and his role in initiatives, such as digitalization, have garnered support from many who prioritize economic growth. On the other hand, former president Mahama may appeal to voters nostalgic for his leadership or those seeking a change in governance.

Besides, it concludes that coming from the north and as the first Muslim flagbearer of the governing NPP, Bawumia chose a Christian from the party's Ashanti region stronghold. The Muslim suburbs are going to vote massively for Bawumia because it will be the first time one of their own will swear by the Quran and that will be a plus for them to pull vote from that fraternity. It concludes that If we go back to the 1800s, the conventions on choosing the presidents and on their own to choose the vice president was not that the presidential nominee could expect that they would choose the vice-presidential nominee. The conventions would meet and there was not really any information about who the public supported because there were no presidential primaries and no public opinion polls. It was basically the delegates at the convention negotiating and figuring out who would be supportive.

Although in the 1900s, there were some cases where the presidential nominee had some influence over who became the vice president, yet it concludes that there are also cases where other parts of the party had more influence over who became the vice-presidential nominee. So, it wasn't until about the 1960s that you could always expect that the presidential nominee would have control or influence over who would be the vice president.

In terms of how we choose vice presidents today, the turning point is actually 1976, because with the increase in primaries in the early '70s and delegates being selected to be committed to candidates, there had been a new system where we would know who the presumptive presidential nominee would be several months before the convention. Hence it concludes that allowing these presumptive nominees to start vetting potential vice presidents. Would be an added opportunity to see how presidential candidate may get along in terms of issues and personalities. So, the idea that you would have a presumptive nominee having time to vet potential candidates really dates to 1976.

Another conclusion is that the primary phase is the choice of the candidates running mate within the party to ensure that the presidential running mate brings in slightly different positions to try to win supportive voters as it is in the general election where the idea is for the party to come together for the idea that the party starts to focus on unifying rather than on the division. Typically, one of the main roles of the convention is to unify the party and stress the qualities of the presidential candidate and the vice-presidential candidate. It concludes that there is a difference between the primary phase, where one sees the nuanced differences within the party, and then, in the general election, coming together against the opposition party.

It concludes that traditionally, the vice-presidential nominee can act as sort of a surrogate for the presidential nominee and go to some of the states that the presidential nominee doesn't have time to go to. Obviously, again, that's not going to work as well this year as in the past. You are going to see some attempts to attack the presidential candidate the same way that you see the opposition party attack the presidential candidate, trying to put a different kind of perspective on them. So, it is going to be something where you have some sort of team effort in terms of appealing to different groups in the party and perhaps trying to convince some independent voters to support the party.

With the December 2024 presidential elections looming large in Ghana, the imminent choice of running mate for the two main parties has become a focal point of political speculation.

Finally, it concludes that the anticipation surrounding the selection of the ruling New Patriotic Party (NPP) stems from presidential candidate Mahamudu Bawumia's influential role as vice president and his expertise in economic matters. Whoever he chooses will complement his resume and contribute to the party's campaign.

5.3. Recommendations

This study makes two broad recommendations namely, recommendations for stakeholder engagement and recommendations for future research and praxis. It is recommended that stakeholders such as political parties, politicians and political activists should not depend solely on the selection of the presidential running mate as the major strategy for determining the party's success or the flagbearer's chances of winning an election. This is because in recent times, choosing a Presidential Running mate has become a very controversial issue in the Ghanaian electoral politics because of the influential nature of the process and the politics of lobbyism. Also, the results showed that although the role of the Presidential Running mate seems to become more attractive and influential, nonetheless, the traditional campaign strategies do have high propensity to galvanize voters' supports for the party's success during elections. Hence it recommends that choosing a Presidential Running mate should be based on consultation and consensus building such that it is likely for the party to succeed in getting a requisite candidate of the people's choice which could translate into gaining huge supports from the electorate. Again, it suggests that although Presidential Running mates could play influential role for Party's success during general elections in Ghana, other effective strategies reflecting issue-based campaign strategies should be

considered during election campaigns for better results. Finally, further researchers should use the quantitative approach to investigate the dynamics and trajectories of election campaign strategies for successful elections.

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APPENDIX

UNIVERSITY OF MEDIA, ARTS AND COMMUNICATION(UNIMAC-IJ)

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

**SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR RANDOMLY SELECTED
POLITICAL ACTIVISTS, GHANAIAN ELECTORATE AND POLITICAL ANALYSTS**

Dear respondent, this interview guide is to aid in gathering data on the subject: “**The Influential role of Presidential Running mates and Party’s success during general elections in Ghana: A case of 2020 and 2024 Elections.** Kindly respond appropriately to the questions given. You are assured of the confidentiality and anonymity of this exercise because it will solely be used for the intended academic purpose.

Brief Demographic Characteristics

Education: Pre-Tertiary [] Tertiary [] Postgraduate [] Others Specify.....

Occupation: Public employment [] Self-employment [] Unemployed [] Student []

Region of origin.....Place of Interview

Objective 1: To explore the influence of the choice of a particular Presidential Running mate on the voting behavior of Ghanaians.

Q1. Does the choice of a particular Presidential Running mate influence the voting behaviour of Ghanaians?

Q.2 From your experience, what challenges do you foresee in the existing party’s strategy in choosing the PRM that may hinder the PRM’s ability to ensure success in election processes?

Objective 2: Determine whether the choice of a particular Presidential Running Mate matter for the success story of the party in question during general election.

Q3. Does the choice of a particular Presidential Running mate influence the success story of the party in question during general election?

Q.4 What improvements in your opinion could be made to the party's strategy to choose a better or suitable candidate to promote voter education and enhance voter turnout in elections?

Objective 3: Ascertain what the choice of a particular running mate happened to election outcomes in 2020 retrospectively and whether it would be the same in 2024 prospectively,

Q5. How did the choice of a particular Presidential Running mate happen to elections outcomes in 2020 retrospectively and would it be the same in 2024 prospectively?

Q6. Can you describe any specific instances where strategy implemented by any political party to have a significant impact on electoral operations or outcomes? What challenges, if any, have arisen from this strategy?

Objective 4: Investigate whether or not who partners the Flagbearers as running mates' matters during general election in 2020 retrospectively and in 2024 prospectively.

Q7. Does who partner the Flagbearers as running mates' matter during general election in 2020 retrospectively and would it matter in 2024 prospectively?

Q.8 From your perspective, what are the key areas where improvements are needed within the political party's strategy to enhance PRM's ability to influence voters choice during elections in Ghana?

Objective 5. Analyze the criticality of the role of the running mate to a presidential candidate's election fortunes during general election in 2020 retrospectively and in 2024 prospectively.

Q9. How critical is the role of the running mate to a presidential candidate's elected fortunes during general election in 2020 retrospectively and would it be the same in 2024 prospectively?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION