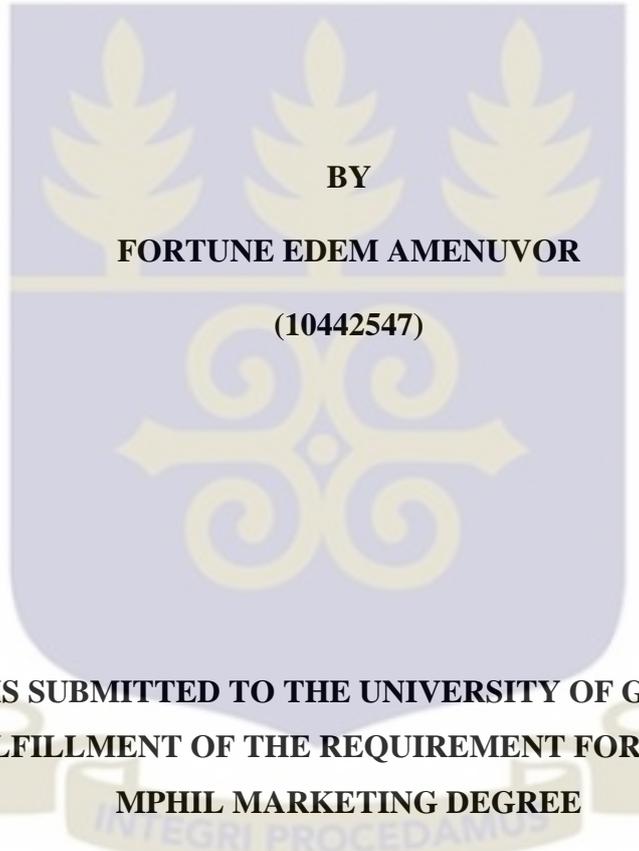


UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

**POLITICAL BRAND ARCHITECTURE MANAGEMENT: A RESOURCE
ALLOCATION PERSPECTIVE IN GHANA**

The background of the central text area features a large, light-colored watermark of the University of Ghana crest. The crest is a shield divided into two horizontal sections. The top section is light blue and contains three golden laurel branches. The bottom section is light purple and contains a golden emblem with four curved, scroll-like elements. Below the shield is a golden banner with the Latin motto 'INTEGRI PROCEDAMOS'.

BY
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**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF
MPHIL MARKETING DEGREE**

JUNE, 2015

DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that this work is the result of my own research and has not been presented by anyone for any academic award in this or any other University. All references used in the work have been duly acknowledged.

I bear sole responsibility for any shortcomings.

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CERTIFICATION

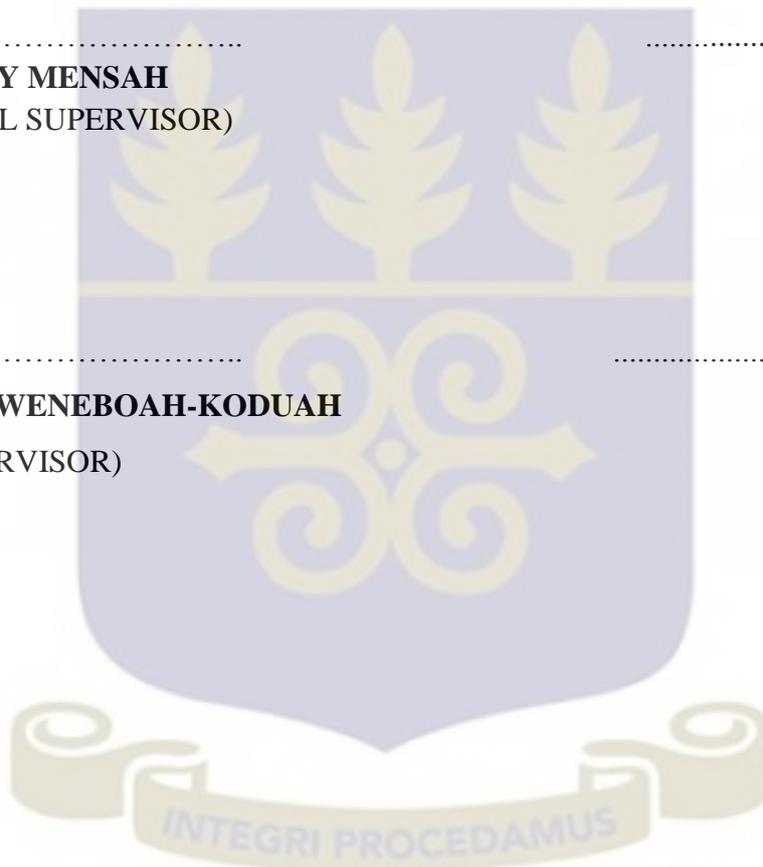
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(CO-SUPERVISOR)

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DATE



DEDICATION

To The Glory of God

And

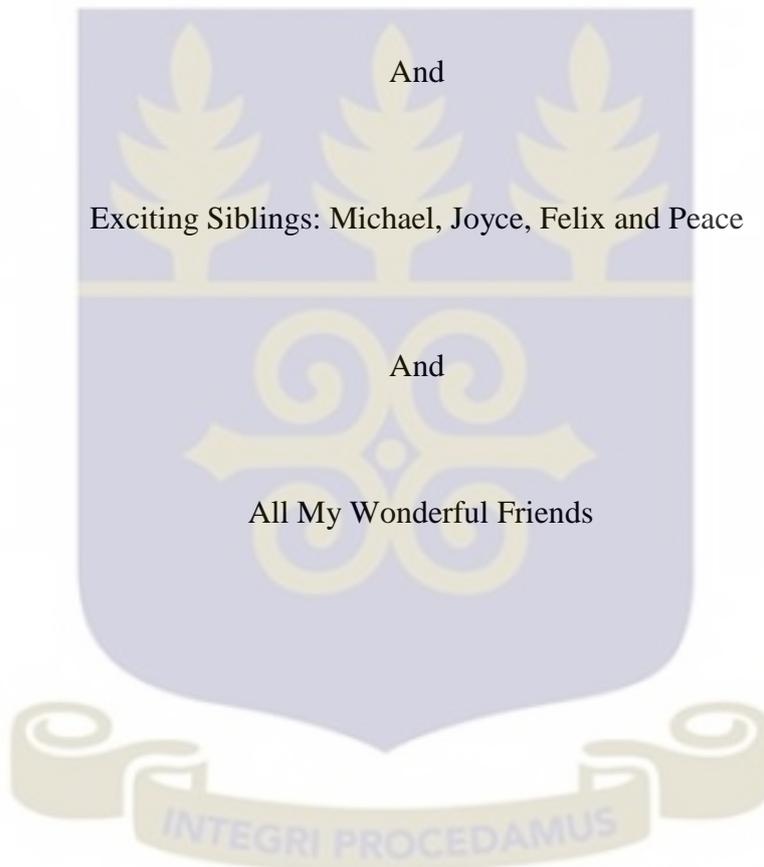
To My Loving Parents: Rev. Victor Kofi Amenuvor (Late), Mrs. Comfort Amenuvor

And

Exciting Siblings: Michael, Joyce, Felix and Peace

And

All My Wonderful Friends



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With profound appreciation and gratitude I would like to acknowledge; The Lord God Almighty, for His abiding love and awe-inspiring grace; with Him all things are possible.

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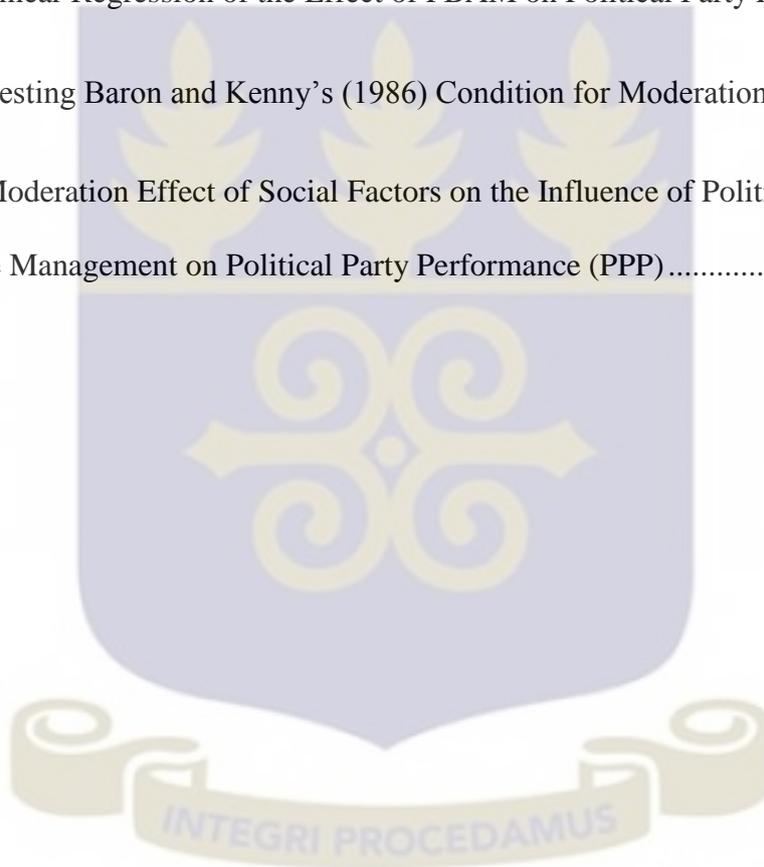
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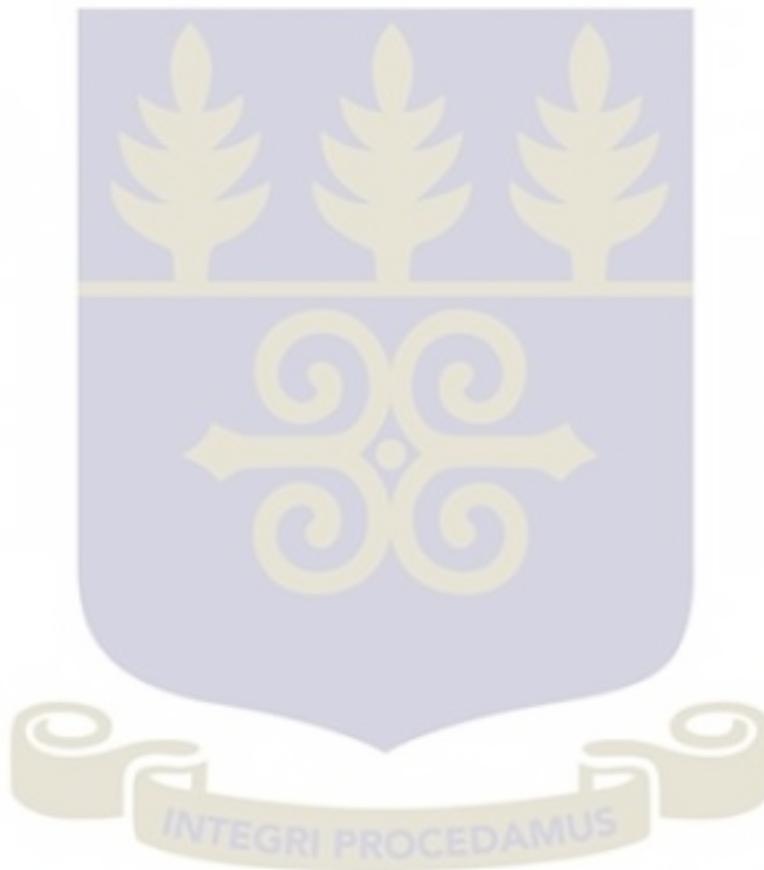


ABSTRACT

Political brand architecture management is described as a strategic approach of arranging and rearranging the political brand elements in a way that best meets the unique characteristics of the target voter. The idea behind this approach, which is borrowed from the brand architecture theory in branding, is to ensure that political parties do due diligence in allocating campaign resources effectively and appropriately. Although several studies have been conducted in both the Western and Ghanaian contexts on political branding, none has yet studied the relationship between political brand architecture management and resource allocation while accounting for the influence of other factors such as social, economic, technological and cultural issues.

The main objective of the study is to ascertain the relationship between political brand architecture management and resource allocation. The research adopts a mixed method approach that uses both qualitative and quantitative means to collect and analyse data. It makes use of in-depth interviews, analysis of media items, thematic analysis as well as correlation and multiple regression analysis to investigate the relationship among political brand architecture management, effective resource allocation and political party performance in the Ghanaian context. Five hundred (500) registered voters drawn from five different constituencies in Accra, Ghana that cut across both lower and upper classes were sampled for this research using stratified and convenience sampling techniques respectively. Again, purposive sampling was used to select the four (4) political parties for the focus interviews, which centred on their resource allocation approach and the level to which they have adopted brand architecture. The outcome of the research shows that political brand architecture management has a significant positive impact on political party performance. The research also revealed that political brand architecture management has a significant positive impact on effective resource allocation. Another objective of the research was to empirically test the impact of effective resource

allocation on political party performance and the results shows that there is a significant positive effect of effective resource allocation on political party performance. The research therefore concludes that, if political parties strategically manage the political brand architecture, it will lead to an effective allocation of resources, which will eventually lead to an enhanced electoral performance. The implications of the study and its findings, as related to theory and practice, were also discussed.



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This study is situated in political branding and will review some current issues in the parent literature of political marketing. Political marketing and, for that matter political branding and its related concepts, have gained increased importance in both academia and among practitioners (Kavanagh, 1995; Kotler & Kotler, 1999; Smith, 2001; White & De Chernatony, 2002; Schneider, 2004; Needham, 2005, 2006; Reeves, De Chernatony & Carrigan, 2006; Scammell, 2007; Harris & Lock, 2010); and have been assailed by critics as well as advocates (O'Shaughnessy, 2001; Henneberg, Mouzas & Naudé, 2009; French & Smith, 2010).

The significance and appreciation of branding political parties and candidates has led to a fresh interest towards the conceptualization of political parties as brands (Harris & Lock, 2001; White & De Chernatony, 2002). Studies abound in political brand literature that proffer strategies for political parties to identify and distinguish themselves from competitors. Several studies (Worcester & Baines, 2006; Needham, 2006; Reeves et al., 2006; Norris, 1999) have suggested an increased adoption of the brand concept by political parties to identify and differentiate themselves in the manner that commercial entities do.

Traditionally, brands have been recognized as the most unwavering and sustainable assets in industry and commerce (Tweneboah-Koduah, Akotia, Akotia & Hinson, 2010) that live long even after the demise of management teams and the break-through in technology (Clifton, 2003). This amplifies the notion that politics have branding

character or connotation and the dominance of branding in the present day body politic continues to draw issue. Research of this nature has spanned from: the study of Kelley (1956) where the word political marketing was first used in the study of the politicians and PR consultants; through to O’Cass (1996) who examined the political marketing concept and political market orientation in Australian politics; the work of Bauer, Huber and Hemmann (1996) which explored political marketing from an information-economic analysis point of view in Germany; as well as Lees-Marshment (2001), Lilleker (2005), and Worcester and Baines (2006), who posit that a number of marketing-oriented techniques such as market research, segmentation and positioning were instrumental in the restructuring of the Labour party.

Mensah (2011) defines political branding as the approach taken by political parties to identify and differentiate themselves to the target voter as well as other stakeholders such as the media, civil societies, financiers and the parties in competition. Parties do this through the use of colours, emblems, policy directions, candidates, traditions and the ideology that actually position them along the left/right continuum. This argument is extended by O’Cass and Voola (2011) who claim that political party branding has the ability to differentiate one party’s offerings from its competitors and has the potential of producing electoral performance of winning competitive elections.

Despite the pervasive nature of branding in politics, the issue of effectively managing the brand elements (i.e. party, candidate and policy) has not received much thought. Although political parties seem to be adopting branding strategies in their activities (Tweneboah-Koduah et al., 2010; Mensah, 2011; Benyie, 2013), little attention has been given to how to effectively manage these elements to ensure political success. This

brings to the fore the concept of brand architecture, and specifically political brand architecture.

Extant literature on branding has explained brand architecture to be the organising structure of a company's brand portfolio for specifying roles and relationships among brands and their markets in order to establish clarity in the minds of consumers, and thereby ensuring better performance (Gilmore, 1997; Mottram, 1998; Nilson, 1998; Aaker & Joachimsthaler, 2002; Riezebos, 2003).

Because of the lack of a proper framework in place, political parties, especially in Ghana, seem to allocate campaign resources inappropriately because they do not target the voters well. Effective use of the political brand architecture framework per its definition will offer political parties insights into when and how to allocate resources to these three elements (party, policy and candidates) during campaigns and thus avert any issue of mis-targeting.

According to Kapferer (2012), brand architecture specifies and clarifies all the brand and product relationships in a coherent manner that makes for easy comprehension by consumers. Mensah (2011) argues that the New Patriotic Party's campaign strategy in the 2000 general elections parallels the brand architecture concept in marketing. He notes that the NPP identified roles and functions for the three political elements; the party, candidate and policy towards their target audience

The political brand architecture concept suggests that a political party can project itself into the minds of voters as either being integrated or separated (Mensah, 2011). The

principle here is that the traditional approach of classifying the party, candidate and policy as one unified entity (bonded by a common belief system which is the ideology) is not the same in the arena of modern party politics. Hence, there is the need to identify different ways of effectively organising these three elements in the volatile political environment to ensure success (Mensah, 2011).

Mensah (2011) again posits that the three political brand elements; candidate, party and policy can be merged and presented in one unified form targeted at the needs of the voter. This principle is confirmed by Strebinger (2014), who suggests that brand architecture is shaped by numerous forces, which include market segmentation, targeting and positioning imperatives; and, as such the focus should be on the needs of the voter. A significant proposition of the political brand architecture framework is to ensure that the political brand elements are arranged (and rearranged) in a manner that reflects the needs of the voter.

This means that the contents of the party's campaign should be in sync with the characteristics and aspirations of the voter in order to give the guarantee to the voter that indeed the party would fulfil its promise when given the mandate (Mensah, 2011). For instance, the political party must undertake research to abreast itself with the demands and behavioural patterns of the voter on a constituency, district, regional and national basis and arrange the elements to specifically meet those targets.

Underlying these three political brand elements are certain key attributes which play major roles in modern day voter decision making, especially in managing the relationship between the voter and the political party. When effectively managed, the

political brand architecture will serve as a guiding framework that will help political parties to effectively allocate scarce campaign resources and ensure that campaign activities and messages are designed with the voter in mind. This implies that the characteristics of the voter cohorts at the constituency, district, regional or national level will be taken into consideration before any campaign move is triggered. Allocation of resources is a major strategic activity in any election campaign (Bartels, 2008). Indeed one political observer defines a campaign as the systematic route of acquiring and utilizing political resources that can secure votes (Leuthold, 1968).

Huang and Shaw (2010) examined the resource allocations strategies in the 2008 US general elections in which both the particulars of Obama and McCain were examined by the authors to ascertain how they could amass such Electoral College majorities as compared to other recent campaigns. The outcome of the research showed that Obama's campaign was not all that different from Ronald Reagan in 1980 and 1984 respectively. The research however noted that both Obama and McCain carefully allocated resources into states that were deemed most important to winning in the Electoral College and this shows how important effective resource allocation is in a political campaign and electoral performance.

Research on political branding has not empirically tested the role political brand architecture plays in ensuring salience; and how that translates into effective resource allocation and party performance. There is, therefore, a gap in that respect and this research attempts to fill that gap by offering a political brand architecture and effective resource allocation model of branding political parties; demonstrating how that leads to enhanced political party performance in Ghana.

1.2 Research Problem

The political branding strategies used by almost all the political parties in Ghana assume a certain pattern that calls for concern. Branding in any field of endeavour is meant to elicit positive responses and associations from the target. Indeed that is why huge budgets are assigned to the branding and marketing of products, and in this case, the political product. However, what seems to be happening in the Ghanaian political scene leaves much to be desired.

It seems that almost all the political parties in Ghana do not know which of the political brand elements (party, policy, and candidate) gives them return on investment and advantage over competitors; and so though they spend huge sums of budgetary allocations on their campaigning and branding: it is almost always misplaced and ends up in mis-targeting the voter. Political parties are predisposed to side-stepping some of the political brand elements due to the fact that there is no branding framework guiding their activities. For example, side-stepping an element like the party in the political branding effort can end up in alienating a cross-section of the voters whose allegiance is to the party, but not the candidate or the policy (Mensah, 2011).

According to Mensah (2011), a party stands to gain by considering all the political brand elements of electoral relevance in political management. This is one reason why this thesis argues for the political brand architecture model to serve as a guiding framework that will help political parties to effectively order and rearrange their political brand elements with the most electoral equity and within a framework that seeks to manage the weaknesses of the other elements; and in so doing, effectively allocate campaign resources.

In effect therefore, this thesis seeks to empirically test the political brand architecture framework, critically establish how it leads to effectively allocating campaign resources, and how that will inure to the political party's benefit.

1.3 Research Gap

The concept of political marketing with a special focus on political branding has been undertaken in many Western contexts (O'Casey, 2001; Peng & Hackley, 2007). According to Baines and Egan (2001), the political marketing concept has spawned some academic interest in the US as early as the 1970s. Investigations into political marketing from an African-developing economy context have been very scanty and this begs for understanding considering the level of marketing and branding expertise that is impressively gaining improvement over the continent (Hinson & Tweneboah-Koduah, 2010).

Extant research in the Ghanaian context has looked at political marketing and branding over the past decade (Mensah, 2009a; 2009b; 2011; Hinson & Tweneboah-Koduah, 2010; Tweneboah-Koduah et al., 2010; Benyie, 2013). However, none has yet attempted to empirically test the impact of the practice of rearranging the political brand elements in campaigns which Mensah (2011) describes as the political brand architecture framework; and how it helps political parties to appropriately allocate their resources.

This thesis therefore is an initial attempt to bridge this research gap by investigating the extent to which political brand architecture management leads to effective resource allocation and how this translates into political party performance.

1.4 Research Aim

The overarching aim of the study is to establish how the effective use of the candidate's attributes, party attributes and policy attributes in the political brand architecture framework leads towards enhancing the political brand appeal and political resource allocation and how this eventually reflects in the performance of the political party during elections.

1.5 Research Objectives

Specifically, the research seeks to achieve the following objectives:

1. Find out if political parties have implicitly, or otherwise, adopted the political brand architecture framework.
2. Establish the effect of political brand architecture management on effective resources allocation.
3. To establish the effect of political brand architecture management on political party performance.
4. To assess the mediating effect of effective resource allocation on the relationship between political brand architecture and political party performance.
5. Assess the moderating role of social, economic, cultural and technological factors on the relationship between political brand architecture management and political party performance.

1.6 Research Questions

Following from the research objectives, the research seeks to answer the following questions:

1. To what extent have political parties in Ghana adopted political brand architecture, implicitly or otherwise?

2. What is the effect of political brand architecture management on effective resource allocation?
3. What is the effect of effective political resource allocation on party performance?
4. What is the mediating effect of effective resource allocation on the relationship between political brand architecture and party performance?
5. What is the moderating role of social, cultural, economic and technological factors on the relationship between political brand architecture management and political party performance?

1.7 Significance of the Study

The significance of the research is at two levels; it makes a very crucial developing economy contribution to the global academic discourse on political marketing and political branding. Again, it offers an important insight into how to conceptualize political branding and effective resource allocation from a developing economy context. Further, this study proposes the political brand architecture model to serve as a framework to help political parties to effectively order and rearrange the political brand elements in order to effectively target the voter during campaigns, and to ensure that campaign budgets/resources are effectively allocated. This study again serves as a working document for political parties in Ghana and beyond and as a significant contribution to political party branding.

1.8 Scope and Limitations of the Study

1.8.1 Scope of the study

The research studies four (4) major political parties in Ghana and registered voters in five (5) constituencies in the Greater Accra Region.

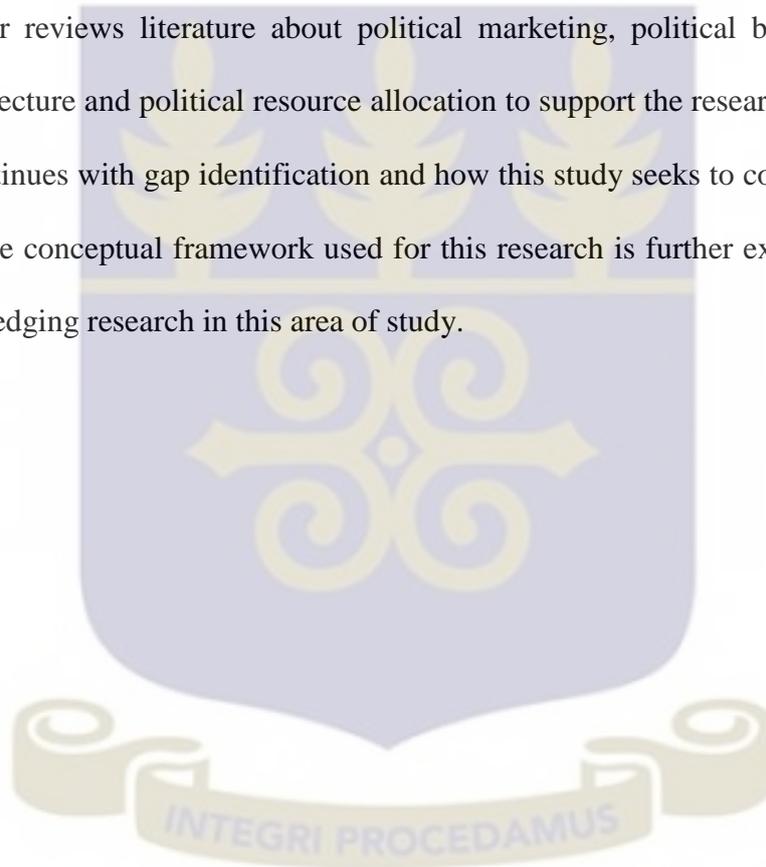
1.9 Chapter Disposition

Chapter one

This chapter entails the background of the study, research problem, purpose of the study, objectives of the study and research questions. It further presents the rationale for the research and explains how this research fits into existing pool of literature.

Chapter two

This chapter reviews literature about political marketing, political branding, political brand architecture and political resource allocation to support the research argument. The chapter continues with gap identification and how this study seeks to contribute to filling this gap. The conceptual framework used for this research is further explained and ends by acknowledging research in this area of study.



Chapter Three

This chapter explores the background of political marketing in Ghana. It discusses, within a global context, political marketing, political branding, political brand architecture, and political resource allocation; and the extent to which this has inured to the benefit of Ghana politics.

Chapter Four

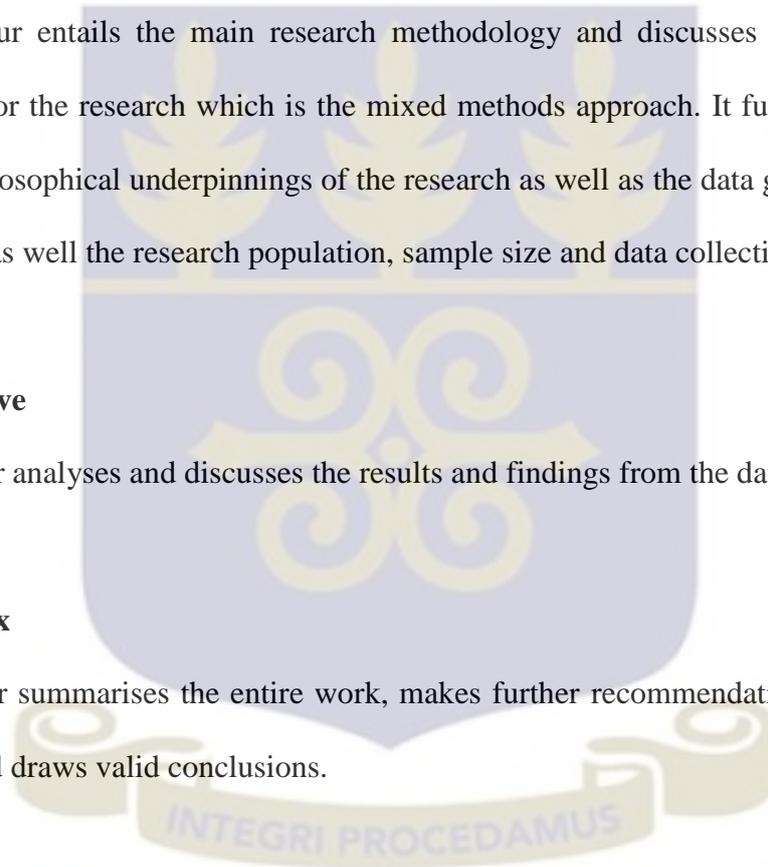
Chapter Four entails the main research methodology and discusses the methodology employed for the research which is the mixed methods approach. It further explains the various philosophical underpinnings of the research as well as the data gathering process. It explains as well the research population, sample size and data collection techniques.

Chapter Five

This chapter analyses and discusses the results and findings from the data collected.

Chapter Six

This chapter summarises the entire work, makes further recommendations based on the analysis and draws valid conclusions.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The foregone chapter threw light on the study background, statement of the problem, research objectives, as well as the significance of the research. This chapter provides a review of relevant literature that relates to the underlying concepts and theory of the research as well as the development of the conceptual framework for the research.

2.1 Developments in Political Marketing

Political marketing has emerged as one of the promising concepts in marketing which has attracted research interest across the globe. Literature dating back to the 1990s shows how scholars used different titles such as political management, political communication, political promotion or political packaging to describe the concept (Scammel, 1999). Ormrod (2011) observes that political marketing can be viewed as both a service and social construct and as such has different characteristics special to it.

Haris and Lock (2001) contend that discussions on political marketing dates back to the 1950s where Kelley (1956) proposed a definition for the term. Rothschild (1978) was one of the first scholars to extend marketing concepts such as segmentation and advertising into the ambit of political marketing research in both developed and developing countries. Haris and Lock (2010) intimate that in the United States, media changes, the need for professionalism in political campaigns as well as heightened influence of pressure groups shaped the development of political marketing.

O'Shaughnessy (1990), Scammel (1995), Buttler and Collins (1996), Newman (1994), and Henneberg (2004) are major contributors to the political marketing literature. This era viewed political marketing as an exchange process through which political parties, candidates and voters interact with one another in order to build effective relationships among them (Ormrod & Henneberg, 2010). Similarly, Wring (2002b), posits that political marketing has its genesis from sometime after the Second World War, at the arrival of mass commercial television and con-current expansion of the advertising industry. Baines and Egan (2001) also add that the phenomenon of political marketing is relatively new, although the process of political campaigning has long been in existence.

However, recent literature on political marketing has shown that marketing concepts such as segmentation, branding, marketing mix, brand equity and marketing communications are all important in political campaign planning and strategies (Lees-Marshment, 2001; Kolovos & Harris, 2005).

2.2 Defining Political Marketing

Since its emergence in the 1950s, political marketing has experienced increased growth giving rise to varying definitions. The last two decades have seen varying definitions emerging out of literature. Buttler and Collins (1996) define political marketing as marketing of ideas and opinions that relate to public or political issue or a candidate. This definition sees political marketing as a way of marketing a political product. O'Cass (2001) also describes political marketing as the analysis, planning, implementation and control of political and electoral programmes designed to create, build and maintain beneficial exchanges between the party and voters for the purpose of achieving the objectives of the political marketer.

Political marketing is viewed by Osuagwu (2008) as the application of marketing concepts, principles and approaches in political issues by a person, groups, organisations and nations. Henneberg (2003) explains political marketing as the process of establishing, maintaining and enhancing long-term relationships at a profit for society to achieve the objectives of individuals in an organisation. This definition sees political marketing as the exchange of values at the macro and micro levels. In adding their voices to the discourse, Hughes and Dann (2009) define political marketing as a set of activities, processes or political institutions used by political parties, individuals or candidates to create, communicate, deliver and exchange promises of value with voters, stakeholders and society at large.

Lees-Marshment and Marland (2012) add innovation, resource advantage, client relationship, market intelligence and research as some of the important functions of marketing in political campaigns. They reiterate that these are roles that could guide many political goals and have been explained as political functions by Mensah (2007). Menon (2008) and Mensah (2007) classify the political marketing mix into product, cost, distribution, and communication functions while Lees-Marshment (2001) holds a position that marketing functions such as segmentation and targeting, positioning, and branding are a critical prerequisite to political performance.

O'Shaughnessy (2001), Henneberg (2004) and Grönroos (1994) assert that political marketing is about seeking to establish, maintain and enhance long-term voter relationship at a profit for society and political parties so that the objectives of the individual political actors and organisations involved are met through mutual exchange and fulfilment of promises. Political marketing is used by political parties to increase

their ability to achieve their set goals of winning elections and can also change aspects of their behaviour such as policy, membership, organisational structure, electoral support and campaign strategy to suit the conditions and nature of the political market (Lees-Marshment, 2001).

Marketing has substantially affected and influenced political activities such that the approach adopted in marketing goods and services are being replicated in the marketing of political candidates, policies and ideologies for the contemporary politician to win their elections and achieve their effectiveness as politicians. Extant literature (Kotler, 1972; Shama, 1973; Kotler & Kotler, 1981; Mauser, 1983; Newman & Sheth, 1985; Smith & Saunders, 1990; Newman, 1994; Buttler & Collins, 1996; Nimmo, 1999; Lees-Marshment, 2001) among others has demonstrated that marketing strategies and principles by political institutions in their electoral activities are of relevance.

2.3 Criticisms and Limitations of Political Marketing.

There have been criticisms against political marketing by several scholars of marketing and political science. O'Shaughnessy (2001) argues that there are clear cut differences between the political and consumer 'products', thus there must be distinction in their marketing. He further argues that politics is concerned with affirmation of values and so a political idea is not simply a product to be merchandised; hence, applying consumer marketing techniques can sometimes be harmful to political parties.

In a similar vein, Henneberg et al. (2009) perceive political marketing to be harmful, wasteful, undesirable and inimical to the development of political science. The political science school of thought is of the opinion that political marketing is wrought with

ethical challenges and have challenged the use of political marketing tools during elections (Henneberg, 2004; Henneberg et al., 2009). Haris (2001a), on the other hand, perceives political marketing to be misleading. Others see political marketing as a concept that provokes unnecessary anxiety within voters (Henneberg et al., 2009). French and Smith (2008) assert that political marketing exudes unwanted political effects such as narrowing the political agenda, increasing confrontation, demanding conformity of behaviour and increasing political disengagement at the local level. This assertion is consistent with Smith (2001).

The above criticisms may seem to hold some weight; however, extant literature goes a long way to discount the limitations of political marketing and rather support the adoption of political marketing in the scheme of politics. Works by Mensah (2011), Tweneboah-Koduah et al. (2010), Hinson and Tweneboah-Koduah (2010), Lees-Marshment (2001), Scammell (1999), Haris and Lock (2010), Ormrod (2011), Buttler and Collins (1996), Wring (2002b), and Kolovos and Harris (2005) among others, affirm the fact that political marketing and the use of marketing tools has become an indispensable part of politics today and many politicians see political marketing as a strategic tool used to outshine and outcompete political rivals.

2.4 Branding

According to Kotler and Armstrong (2008), a brand is defined as a name, term, logo, sign, symbol, design or a combination of these intended to identify the goods and services of one seller or group of sellers and distinguish it from that of competition. In essence, branding is the process and the means of distinguishing the goods and services of one producer from that of competitors. Scammell (2007) intimates that branding is

seen by practicing managers as something that actually creates a certain level of awareness, reputation, prominence and more in the marketplace. Branding in marketing is the psychological representation of a product or organisation. It has a symbolic rather than tangible value. In building image and marketing, brands act as a short-cut to consumer choice allowing easy naming, identification and differentiation among similar products. Brands are composed of a set of associations and impressions recorded in the mind in a sensory form (Chandler & Owen, 2002).

2.4.1 Rationale behind branding

The concept of branding comes with enormous essence to both organisations and consumers. With consumers, branding helps in the identification of the source of the producer and allows for assigning responsibilities to the manufacturer. Brands take on special meaning to consumers. Due to past experience with the brand or its marketing communication programmes, consumers easily connect with brands that satisfy their needs and the ones that do not. Brands aid in simplifying consumers' purchasing decisions and actions and aid consumers to form reasonable expectations about what they know about the brand.

On the other hand, branding helps organisations to make their products and services identifiable. It helps the organisation to offer legal protection for unique features of the products and helps the organisation to endow their products with unique associations that are meaningful, and clearly differentiates their products from competing ones.

The next section will look at the political elements in the tradition of Mensah (2011).

2.5 The Political Brand – Forms and Strategies

2.5.1 The Party brand - form and strategy

Extant literature (Aaker & Joachimsthaler, 2000a; Mensah, 2011) reveal that there is an implicit consensus on the fact that the policy and candidate attributes of any political party system are the core basis on which the success of the party rests in modern political dispensations. Smith and Saunders (1990) note that the inherent values of the party, like its ideology and history, are the least considered as sources of brand equity in political parties. However, Mensah (2011) argues that this is in contravention of commercial branding literature, which says that corporate values (for instance, history) inform the level of management for both corporate and individual product brands.

The apparently inseparable character of the party, the candidate, and policy elements also raises questions on how the party could be left out in the process of managing political brands. In politics, one could argue that the value of the party brand to voters could only be as good as its candidate and policy representations (Mensah, 2011). The name of Tony Blair, for example, cannot be mentioned in a party political broadcast without any reference, either visual or vocal or both, to the New Labour Party at the time of his premiership in Britain and as such one is unable to discuss the party brand without mentioning the candidate or policy (Mensah, 2011)

Extant literature (White & De Chernatony, 2002) argues that the political party brand is put together through emotive and functional attributes. Like any other commercial institution, political parties concentrate on names, ideas, images as well as taglines as their indispensable means of building and preserving the identity of the brand. This is meant to ensure that voters are able to easily relate to the party and create a favourable image in their minds. It is also to ensure that the party brand pops up readily in the

voter's evoked set (Mensah, 2011). Most political parties, according to Needham (2006), try to display how they govern when given power by constantly making allusion to party unity.

Political parties are able to hold the vision and aspiration of the people through their value propositions. Political parties seek to achieve these through radio advertisement, television programmes, newspapers as well as billboard adverts. The political parties are thus able to strengthen their share in the voters' minds and as well rally more support. In terms of perceived dissonance in the political system, the political party brand as a conception of images, history and a quintessence of some ideals and belief systems become very crucial (White & De Chernatony, 2002; Needham, 2006). Despite this assertion, the current scheme of political party branding has been criticized as being deficient (Scammell, 1999; Lees-Marshment, 2001; Needham, 2006).

It has been argued that, although the image of the party may be informative, and identifies and differentiates the position of the party, little is done to reposition the already held values and views of the voter (Worcester & Baines, 2006). This thesis further argues that to be sustainable, every political party must allocate resources effectively to the party brand to ensure that the voting masses that are predisposed to that party or vote due to their allegiance to the party are not mis-targeted. When this is effectively done, it will lead to building trust and confidence in the voter who will demonstrate their appreciation in the form of voting for the political party during elections.

2.5.2 The Candidate brand - form and strategy

One of the most contemporary subjects in political branding literature is the concept of candidate branding which is part of the three major branding elements in politics and has the predisposition of highly impacting upon the electoral fortunes of the party (White & De Chernatony, 2002; Needham, 2006; Worcester & Baines, 2006). Despite the fact that the party and policy positions continue to play invaluable functions in party campaigns, the approach used to build the image of the candidates of the political parties and how they are perceived by the electorate as being desirable are seen as some of the crucial factors that influences the outcome of elections in most Western democracies; particularly in countries that have presidential government like the US (Sniderman, Brody & Tetlock, 1991; Popkin, 1994; Kavanagh, 1995; Scammell, 1999; Kotler & Kotler, 1999; Smith, 2001; Norris, 2001; Lloyd, 2003; Newton & Van Deth, 2005; Needham, 2006; Worcester & Baines, 2006).

For instance, Needham (2006) notes that due to the fact that voters are no more attached to institutions which have a palpable reflection in politics, political parties are now finding it tough to influence the voters with their implicit values. What political parties have to do as a result of this is to adjust their appeals around the values that the voters perceive to be desirable to vote for (Mensah, 2011). This helps the party to gradually remould itself in the minds of the voters. Indeed, according to Needham (2006), this approach has the impact of crafting an emotional, memorable, as well as functional, picture in the minds of the voters.

According to Needham (2006), parties that have remoulded themselves in response to the characteristics of the candidate include Blair and the New Labour Party, as well as

Clinton and the Democrats in the US. These candidates created a path of new party organisation for their respective parties and impelled them to adapt to the characteristics and values of the candidates themselves (ibid). It can be argued that the current image of the New Patriotic Party (NPP), the National Democratic Congress (NDC), the Progressive People's Party (PPP), and Convention People's Party (PPP) in Ghana are in line with the characteristics of their candidates respectively.

Research on candidate branding also suggest that some voters use the attributes of candidates as signals and cues in electoral decision-making (Sniderman et al., 1991; Popkin, 1994; Kavanagh, 1995; Kotler & Kotler, 1999; Smith, 2001; Lloyd, 2003). Although political candidates are now being recognized as brands, the foundation on which it can be developed has been a debatable one. For instance, Reeves et al. (2006) query whether the political brand must be market-driven or marketing-driven. In the ambit of candidate branding, the query is whether it must be influenced by the characteristics the voters find desirable or on the attributes that the party regards as fitting.

This thesis argues that political parties stand a good chance of enhancing their voter appeal if they allocate resources effectively to the candidate. When effective segmentation is done, the political party can identify the voters who are deeply enticed by say, the candidate and therefore will be in a better position to allocate the political resource toward the candidate. This will ensure that the voters who vote because of the candidate will reward the political party with votes during elections. This point solidifies this thesis' position of the indispensability of effective resource allocation, which must be based on the political brand architecture framework.

2.5.3 The Policy brand - form and strategy

Branding of policy entails a strategic enquiry into the needs and wants of the electorate to help in the development of voter-oriented policies. Such marketing concepts as market research, segmentation, targeting and positioning as well as building and enhancing relationships with the voters take a centre-stage of activities (Wring, 1999; Scammell, 1999; Lees-Marshment, 2001; Henneberg, 2003; Lilleker & Negrine, 2003; Lilleker, 2005; Worcester & Baines, 2006).

Worcester and Baines (2006) posit that in building a policy brand, a single theme that is strongly tied in the underlying issues is created that sums up the entire policy positions of the party. This concept is similar to what Baer (1995) calls the “broadcast and narrowcast messages”. In the broadcast message concept, a political campaign strategy begins with identifying an overall theme as well as the core position of the party from which other sub-themes are derived, which is the narrowcast. The narrowcast message which is the sub-themes drawn from the broadcast message is used to recognize and target specialized electoral groups that are of essence to the course of the campaign. In the development of the policy brand, the process should include two levels of activities (Worcester & Baines, 2006 as cited in Mensah, 2011).

In the first level of activity, political market research and political marketing should be involved. The second level of activity is called opposition research. The first level activities involve identifying, anticipation and satisfying voter need. This is achieved by segmenting the political market where voters can be easily identified based on demographic, psychographic and geographic bases (Smith & Saunders, 1990). Their needs then are determined and assessed through political market research (Lees-

Marshment, 2001). The opposition research, which is the second level activity, involves benchmarking against competitors' policy positions and the utilisation of political information (Lees-Marshment, 2001). Reeves et al. (2006) argue that some political parties such as the New Labour Party in Britain used a market-oriented policy development approach due to the growing pressure to satisfy the needs and wants of the voters.

It is said to be market-driven because they are tailor-made to suit certain relevant consumer groups. One shortfall of the proposition espoused by Reeves et al. (2006) is that they failed to acknowledge a merger of both market-driven and marketing-driven approaches to act concurrently. Mensah (2011) argues that a policy brand should be a fusion of both an ideological and market-oriented design. Mensah (2011) further argues that the notion of infusing party values, in terms of knowledge and experience in branding of political parties, could catalyze the building and enhancement of voter trust in the political brand.

This approach again has the tendency of creating newness and difference in the brand and as well as sustains it effectively in the long term. Mensah (2011) proposes that in the design of the policy brand based on the fusion or the multivariate approach, the party must consider the general needs of the voter (for instance free healthcare, free education etc); and then identify the delivery and implementation of these needs in the framework of party knowledge and expertise on the economy.

Political parties will be able to bond internal party values such as experience and knowledge as well as the creation of networks in the development of a political brand of

interest to all stakeholder groups through the brand architecture strategy (ibid). In achieving this, it is key to identify and manage the factors that are of electoral relevance such as the candidate, party and policy elements and strategically manage their relationship with the voter using the brand architecture (BA) theory as will be explained in the ensuing paragraphs.

This thesis, following from the preceding discussion, argues that political parties can drive and excel on the wheels of their policy position by effectively allocating resources to the policy and specifically targeting it to the voters who vote because of their disposition toward the policy. This will lead to effective resource allocation and the end result will be an enhanced political party performance. This thesis suggests again that allocating resources to the policy position must be done using the political brand architecture framework as the guiding tool.

2.6 The Brand Architecture (BA) Theory

This thesis borrows the branding theory of brand architecture and applies it in political brand management. Existing works on branding have explained brand architecture to be the organising structure of a company's brand portfolio for specifying roles and relationships among brands and their markets in order to establish clarity in the minds of consumers and thereby ensuring better performance (Gilmore, 1997; Mottram, 1998; Nilson, 1998; Aaker & Joachimsthaler, 2002; Riezebos, 2003).

Mensah (2011) explains it to be a periodic assessment and rearrangement of an organisation's portfolio of multiple brands or groups of products in a way that reflects their specific roles within it, and therefore enables the creation of a structure for

marketing success. Better still, brand architecture can be explained as the systematic approach of ordering and rearranging the product lines and categories of a firm such that it inures to competitive advantage and firm performance.

In the situation where a company has more than one brand to manage, it is very crucial for these firms to succinctly follow brand architecture programmemememes to ensure a consistent flow of product/brand delivery. In the words of Kapferer (2006), the moment a firm decides to create one product, there must be a thought, initially, of how the system of allocating symbols and names to the product could be effectively organized. The essence is to avert any complexity that comes along with the management of multiple products. Aaker and Joachimsthaler (2002) add external complexities to what Kapferer noted. Aaker intimates that issues such as serving multiple segments and targets in the market and trying to please savvy customers, all heighten the level of complexity in the management of brands. There is, therefore, the need for a brand management system that enhances the performance of firms. Brand architecture can further be explained as a system in which the relationship between the overall brands and products are structured and clarified in a way that simplifies understanding by buyers (Kapferer, 2006).

Brand architecture is also seen as the approach used to arrange brands in a portfolio with the sole motive of enticing consumers to transfer the goodwill from one brand to another without confusing the firms' brand strength in the process (Mottram, 1998). This ensures consistency and clarity in the offering of the firm, which leads to an added value in output. According to Laforêt and Saunders (1994), there are three main types of brand architecture that are identified in the brand architecture theory. These are: corporate dominant; product-dominant; and mixed structure architecture systems (Uggla, 2005).

In the corporate-dominant brand architecture, products are managed based on a common corporate identity or value. This ensures the visibility and identification of the corporate brand identity as the main determining factor in consumer decision-making (Ugгла, 2005). The product-dominant brand architecture identifies and develops an individual identity and value for each product. In the mixed structure approach, the products are developed with a level of association to the corporation but allowing them to exude their individual inherent values.

Going further, the three brand architecture patterns are further broken down into two main approaches; the Branded House (BH), which encapsulates the first pattern; and then the House of Brands (HB), which involves the second and third patterns.

In the management of both the branded house and house of brands, some key requirements must be complied with. The first is the establishment of portfolio roles, i.e. driver, endorser, or descriptor roles (Aaker & Joachimsthaler, 2000a); it is crucial in understanding the relationship between various brands within the portfolio. In the second stage, it is crucial to ascertain the identification of the brand's relationship to the target markets and the relationship between the brand and the market (Kapferer, 2006). In the third stage, Ugгла (2005) asserts that it is important to institute the brand association base, which is basically a semiotic reference point or descriptions used to gel the identity or personality of the brand in the minds of the target customers. A brand's association base is defined as the establishment of a link between a brand and its stakeholders through institutions, people, or places that either add to or subtract from the knowledge that customers have about a brand (Ugгла, 2005).

Mensah (2011) argues that the situation found in politics is analogous to the commercial environment. There is the need for political parties to manage the political elements like the party, the policy and the candidate to ensure that a common goal is achieved. This thesis argues that when political parties effectively manage their political brand elements it will lead to proper and appropriate resource allocation. The heterogeneous nature of voter needs today, heightens the need for effective brand management. Blondel (1974) observes that political parties are influenced by numerous interests that exist both within and outside of it. This volatility in the market implies that political parties need to manage the different political products that have the likelihood of satisfying the interest of different political stakeholders in the market.

The implication is that the mass production approach cannot satisfy all the heterogeneous needs of customers but rather a multi-product approach that will meet the respective needs of the multiple segments of the political market in which each segment has wide-ranging aspirations and interests to satisfy. There is the need for a well thought out strategy that is capable of producing, distributing and managing the political product as was recommended by Kapferer.

The implication is that the candidate, the party and the policy are similarly significant to the campaign and therefore must be well managed in a manner that can effectively target the audience. For instance, the policy, party and candidate can be well managed in a way that mirrors the characteristics of the various voter segments - hence the political brand architecture concept. The ensuing sections will discuss the political brand architecture concept in detail.

2.7 Theoretical Foundation

It is always crucial to employ a theoretical foundation to any research to serve as a structure used in shaping stakeholder interaction when necessary. This thesis adopts the brand architecture theory to give insight into branding and management of political parties to ensure that political parties are able to build a brand image and identity that will give it better influence over the perception and behaviour of the voter. Kapferer (2006) posits that brands that build a strong relationship with their customers are rewarded with a high return on investment. Political party brands that demonstrate a high level of precision, reliability, and genuineness will always develop a lifetime value with the voters. Again, through this effort they are able to build stronger bonds with the voters and the eventual reward is extra vote during elections.

The brand architecture serves as a guiding principle and structure that shows the clear connection between the elements; and this leads towards building transparency, authenticity and integrity in the brand, which in turn leads to building long-term relationships with the voters over time. Brand architecture aids customers to have an external representation of how brands interrelate and make connections with the elements of the brand so that how the organisation seeks to position the brand is not different from how customers see it; and to ensure an enhanced positive level of association with the brand.

This theory is explained by literature (Kapferer, 2006; Gilmore, 1997; Mottram, 1998; Aaker & Joachimsthaler, 2000a; Mensah, 2011) as the organising structure of a company's brand portfolio in order to specify roles and relationship among brand elements dictating clarity and distinctiveness in a consumer's mind. The theory is

categorised into branded house and house of brands. This research applied both techniques in building political party brand.

In the branded house strategy, a corporate brand's values and identity is aligned with offerings from the company (Kapferer, 2006; Gilmore, 1997; Mottram, 1998) implying that the company's name, logo or symbol, colours, etc are used in building their brand (Riezebos, 2003). The implication is that the corporate identity is the main source of value and all products (political brands) accede to the corporate brand image.

The second approach is the house of brands strategy. This approach allows the individual products to thrive and draw value from its own self without any link to the corporate brand. The strengths and weaknesses of the individual brands are harnessed for the benefit of the entire party. In an identical light, one would be correct to suggest to political parties to effectively order and rearrange the brand elements in a way that is in synchrony with the inherent characteristics of the target voter to ensure that voters perceive better value in associating with and voting for such a political party. In terms of strategy, this helps to identify and differentiate one party from the other.

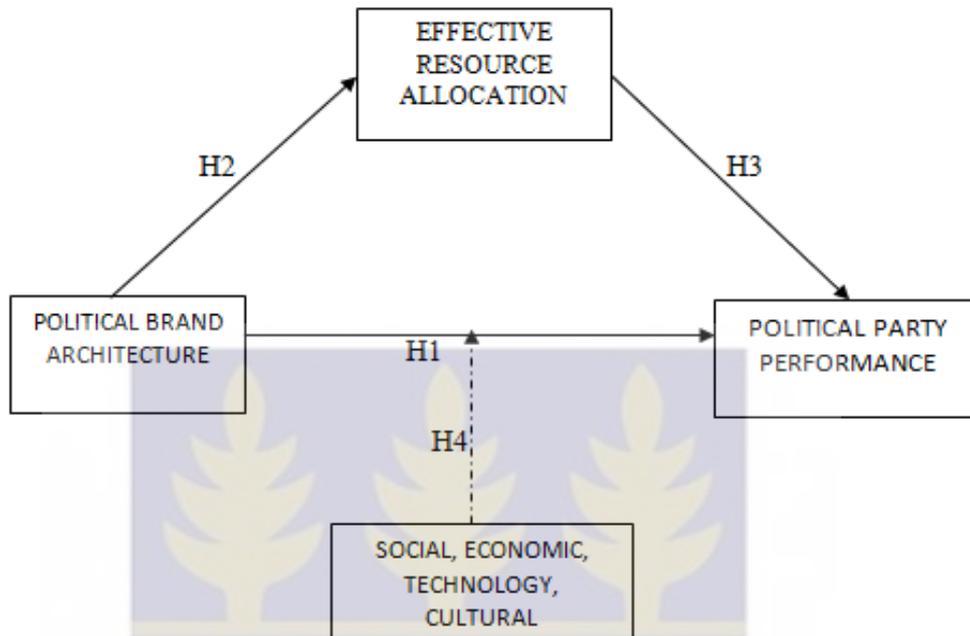
2.8 Conceptual Framework and Hypothesis Development

The preceding discussions have divulged extant literature about political brand architecture and resource allocation among political parties in Ghana. This section therefore draws on the foregone discussions to provide a conceptual framework for the study. This proposed conceptual framework is captured in Figure 2.0 below. As already discussed in Chapter one, the main objectives of the study is to examine the impact of political brand architecture management from a resource allocation perspective in Ghana.

To achieve this objective, the study proposes a conceptual framework that clearly illustrates the hypothesised relationship among political brand architecture management, political resource allocation and political party performance. The subsequent section discusses the components of the propose framework (Figure 2) into more detail.

Miles and Huberman (1994) define a conceptual framework as the application of both written and visual elements to either graphically or narratively explain the various factors to be studied and analyzed and the supposed relationship between these factors. Ostrom (2005) adds his voice to this position by noting that the use of a framework enables easy identification of elements to be analysed and a vivid detailing of the association among these elements, needed by the researcher for analysis. Through a review and insight from relevant existing literature, the researcher has developed a conceptual framework to aid in the elucidation of the entire research.

One of the important decisions that political parties take during campaigns is the allocation of resources. How and when these resources are allocated has become an issue for most political parties in Ghana and beyond. This thesis argues that with an effective blend and rearrangement of the political brand elements in the form of political brand architecture, political parties will be able to allocate resources effectively and in synchrony with the characteristics of the target voter, which will lead to an enhanced political party performance.

Fig 1: Conceptual Framework

Source: Adapted from Mensah (2011)

2.9 Political Brand Architecture

There have been several studies about brand architecture in branding literature. Rajagopal and Sanchez (2003) actually define brand architecture to be an integrated process of managing brands through the establishment of relationships among branding options in a competitive environment. At any point in time, the brand architecture of an organisation is in large measure, a legacy of the decisions of past management as well as the realities of competition the organisation faces in the market place (Rajagopal & Sanchez, 2004).

In spite of the fact that there appears to be an absence of the brand architecture theory in political brand literature, most activities in politics actually fall within the brand architecture ambit. Such branding activities as celebrity endorsements during campaign periods, as well as cause groups rallying support for presidential aspirants, are activities

that are very predominant in the UK and the US (Mensah, 2011) and have been replicated in Ghana over the years. According to Ugglá (2005), political institutions and politicians endeavour to create the brand association base by appealing for the support and backing of bigwigs in society and people of a certain appeal and class in the society.

This assertion is further affirmed by Mensah (2011) who intimates that these political endorsers show their support in the full glare of the public in their bid to solidify the political parties' quest to emphasize their positions on the issues. On the contrary, the political parties try to strategically alienate themselves from associations that are potentially damaging to their course. This approach in persuading the voter, according to Mensah (2011), falls within the domain of the two main theories in the brand architecture concept: House of Brands (HB); and Branded House (BH). This thesis argues that when political parties strictly act according to the principles of the political brand architecture concept, they will be able to strategically match and attune the political brand elements to the specific characteristics of the voter and as such appropriately allocate campaign resources towards that.

Even though there has been an increasing level of growth of the political brand theory as a whole, the political branding literature has failed to investigate how the brand architecture concept can be used in managing political brands notwithstanding the fact that evidence abounds in states such as United States, Australia and Britain (Müller & Plasser, 1992; Morris, 1997; Worcester & Baines, 2006). Again, while there exists instances in literature (Worcester & Baines, 2006; Morris, 1997; Müller & Plasser, 1992) they have dwelt more on the concept of brand positioning, which sought to establish the link between the political brand elements and the voter.

In business circles, the brand architecture concept is categorized into two main approaches; the Branded House approach (BH) and the House of Brands (HB) approach (Aaker & Joachimsthaler, 2000a; Kapferer, 2006). This thesis borrows from these two concepts and argues for their use in political brand management.

2.9.1 The Branded House (BH) approach

In traditional branding literature, this approach is also called the corporate branding approach. It seeks to impose the identity of the corporate brand on the portfolio of the company (Nilson, 1998). The implication thereof is that the identity of the company (corporate identity) becomes the source of value and prestige for all the products and services that are being marketed (Mensah, 2011).

If a company deals in a one product market rather than a multi-market, this approach is comparatively simple. However for the multi-market company, the challenge is that the personality of the brand must be flexible enough to envelop the varying services and goods market in which it does business. Another challenge with this approach is that whatever bad things happen to the corporate brand, directly affects the individual brands. One of its advantages however, as Mottram (1998) intimates, is the low level of cost involved in maintaining the brands in the organisation's portfolios. It also ensures that individual products are easily recognized through the goodwill that the corporate name imposes on it. Given the above positives, the branded house (BH) approach is highly advocated when corporate brand's association with the products and services will enhance the value propositions, trustworthiness and visibility of the individual brands.

Juxtaposing this in politics it means that as and when it is deemed fit, a political party can impose any of the brand elements on the others to ensure that it syncs with the characteristics of the voter, and at the same time, tries to strategically manage the weaknesses of the others. For example, if the candidate is what strategically matches the characteristics of the voter cohorts in a particular constituency, the candidate attributes must be projected more such that it is reflected on all the other elements. The resultant effect is such that the voters derive better meaning from the campaigns and can better associate themselves with the party. This has the predisposition of leading to enhanced party performance since the campaign's resources in this instance would have been effectively allocated.

Again, this thesis argues that a political party that adopts the branded house strategy must allocate its political resources to the brand elements with a clear emphasis on the corporate (political party) name and make it resonate in all the other elements. This implies that, although considerable political resources will be allocated to the corporate brand to ensure its visibility, some resources should also be allocated to the other elements to ensure that they are strategically positioned in the minds of the target voters who are predisposed to any of the other elements apart from the corporate-dominant element.

2.9.2 The House of Brands (HB) approach

According to Aaker and Joachimsthaler (2002), the house of brands approach is a strategy in which individual brands are formed and nurtured with a minimal linkage to each other or the corporate brand. In commercial marketing, it is synonymous to the individual branding strategy. It entails the assignment of different values to individual

brands to satisfy specific needs (Kapferer, 1997). In this approach, individual brands are left to take full advantage of their own impacts on the market through their own values, with minimal reference to the corporate brand. Brands are allocated their own marketing budgets in this scenario, making it (HB) relatively expensive as compared to the BH approach. The implication therefore is that, in business circles and specifically in politics, the HB strategy is only advocated when there is a compelling need for a departure or adaptation of brands. The cost of creating a separate and adapted brand is huge, judging from the fact that there must be significant and convincing reasons to merit that decision (Aaker & Joachimsthaler, 2002).

A typical example in politics is that the cost of adapting policy issues in line with opposing ideals was typified by Clinton's 1996 campaign strategy, which meant probable estrangement of party activists. For any business, and for that matter political party, to succeed, the peculiarity between the old and new brands should be measurable enough to bridge the gap between the perceived values. In a similar vein, there are times when most old brands are strategically kept on board although they are different from the new to maintain the traditional bond between the organisation and its customers. The decision of keeping or doing away with a brand (in the event of getting a new one) however depends on the strength of the connection between the old brand and the customer (Aaker & Joachimsthaler, 2002).

Moreover, it is imperative to maintain an old brand if its visibilities, customer loyalty and associations are very strong among its target market. According to Aaker and Joachimsthaler (2002), the above advantages elucidate the reason why organisations pursue the HB architecture strategy in maintaining and managing their brand portfolio.

Kapferer (2006) contends that the HB strategy involves the product brand architecture and the endorsed brand architecture forms. In political campaigns, therefore, the house of brands strategy in brand architecture can be applied when each of the elements is to be left to thrive on its own and again to ensure that the failures of the other elements do not affect the others negatively. For instance, if a candidate has bad publicity, the other elements are not adversely affected because the candidate, although under the same political party, is acting as a separate and independent entity.

This thesis further argues that political parties that adopt the house of brands strategy should allocate political resources to each of the brand elements in the portfolio to ensure that as each is acting independently, it is able to strategically target the voter cohort that are attracted to each of the elements. When this is effectively done political parties will stand the chance of successfully targeting the voters and as well ensure that none of the political brand elements is side-stepped. This resource allocation, more so, must be done in accordance with the political brand architecture framework to ensure that the effort ends up in furthering the cause of the political parties through an enhanced voter share and political party performance.

In the context of this discussion therefore, this study proposes the following hypotheses:

H1: Political brand architecture will have a significant positive effect on political party performance.

H2: Political brand architecture will have a significant positive effect on effective resource allocation.

2.9.3 Political Resource Allocation

Resource allocation can be classified as one of the major activities in electoral and political campaigns. Indeed Leuthold (1968, p.1) defines a campaign from the point of view of the candidates as being the process of using the political resources that can secure votes. Little, however, is known in terms of literature about how political parties allocate campaign resources and the motive behind their allocation in actual campaigns. One major reason for this, according to Bartels (1995), is that, despite all the technological resources available during campaigns, there seems to be an uncertainty about the electoral efficacy of alternative activities and strategies, although pervasive; thereby making it unfeasible to specify the rational approach to allocating resources. Over the years, many political campaigners have concentrated their campaign resources on the most populous towns and constituencies where they think they can get a better return on investment.

Meanwhile in a research analysis that was specifically directed toward the strategic problem of resource allocation, Brams and Davis (1973) concluded that “rational campaigners” are predisposed to allocating their resources to states in accordance to the size of the state/constituency’s electoral vote blocs raised to the $3/2$ ’s power which is an allocation strategy that will markedly allocate resources in the most populous states/constituencies.

This thesis, however, asks the question; is the populous nature of a city/state the only reason to allocate resources? Again, what are the underlying factors that influence such allocations? This is one reason why this thesis argues that if political parties are able to adopt the political brand architecture concept and effectively manage the brand elements,

it will serve as a guide that will direct the approach of allocating resources to ensure that they are in synchrony with the characteristics of the people in the state/constituency.

In a similar vein however, in an effort to effectively measure the connection of actual campaign allocations to (the supposed) Brams and Davis' (1974) criterion of rationality, Colantoni, Levesque, and Ordeshook (1975) formulated an exponential model that relates to resource allocation to electoral votes: $R_i = \alpha EV_i \beta u_i$ where R_i is a measure of the resources allocated to state i , EV_i is the size of state i 's electoral vote bloc, α and β are unknown parameters, and u_i is a stochastic disturbance factor. Colantoni's exponential model is known to be suitable for the testing of the Brams-Davis' "3/2's" rule due to the fact that it supposedly generates an easy prediction that the exponential parameter β equals 1.5. The model operates like, if β equals 1; most resources are allocated in an equal proportion to electoral votes. Again, if β is greater than 1 the campaign resources are allocated disproportionately in populous states; while if β is less than 1, resources are concentrated disproportionately in the least populous states.

Although these mathematical approaches in allocating resources may seem to have worked over the years, the dynamics of politics in the 21st century has changed and evolved to the extent that it will be a disservice to any political party to just base their hopes on these mathematical forecasting. This thesis asks; how will a political party know that, although this state is very populous, the innate ideological inclinations of the voters are towards that of NPP or NDC? What are the psychological dispositions of these voters in these supposed populous states? How are these resources allocated in order that the party could reinforce its image in the minds of the electorates who are positively

predisposed to its brand, and on the other hand, could persuade to bring on board the electorates who are not positively inclined to its brand?

Other researchers have argued that it is not automatically the size of a state's population that is the key driving factor that determines the level of allocations, but to a certain extent whether or not that state is very competitive. Putting it differently, it is expected that resources should be allocated to states that are normally known or referred to as "battleground" or "toss-up" states (Colantoni et al., 1975; Leighley & Nagler, 1992). Although considerable research has studied resource allocation by candidates in presidential elections (Brams & Davis, 1973; Colantoni et al., 1975; Leighley & Nagler, 1992; Bartels 1995; Panagopoulos, 2003), a few have studied resource allocation based on the political brand architecture model serving as the guide.

This research therefore argues that if political parties are guided by the political brand architecture model, which seeks to help political parties order and rearrange their brand elements, they will be in a better position to allocate resource that specifically meets and satisfies the characteristics and needs of the target voter and hence avoid inappropriate allocation of the resources. This thesis further argues that, if this is effectively done, it will lead to a better electoral performance.

In a research conducted by Panagopoulos (2006) on interest group resource allocation, he intimated that campaigns that are sponsored by interest groups tend to predominantly take the form of television adverts. Herrnson, Lay and Stokes (2003) also note that most interest groups target spending to competitive races and as such tend to support the incumbents more over the challengers. One interesting observation by Panagopoulos

(2006) is that the ad contents sponsored by interest groups tend to predominantly focus on policy matters rather than the personal characteristics of the candidate. He further reiterated that a greater proportion of interest-groups sponsored ads focused on policy rather than the candidate or party (Ibid).

The position of this thesis on Panagopoulos' (2006) work is that, due to the fact that over the years little effort has been put into researching about the innate characteristics and dispositions of the voter, these sums of campaign resources in the form of television advert sponsorship only dwells on policy issues. The question is how does this advert touch the hearts and minds of the voter who is inclined towards the candidate or the party? Again, even if interest groups are indispensable in the campaign effort, can there be a roadmap to be followed to ensure that their actions in the form campaign and resource allocation are in line with that of the entire party? This is where this research proposes the political brand architecture model, which serves as a guiding framework for parties, particularly to ensure that the brand elements are well managed based on which resources are allocated effectively to the specific characteristics of the target voter. As such, the study proposes the following hypotheses:

H3: Effective political resource allocation will have a significant positive effect on political party performance.

H4: Effective political resource allocation will mediate the relationships between political brand architecture management and political party performance.

2.9.4 The impact of social, economic, cultural, and technological factors on political party performance

2.9.4.1 Social

The political society in which a political party finds itself has enormous influence on the sustainability of the performance of a political party, before, during, and after elections.

The social issues that prevail in a society may include, but not be limited to, the creed of the people, their lifestyle, and the meanings they assign to objects as well as the motives behind every action they take. This thesis therefore argues that the relationship between political brand architecture management and political party performance can be impacted by social factors or the political society in which the party finds itself.

2.9.4.2 Economic

The political economy of a community has an impact on the perceived performance of any political party. Economic issues like inflation, GDP, GNP, exchange rate among others has the disposition of affecting the life of the individual both in a positive or negative way and this can put a veil on how these individuals perceive the performance of a political party. This thesis therefore argues that the relationship between political brand architecture management and political party performance is influenced by the present economic situation.

2.9.4.3 Culture

Defined as a way a group of people live, the influence of culture on the perceived performance of a political party can be enormous. Such cultural issues such as the food a group of people eat, their belief systems, their values, ethics and ideals all impact on the

way they perceive a political party. Some communities in Ghana have been acculturated not to see a certain colour because it is a taboo. Others see some animals as taboos and so the implication is that they will transfer these attributes in judging and choosing a political party. What this means is that in the branding effort, should a political party use any animal or colour that is perceived to be a taboo, it will be met with an unfavourable reaction from these voters. This thesis therefore argues that the relationship between political brand architecture management and political party performance is influenced by the cultural setting of the community.

2.9.4.4 Technology

In this era of technological pervasiveness, the role of technology in the fortunes of a political party cannot be over-emphasised. It spans from branding to campaigning. Parties that have sophisticated machinery in the form of vehicles, souvenirs, among others are perceived to be on top of the game and this impacts on its perceived performance. This era of social media popularity also means that any political party which takes advantage of that and engages the electorate in that respect is seen to have a better chance of swaying more to its fold. The argument of this thesis is that the relationship between political brand architecture management and political party performance is influenced by technology. This leads us to the fifth hypothesis:

H5: Social, economic, cultural and technological factors will moderate the relationship between political brand architecture management and political party performance.

CHAPTER THREE

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

3.0 Introduction

It has become a globally observable fact that political parties all over the world manage their political campaigns and strategies based on succinct market research and intelligence (Lilleker & Lees-Marshment, 2005). This assertion is supported by Schafferer (2006), Scammell (1999) and O’Cass (1996).

However the implementation of the political marketing concept in most countries has not been that smooth despite its global reach. For instance, in the UK, researchers have reiterated the concerns of the strategic fit between the theory of marketing and the political arena (O’Cass, 1996; Scammell, 1999; Lilleker & Lees-Marshment, 2005). Nonetheless, the advent of and adherence to democracy has made political marketing a very necessary tool used by politicians due to its national and transnational scope. More of these will be discussed in this chapter, which will also look at the emergence and trends of political marketing in Ghana; economic issues; media influence on politics in Ghana; and the emergence of political marketing in Ghana as captured both in literature and anecdotal evidence.

3.1 Brief History of Ghana

Located in West Africa, Ghana finds itself bounded by Cote D’Ivoire on the West, Togo on the East, with Burkina Faso on the North as well as the Atlantic Ocean on the South. With an averagely low topography the country occupies an area of 238, 537 kilometres square. Currently, Ghana’s population stands at 25,241,998 and is divided into ten regions, namely: Ashanti Region, Brong-Ahafo Region, Central Region Eastern Region,

Greater Accra Region, Northern Region, Upper East Region, Upper West Region, Volta Region and Western Region. Ghana has about one hundred and seventy (170) districts with two hundred and seventy five (275) electoral constituencies. Accra is the national capital. Ghana is well balanced in terms of regional and ethnic diversity.

According to the 2000 census estimates, Ghana's population consists of over 100 different ethnic groups, divided as follows: Akan 45.3%, Mole-Dagbon 15.2%, Ewe 11.7%, Ga-Dangme 7.3%, Guan 4%, Gurma 3.6%, Grusi 2.6%, Mande-Busanga 1%, other tribes 1.4%, other 7.8% (CIA Factbooks). The ten regions can be seen below: Ghana is home to more than 100 different ethnic groups. The official language is English; however, most Ghanaians also speak at least one local language. The ethnic groups in Ghana are the Akan (the Fante, Akyem, Ashanti, Kwahu, Akuapem, Nzema, Bono, Akwamu, Ahanta and others) 49.3 %; Mole-Dagbani 15.2%; Ewe 11.7 %; Ga-Dangme (Ga and Dangme) 7.3%; Guan 4%; Gurma 3.6%; Gurunsi 2.6%; Mande Busanga 1%; other tribes 1.4%; other (Hausa, Zabarema, Fulani) 1.8% . The religious distribution is as follows: Christian 68.8% (Pentecostal/Charismatic 24.1%, Protestant 18.6%, Catholic 15.1%, other 11%), Muslim 15.9%, traditional 8.5%, other 0.7%, none 6.1%.

3.2 Economic Performance

Ghana is perceived to be one of the strongest performers in terms of economic growth when it comes to sub-Saharan Africa and the entirety of Africa (IFAD 2010). The country embarked on several economic and fiscal reforms that saw a shift in Ghana's economic recovery and growth around the 1980s. Ghana's GDP grew in leaps and

bounds from an initial average of 4.8% in 1990 to 6% over the period of 2003 towards 2008 (CEPA, 2009; Mhango, 2010; IFAD, 2010).

Ghana's rate of growth in terms of GDP increased at an increasing rate as compared to the growth in population. This led to a 3.7% growth in GDP from 2003 to 2008 which was an increase compared to the 2.2% recorded in the 1990s (IFAD, 2010). Although the economic and fiscal policies engineered enough growth, economic discipline was not enforced and as such some macroeconomic indicators such as the rate of inflation was at 15.4% by the end of 2008 which was a reduction from 23.2% in the 1990s. Ghana's deficit in terms of trade shot up to 3.9 billion in the year 2007 while the expansionary fiscal policy in the year 2008 linked up with that year's parliamentary/ presidential elections created a deficit of about 14.5% in GDP further plunging the economy into disrepair. The level of inflation went up and there was a 50% depreciation of the nation's currency against the USD (IFAD, 2010).

There was a downturn in Ghana's economy in 2009 and this is attributable to the massive expenditure that went into the 2008 general elections. Again, the downturn in the economic activities in 2009 could be attributable to the stunted growth in the industrial sectors total departure from their previous performance. These disturbing developments actually impelled a strategic move by the government to intervene and this saw some growth in the economic activities in the country towards the end of the third quarter. This was reflected in the Ghana Central Bank's composite index of economic activity (CIEA) which rose by a margin of 2.3% and further increased to 9.9% in the last quarter. According to Mhango (2010), Ghana's recovery was as a result of an increase in port and harbour activity as well as other construction activities. This led to an increase in the

consumption of electricity, a rise in the demand of imports as well as a rise in tourist arrivals. In a report published by ISSER (2012), Ghana saw a GDP growth of 14.4% in the year 2011, which interestingly declined from 7.9% in 2012 to 4.4% in 2013.

3.3 The Political System in Ghana

There have been several political transitions in Ghana over the years which span the generalised periods: era of slavery to colonial rule; multi-party democracy; post-independence toward military dictatorship; and then again back to multi-party democracy in 1992 (Austin, 1961; Monfils, 1977; Anebo, 1997; Handley & Mill, 2001). The military coups in 1966, 1972 and 1981 saw the overthrow of the 1958, 1969 and 1979 constitutions respectively. These periods of military intrusion brought in its trail, several party configurations, media systems as well as other pro-democratic bodies such as the electoral commission. These intrusions led to the vulnerability and disregard of political institutions placing them in a lacuna where they remained until the landmark 2000 general elections (Mensah, 2011).

The social, political as well as economic landscape began to change in 1992, during the famous referendum which saw the birth of a constitutional mandate. This brought in its trail the requirement to organize presidential and parliamentary elections supervised by a credible electoral commission on the 7th of December every four years. Elections therefore take place across all the 275 constituencies in the ten (10) regions of Ghana and this is done through secret ballot under the policy on universal adult suffrage (Mensah, 2010). The first ever elections under the fourth republican constitution were held in December 1992 followed by the 1996 general elections. According to the Agyeman-Duah (2005), well over 90 percent of eligible voters were registered to vote in the 2000

elections with six parties well represented on the parliamentary and presidential ballot box.

3.4 The Party System in Ghana

The relevance of political parties to Ghana's democratic development since independence serves as the main political platform for all electoral and political engagement. Juxtaposing the number of independent candidates on the number of candidates elected as presidents and members of parliament, it is very evidential to note that most independent candidates end up in fruitless endeavours as far as their bid for political (presidential/parliamentary) success is concerned. However, there have been few instances where independent candidates have been elected into parliament.

Ghana's constitution combines both the American presidential system of government and some elements of the British Westminster parliamentary system making it likely for the President, who is elected through party primaries or running on a party's ticket, to be elected directly by popular vote in the same way as a member of parliament is.

In spite of the authority of the party, Ninsin (2006) notes that a number of occurrences, including military incursions, have branded political parties in Ghana as being agents of the minority instead of the indigenous masses. The early traditions of political parties in the 1950s aligned with the left/right ideological continuum as being either a socialist or a capitalist. They were also unconsciously aligned with the personal characteristics of their founding leaders, Nkrumah and Danquah, who are doyens in Ghanaian party politics.

On the ideological spectrum, Nkrumah was centre left while Danquah was of the right of centre in the continuum. This meant that the CPP, which was the brain child of Nkrumah, was also centre left while UGCC which later metamorphosed into UP and now NPP, is also centre right in the ideological continuum (Anebo, 1997 as cited in Mensah, 2011).

After the country had returned to constitutional rule, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) emerged. One interesting observation is that the NDC was modelled on the CPP and its position as a social democratic party being left of centre in terms of ideology and hence became the new point of reference for Ghanaian politics (Carbone, 2003). NDC'S victory in two consecutive elections in Ghana in 1992 and 1996 actually made it the main opposition party relegating CPP to the third position. Regrettably for Ghana, these ideological leanings gradually affected other identifications such as tribes, religion, and other sectional divisions as the nation progressed further from the early years of independence. Ideological discourse on policy issues during political campaigns was somewhat missing. This could partly be blamed on the many years of military rule.

In the words of Ninsin (2006), "some factors that obstruct ideological debate include poverty and illiteracy". The illiteracy rate in Ghana is estimated to be about 40 per cent of the electorate (Ninsin, 2006), with most trapped in poverty. It therefore, makes sense to contend that this group have little understanding when it comes to the issues of left/right, socialist/capitalist ideological discourses. Hence, these ideological debates have become the preserve of the elites in the society making the subordination of ideology in Ghanaian politics both party and voter-driven (Mensah, 2011). The more political parties implicitly play religious and ethnic sentiments, the fewer the voters who

will identify with such ideologies. Most voters then will be predisposed to voting according to family attachment to political interests; and more will follow the electoral hype from the parties that demonstrate enough appeal during electioneering campaigns.

Ninsin (2006) contends that in a state where the earnings of the average worker is less than one dollar a day and party membership are left in the hands of a privileged few, most parties in Ghana end up being operated by “political entrepreneurs”. These are people who are economically well endowed and use their affluence to annex positions in the party. Despite the fact that these political entrepreneurs claim legitimacy for their positions, because they are voted upon, they take advantage of their positions to pursue their own parochial interests. According to Handley and Mill (2001) these leaders use material inducements to buy votes and influence decision making in the party to favour them.

One interesting development in Ghana is that smaller parties in Ghana find it very difficult to compete with the membership dues, the logistics, training and tax exemptions given to them by donor agencies, the electoral commission and the government. This development has advanced the grip of the two party system since independence in Ghana. Because of this, the Ghanaian political landscape continues to be dominated by two political parties, i.e. NPP (centre right) and NDC (centre left).

3.5 Electoral Volatility

Extant literature has shown a significant level of partisanship in Ghana over the years. In a research conducted by CDD (1999), about 66% of the respondents showed a strong identification with a political party. In that year’s Afro barometer survey (CDD, 1999),

38% of the respondents who were interviewed identified with NDC, which was a mirror image of what the party claims to be the size of its membership in relation to the total electorate (Ninsin, 2006, p.18 as cited in Mensah, 2011). In the same research 25% of the respondents showed affiliation with the NPP. Meanwhile, although there was a gap of 13% between the NPP and NDC in favour of the NDC, it did not stop it (NDC) from losing the 2000 elections. How this happened could somehow be attributed to perhaps the newness in the campaign strategy of the NPP in their electioneering campaign. This means the NPP gained some grounds on the NDC and other parties which made it possible for a runoff between the two parties. Since 1992, the NPP and NDC have enjoyed a certain monopoly and dominance in the governance of Ghana, yet the way the results appear during elections heightens the level of volatility in elections in Ghana which calls for effective and proactive strategising in order to win elections.

3.6 The Media System

The media landscape in Ghana, which is characterized by radio, television, print, telecommunication and mobile telephony and the internet, has seen tremendous growth and significance over the years. However, the media that have had a massive impact on Ghanaian politics since 1992 include radio, television, print, internet (social media) as well as mobile telephony. In the 1990s, Ghana could only boast of a radio/ television station and just two nationally regulated newspapers; “The Ghanaian Times” and “The Daily Graphic”. Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC)’s operations only centred on radio and television programmemememes while The Daily Graphic and The Ghanaian Times provided print nationwide.

However, the trade liberalization in the Ghanaian market as well as deregulation in the communications sector brought in its trail many televisions stations, newspapers as well as fm stations (Gadzekpo, 2005; Agomor & Obayashi, 2008). Currently there are two hundred and forty seven (247) fm stations, about forty (40) newspapers and twenty eight (28) television stations in Ghana including CNN and BBC (Ninsin, 2006). There has been greater ascension in competition in the media industry since 1996 specifically in TV and Radio. The operators present interesting and innovative programmemememes including political talk shows, policy/economic issue discussions, debates, entertainment news and programmemememes. These are meant to arouse and sustain the interest of the listening publics who in real terms are the same people who vote during elections. This has heightened the need for most political parties to make good use of both the state owned media as well as the privately owned ones. The interesting twist from the state-owned media to the more liberalized privatized media has spurred up competition in Ghanaian politics. The hard core state owned media that used to serve as the communication machinery for the incumbents has been influenced by the proliferation of most private media houses.

Another interesting development is that, as a result of competition, most political parties are engaged in media buying and crowding off each other. Most are also rigorously engaged in advance purchase of media space just to ensure a competitive edge over their rivals. Again this shift towards independent media has brought a high level of freedom and diversity in discussions making it possible for all kinds of citizens to make sensible, relevant contributions through the media.

3.7 The Role of the Media in Promoting Good Politics/Democracy

The Ghanaian media is one of the institutions that have been empowered under the 1992 Constitution to perform certain roles that promote the democratic culture of the country. In some quarters, the press is known to be the fourth estate of the realm and that is one reason why Article 162(3) of the 1992 Constitution stipulates that “there shall be no impediments to the establishment of private press or media and in particular there shall be no law requiring any person to obtain a license as a prerequisite to the establishment or operation of a newspaper, journal or media for communication or information disseminations”.

Again, part of preamble in the Ghana Journalist Association’s Code of Ethics stipulates the fact that the media should play the role of a watchdog with a high sense of responsibility. However, that has not been the case of late especially due to the level of media deregulation. Some media houses have even become allies of government and other political parties. There has been an increasing level of bias on the part of most media houses and journalists due to their political affiliations, which reflect in the manner in which they carry their reportage. Media bias can be because of a journalist’s own personal belief, which is referred to as “personal journalism”. This is because some media houses or journalist can simply refuse to give space to competing points of views; therefore they influence, control and set the agenda (agenda setting).

3.8 Historical Development of Political Parties

As early as the 1950s, political parties assumed a critical role as instruments for Ghana’s practice of democracy. This was in the period in which Ghana was transiting from colonial rule to an independent sovereign nation. Within the period 1954 to 1957, eight

(8) major political parties surfaced to take part in the fight against British colonial rule. Thereafter, within the period from 1969 to 1972 after Ghana had moved from its first military regime, between five (5) and twelve (12) political parties were formed to augment the movement in restoring democracy in the country. When Ghana had attained a full democratic status in 1979, there was a plethora of political parties that had sprung up (about eleven). Interestingly enough, the number of political parties reduced within the period to 1981 from the then eleven (11) to six(6) until later when the last and longest serving military regime took power from 1981 to 1992.

There were several dichotomies in terms of the identities that these parties expressed most importantly from colonial rule to nationhood. Most of the parties that were formed did so on religious, regional, ethnic and supra-national identities; who were all guided by a common dynamic logic which is the resolve to exercise democratic right, cherished by all people the world over. These rights include the right to associate freely; the right to free choice; the right to self-determination; and the right to association. Again the emergence of the political parties were also linked to elections which sought to affirm the core values of democracy i.e. the struggle for political rights and of self-determination and freedom.

The tenets of democracy was well enshrined in the 1992 Constitution which bestowed several political and civil rights on the citizenry including: the right to form political association; the right to speak freely; the right to choose whom to govern the country; as well as the right to take part in the governance of the country in other forms. This level of democracy has guided the actions of all the political parties in Ghana to date (Ninsin, 2006).

The many years of political and military rule gave the citizenry an impetus to insist on the freedom to form political parties. There was a massive unison of the social movement which waged a war against the PNDC era further affirming the resolve of the political class to shift towards a democracy (Ninsin, 2006). In 1992 when the ban on political parties was lifted, a total of thirteen (13) political parties were formed and registered in the same year. These parties were: National Democratic Congress (NDC); Democratic People's Party (DPP); New Generation Party (NGP); Ghana Democratic Republican Party (GDRP); National Independence Party (NIP); National Convention Party (NCP); Peoples Heritage Party (PHP); Every Ghanaian Living Everywhere Party (EGLE); New Patriotic Party (NPP); People's National Convention (PNC); People's Party for Democracy and Development (PPDD); National Salvation Party (NSP); and National Justice Party (NJP). Most of these new parties did not stand the test of time, and have subsequently disbanded.

Some of the new parties actually had their roots in old political traditions; for example, the New Patriotic Party emerged from an old tradition, which dates back into the 1950s called the Danquah-Busiah-Dombo tradition which purely subscribed to conservative liberalism. Other parties such as the NDC were totally new but had emerged from the erstwhile military regime called the PNDC. Their ideological position was more of the liberals who are centre left on the ideological continuum.

Successively, the NDC was victorious in both the presidential and parliamentary elections held in December 1992 under the fourth republican constitution. In the next elections, eight (8) political parties were up to contest in 1996. These parties were NPP, NDC, PNC, DPP, EGLE, NCP, People's Convention Party (PCP), and Great

Consolidated People's Party (GCPP) which NDC won again. In December 2000, seven (7) political parties were up again for elections. These parties were: NPP, NDC, PNC, CPP, GCPP, National Reform Party (NRP), and UGM (United Ghana Movement). This time round the NPP (New Patriotic Party) won. Four years later, the NPP was re-elected to continue with the rule. However, in December 2008, the NDC defeated the NPP in the elections. This affirms the level of dominance of the NPP and NDC over the past twenty years of democratic rule in Ghana.

3.9 Presidential Elections

Below is a table showing the general election result in Ghana from 1992 to 2012.

Table 3.1: General Election Result in Ghana from 1992 to 2012

Election	Candidate	Number Of Votes	Share Of Votes	Candidate	No Of Votes	Share Of Votes	Outcome Of Election
2012	Nana Akufo-Addo	5,248,898	47.74	John Mahama	5,574,761	50.70	NDC won
2008 (2)	Nana Akufo-Addo	4,478,411	49.9%	Atta Mills	4,527,909	50.47%	NDC won (Run off)
2008 (1)	Nana Akufo-Addo	4,159,439	49.1%	Atta Mills	4,070,889	47.76%	NDC in opposition
2004	John Kufuor	4,524,074	52.4%	Atta Mills	3,850,368	44.64%	NPP government (2nd term)
2000 (2nd)	John Kufuor	3,576,771	56.7%	Atta Mills	2,750,124	43.10%	NPP won (Run-off)
2000 (1st)	John Kufuor	3,131,739	48.4%	Atta Mills	2,895,575	44.80%	NPP in opposition
1996	John Kufuor	2,829,726	39.6%	JJ Rawlings	4,101,674	57.40%	NDC won
1992	Albert Adu Boahen	1,213,073	30.4%	JJ Rawlings	2,323,135	58.4	NDC won

Source: Aubyn (2012)

3.10 The General Elections in 2012

As has been the practice in Ghana, elections are held every four years to choose a president and members of parliament who will serve as the representative of their respective constituencies. In all, a president and 275 members of parliament were elected into their respective portfolios (Aubyn & Abdallah, 2013; Bamfo, 2014). Under the fourth republican constitution, six major general elections have been held in Ghana including that of 2012 (i.e. 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012).

The 2012 elections was characterized by several challenges ranging from: late voter registration and verification; inadequate communication devices for the security forces; late arrival of election materials; late arrival of personnel; poor transportation networks; as well as poor access to some of the more remotely situated constituencies (Aubyn, 2012; Bamfo, 2014).

Some of these technical frustrations and challenges, together with the faulty biometric voter registration and its associated verification system, heightened people's anxiety and apprehension (Asante, 2012). As a result of these inconveniences, the period for voting was actually prolonged after consultation between the contesting political parties and the President of Ghana. Even though this contingent measure was put in place, the decision to prolong the period of voting was met with a certain level of inertia since the electorate were not sure it would be free and flawless. At the end of the election the NDC party led by John Dramani Mahama won with 5,574,761 (50.70 percent) votes; with the NPP led by Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo obtaining 5,248,898 (47.74 percent) of the total valid votes cast. According to most observer missions and monitoring groups, including the African Union Observer Mission, the Commonwealth Observer Group and the

Coalition of Domestic Elections Observers, the elections were generally free and fair (Omotola, 2013).

According to Bamfo (2014), despite this commendation, the election result was protested against by the NPP, led by their presidential candidate, Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo, Dr Mahmoud Bawumia and Jake Otanka Obetsebi Lamptey who petitioned the supreme court about the fact that there were irregularities during the elections at 10, 119 polling stations. At the end of the almost eight month legal battle, the court presided over by Justice William Atuguba ruled in favour of the National Democratic Congress. The NDC assumed the reigns of the government in 2012 and has been at post to date.

3.11 The Emergence of Political Marketing in Ghana

Handley and Mill (2001) described Ghana's landmark elections in 2000 as very remarkable. This success can be attributed to the fact that the entire electoral process that year actually gave enough hope for the continuation of the democratic process in Ghana. Again, that election was very unique due to the fact that it was the first time in Ghana's history that a democratically elected government handed power over to another government through the ballot box (Mensah, 2011).

This tremendous achievement triggered several discussions among the media, academia as well as other stakeholders in order to comprehend the factors that led to the successful planning and active involvement in the elections (Youde, 2005; Gyimah-Boadi, 2001; Ayee, 2002). This success did not happen overnight; and it took a conscientious and

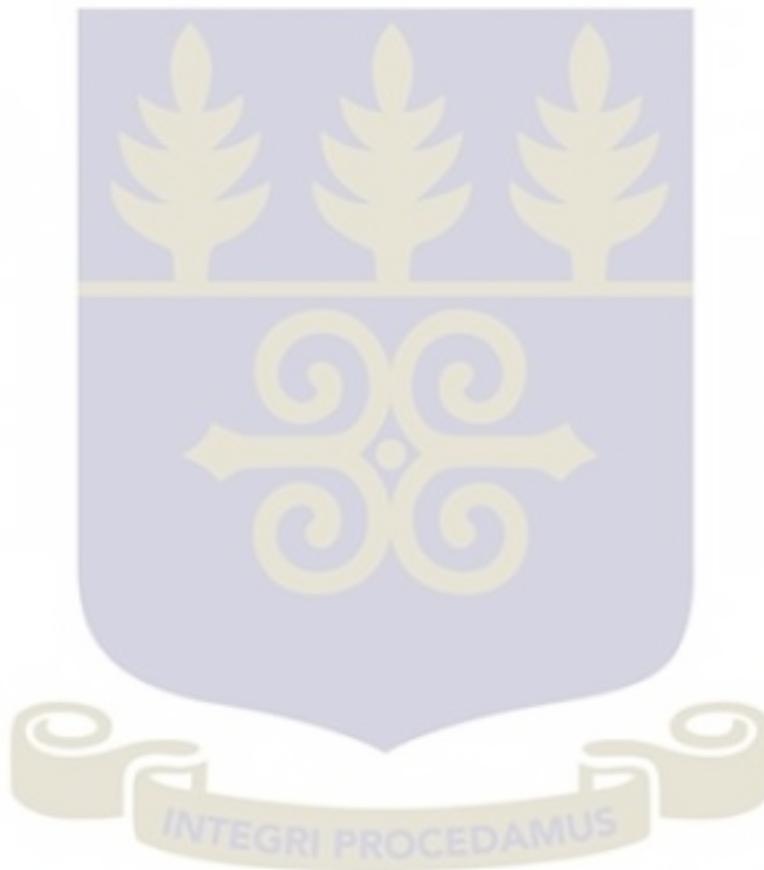
consistent effort by these parties to adapt innovative marketing strategies and tactics in their campaigning to outshine their rivals (Mensah, 2011).

This novel approach in campaigning that appealed to the voting masses was a clear epitome of global political marketing and communication trends. Indeed this assertion has been confirmed by Handley and Mill (2001), Nugent (2001), Smith (2002) and Ninsin (2006), who intimate that the trends seem positive on a whole although there were a few hitches. In the 2012 elections, marketing and communication played a major role in the entire campaign process from the primaries to the general elections.

Election campaigns in Ghana commands great media attention especially during parliamentary and presidential elections; and the 2012 electioneering campaign was no exception. Political party officials employed marketing and promotional experts to aid them with the use of several marketing techniques in an attempt to increase their communication and persuasiveness to improve the competitiveness of their political parties and candidate performance in elections (Tweneboah-Koduah et al., 2010).

It is obvious that, political parties that employed marketing and branding techniques appeared to positively influence the electorate away from the traditional factors such as ethnicity, tribalism, power of incumbency among others and outperformed other competitors (Tweneboah-Koduah et al., 2010). A classic example is the newly established Progressive People Party (PPP) outweighing political parties that have existed for many years such as CPP and PNC. Discussions concerning the 2012 elections attributed this shift to a range of factors such as: poor pre-poll definition of the brand; the attribute; the offering among others (Gyimah-Boadi & Yakah, 2012).

Branding is now gradually becoming part of the Ghanaian political literature since most practitioners and commentators seem to speak about political branding as they compare political parties with commercial brands. Researchers such as French and Smith (2010), Keller (2002), and Reeves et al. (2006) have all argued that commercial branding is a discipline and a practice with specific concepts and tools that tremendously impact on the fortunes of political parties.



CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the research design, processes and methods used to understand political brand architecture management: a resource allocation perspective in Ghana. In this chapter, the development of the research instrument is described, together with the translation of the research instrument, questionnaires to be distributed to validate the proposed conceptual framework, the population and sample size to be used in the study. The chapter concludes with an exposition of the different statistical techniques used in the analysis.

Accordingly, this chapter is composed of research philosophy; research strategy; research design; unit of analysis; population; sample size; sampling technique; instrumentation; sources of data; mode of data collection; reliability and validity; pre-testing; data analyses and interpretation of results; and ethical issues.

4.1 Research Paradigm

This study adopted the mixed methods approach. The mixed methods approach is based on the pragmatist philosophical assumption of how knowledge about the phenomenon is generated. The philosophy states that “pragmatism is the doctrine that every conception is a conception of conceivable practical effects” (Wells, 2000).

4.2 Quantitative Method

The quantitative research approach involves statistical analyses and focuses on measuring, confirming or validating relationships between variables to develop

generalisations that contribute to theory (Lincoln & Denzin, 2003; Leedy & Ormrod, 2005). It therefore relies on numerical evidence drawn from a relatively large sample to analyze the data and draw conclusions about the population from which the sample was drawn (Ticehurst & Veal, 2000). The quantitative research approach is based on positivist philosophical assumptions of how knowledge about a phenomenon is generated (Krauss, 2005; Creswell, 2013).

The positivist paradigm holds the position that there is only one truth and no matter the perception of people, that truth is an objective reality that exists (Sale, Lohfeld & Brazil, 2002). In other words, the object or phenomenon under study is independent of the researcher and knowledge about the phenomenon is obtained and verified through direct observations and measurements without the researcher having a direct involvement with the object (Krauss, 2005). Thus, the data and its analysis are value-free and does not change because they are being observed. According to the positivist epistemology, deductive reasoning is used to postulate theories that can be tested and if the results of the study do not fit the facts well, that theory must be revised to better predict the reality.

4.3 Qualitative Method

The qualitative research paradigm is defined as an approach that seeks to describe, decode and translate phenomena in terms of meaning rather than frequency (Maanan, 1983). It allows the researcher to gather information and do an in-depth exploration of issues and therefore follows a less structured format with fewer respondents than quantitative methods (Attride-Stirling, 2001). The philosophical orientation is constructivism/relativism which argues that “the knower and known cannot be separated because the subjective knower is the only source of reality” (Guba, 1990). In effect, it

can be said that this research approach lends itself to exploring how and why phenomena occur.

4.4 Justification for Mixed Method

The mixed method approach to research is less known as compared to the quantitative and qualitative methods. This is because it emerged as a separate orientation only during the past 20 years (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). It is a method in which the investigator collects and analyses data, integrates the findings and draws inferences using both quantitative and qualitative approaches in a single study (Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007). Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) argue that mixed methods draw upon the strengths and perspectives of both qualitative and quantitative approaches, recognizing the importance and relevance of the physical natural world. The mixed methods approach actually begins with a qualitative observation of an event or a phenomenon. The qualitative aspect presents the opportunity to give details that underline a problem. The research then adopts a quantitative tool, like the survey, to either validate or invalidate the observations and assumptions made during the qualitative phase.

Among the three research paradigms, the researcher adopted the mixed methods approach for the following reasons. In a single research approach, only experiments that determine the cause and effect regarding a specific issue are included. On the other hand, it may use only observation to explain a story of why a problem exists or has arisen. A mixed approach, however, leverages on the strengths of both methodologies to offer a more detailed and broader perspective to the overall issue. For instance, a typical experiment only reveals an anomaly that was not palpable in observation, while the observations present the nuances that are not captured in a multiple choice survey.

A key feature of mixed methods research is its methodological pluralism or eclecticism, which frequently results in superior research (compared to monomethod research). The goal of mixed methods research is not to down play any of the known approaches but instead to draw from their strengths and minimize the weaknesses thereof in a single research study. Indeed according to Onwuegbuzie & Leech (2004a), the mixed methods approach which is the third research paradigm helps to bridge the schism and lacuna between qualitative and quantitative research. Again, this study adopts the mixed methods approach because the paradigmatic and epistemological ecumenicalism is within the reach of the mixed approach.

In view of this the study aligns itself to the pragmatic philosophical orientation which states that the present instrumental truth value of any expression is to be determined by the experiences or practical consequences of belief in, or use of, the expression in the world (Murphy, 1990). Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) summarized the advantages of mixed research as follows:

- (i) In a mixed research approach, words, pictures and narrative can be used to enhance the meaning of numbers;
- (ii) Numbers may be effectively used to give precision to words, narratives and pictures;
- (iii) It enables a researcher to generate and test a grounded theory;
- (iv) It enables a researcher to answer a broader and more complex range of research questions due to the fact that the researcher is not confined to a single research approach;

- (v) The mixed methods approach enables the research to effectively use the strength of an additional method to counter the limitations of another method by adopting both in a single research study; and
- (vi) Due to its nature, the mixed methods approach can provide solid evidence for a research conclusion through corroboration and convergence of the findings.

The mixed methods approach therefore was appropriate for this study as it combines the qualitative and quantitative approaches in the single study. In the qualitative sense, the study required rich information to explore and understand situations, motivations and perspectives of the adoption of political brand architecture particularly how it influences political resource allocation. Again, previous research relating to this topic and context is limited and it is an appropriate method to answer research that involves ‘what’ or ‘how’ questions (Flick, 2004) as is the case in this study.

In the quantitative sense the study also seeks to quantify the relationship between political brand architecture management and political resource allocation and how it impacts on political party performance using such statistical measures as correlation coefficient, mean difference or the relative frequency (Hopkins, 2008). After considering Yin’s (1994) factors for selecting a research paradigm, Yin’s (2010) definitions of case research provided a valuable review to confirm the accuracy of the chosen method. The case study, according to Yin (2010), has a twofold technical definition; the first part begins with the scope. A case study is an empirical inquiry that:

- Investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not evident.

The second part of the technical definition of the case studies:

- Copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result;
- Relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulation fashion, and as another result; and
- Benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis.

Perry (2001) posits that the case study uses interviews, observation and other methods such as multiple sources of data. The above summary supports the case study as the appropriate choice for the qualitative aspect of this study as it focuses on the complex contemporary issue of political brand architecture and its role in political resource allocation. According to Miles and Huberman (1994), qualitative data from case studies provide crucial insight that is needed to explore meanings, perceptions and presuppositions with a social and business environment such as the one this research investigates.

4.5 Justification for Multiple Case Study Method

Multiple case study method is used to examine the branding approaches and resource allocation strategies by the selected political parties. The rationale for using multiple cases is that each political party is independent and different. Branding and resource allocation decisions vary among parties depending on their characteristics. Therefore, the study of any single case would have been inadequate to gain the required breadth and depth of information that will be essential for investigating the research problem. Further reasons are that it makes the overall study robust (Herriot & Firestone, 1983); and allows

for cross-case analysis, which leads to enrich theory building (Carson, Harrington, Thompson, O'Connor & Theologis, 2001). Yin (2003) posits that, although multiple case studies are more expensive and time consuming to conduct, the analytic benefits are substantial.

In the quantitative approach however, the study adopted the cross-sectional (descriptive) correlational design as the working framework to establish the relationship among the antecedent, the intervening and outcome variables in relation to political brand architecture management and political resource allocation in Ghana. According to Lindell and Whitney (2001) and Mann (2003), cross-sectional studies are very effective in:

- a. Determining prevalence rate;
- b. Identifying associations between variables; and
- c. Inferring causation.

In a similar vein, the cross-sectional study either describes the antecedents of phenomena or explains how related factors are (Saunders, Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2011). For instance, a primary objective of this research is to predict how the use of the political brand architecture model by political parties influences the perceptions and choice of voters in Ghana; and how that can translate into political party performance. However, Greenwood and Levin (2006) argue that such an approach is limited to the extent that no indication of sequence is provided since the studies are usually carried out once.

Any form of descriptive study focuses more on the succinct description of the data, rather than a simple elucidation of drawing conclusions from the described data. It can

thus be said that descriptive research presents a clear image of an observable fact and show how things are related to each other. Existing literature maintains that correlational research is conducted to collect data meant to establish if there exists a relationship between two or more quantifiable variables and the degree of the relationship (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010). Due to the fact that, in a correlational studies two or more characteristics are gathered in a natural setting for conducting a specific measurement about the characteristics in question (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010), it does not specify cause and effect relationship between the variables under consideration but merely specifies the attendant variations in the scores of the variables. Correlational studies actually examine a number of independent variables, which are expected to be related to a major (dependent) variable.

Those variables which are found to be related to the major variable are then further analyzed in a causal-comparative or experimental study so as to determine the exact nature of the relationship between and among them (Saunders et al., 2011). One advantage of using a cross-sectional, descriptive and correlational design is its ability to serve as a foundation for future studies and it is more appropriate in situations where it is difficult or impossible to manipulate a variable (Saunders et al., 2011). For example, demographics such as gender and age are variables that may be used in correlational designs because manipulation is impossible or difficult to achieve. The study thus adopts the cross-sectional, descriptive correlation design as the quantitative approach as it fits well with the objectives and the methodological framework.

4.6 Sampling

Based on the justification of the research method, a sample design was chosen to collect relevant information for the research problem. The chosen design is a frequently applied and appropriate method that provides quicker and lower-cost results than studying every case of the research problem (Becker, 1998). In selecting a valid sample of political parties in Ghana particularly for the qualitative research, and registered voters for the quantitative research, a definition of the target population, selection of sampling method, and determination of sample size were essential.

4.6.1 Target population

The target populations for this study are political parties and registered voters in Ghana. In the study the definition of a political party and registered voters are adopted from the electoral commission. The electoral commission describes it as a political party that ascribes to a particular ideology and has duly been registered. Registered voters are individuals of age eighteen and above who are duly registered as voters.

4.6.2 Sampling method

One of the most crucial aspects of conducting any research is the stage of choosing a sample for a study, particularly as it is impossible practically to study the entire population. In a quantitative study, selecting a representative sample from an entire population is crucial to ensure the generalizability of the results (Marshall, 1996). Marshall (1996) posits that the larger the sample size, the less likely the possibility of making random sampling errors. According to Creswell (2013), a sample refers to “a smaller (but hopefully representative) collection of units from a population used to determine truths about that population”. That is, a sample is a part of an entire population

that possesses attitudes, opinions, habits, or characteristics that you wish to study. The appropriate sample size is influenced by your purpose in conducting the research.

For the quantitative aspect, a stratified simple random technique was used for the study. Five constituencies out of thirty-four (34) in the greater Accra region were selected for the quantitative study using the stratified sampling technique; simple random sampling technique was used to select the constituencies and convenience sampling was used to select the respondents from each constituency for the study. According to Bell and Bryman (2007), random sampling is when each unit of a specific population has the same probability to be included in a collected sample. Random sampling is a well-used procedure of probability sampling because it provides more accurate results than other sampling might do (Kinnear, Taylor & Kresge, 1996). One of the reasons for making a random selection of participants is to be able to make generalisations that better reflects the population (McBurney & White, 2004).

In the qualitative aspect, however, Flick (1998) justifies the non-probability sampling to satisfy the relevance of the research topic rather than representing the whole population. There are varieties of non-probability sampling designs that guide research to select a representative research sample. These include Quota, Deviant, Theoretical, Sequential, Haphazard, and Purposive. The purposive technique selects all possible cases that fit particular criteria, using various methods. It selects cases only when they are informative with a specialized population, which in this case are the political parties in Ghana. Purposive techniques also aim to investigate every possible case. This study uses the purposive technique for its qualitative approach to investigate every possible case with an optimal use of the available resources.

4.6.3 Sampling size

For a qualitative research, there is no ideal number of cases that should be investigated. A sample size depends on what you want to know; the purpose of the inquiry; what is at stake; what will be useful; what have credibility; and what can be done with available time and resources. Flick (2009) argues that the “appropriateness of the selected sample can be assessed in terms of the degree of possible generalisation”. For this study, four (4) national executives, each representing one of the four (4) selected political parties were interviewed. Hence, this study planned for a sample of four cases (four political parties in Ghana). Again, some selected news items in the form of press cuttings and billboards were analysed.

For the quantitative part of the study, out of the 34 constituencies in Greater Accra, five (constituencies) were chosen through the stratified random sampling technique using the AMA’s area classification index which categorized them into 1st class, 2nd class, 3rd class and 4th class.

After the stratification, the selected constituencies are: Ayawaso West Wuogon (1st class); Ablekuma West (2nd class); Korle Klote (2nd class); Ayawaso East (3rd class); and Odododiodio (4th class). After the stratification, a sample of five hundred (500) registered voters was selected using convenience sampling technique. In effect, the researcher sampled hundred (100) participants per constituency using the simple random sampling technique. The constituencies selected above were surveyed to explore from the inhabitants their perceptions of the political party brands in Ghana and how their branding approaches influences their voting pattern.

4.7 Eligibility Criteria

Respondents were selected based on a certain criteria. First, to be eligible for addition, the respondent must be a qualified registered voter who is eighteen years and above for the survey and again must be a national executive in the four selected political parties in Ghana.

4.8 Data Collection

Data for this study was collected from multiple sources. Analyses of press cuttings, and billboards as well as interviews were adopted. This is in line with Yin's (2003) recommendation of different sources of data collections, namely: documents; archival records; interviews; data observation; and physical artefacts. The study sampled some political advertisements in the daily graphic from the period October 2012 to December 2012 and analyzed their content to see if the political parties actually used the brand architecture approach; and whether the contents of these adverts were in sync with the characteristics of the voter segments that buy and read newspapers. Again, pictures of billboards were taken from the sampled constituencies and their contents analysed to see whether they reflect the characteristics of the voter cohorts in those respective constituencies all geared toward achieving the objectives of the study.

4.9 Justification for the Use of Semi-Structured Focus Interviews

With the interview, Merriam (1998) argues that some, and occasionally all, of the data are collected through interviews. In a similar vein, Yin (2010) posits that interviews are an essential source of case study evidence because most case studies are about human affairs or behavioural events. Yin (2010) further argues that well-informed interviewees could provide important insights into such affairs or events. He states that interviews

could provide shortcuts to the prior history of such situations, helping the investigator to identify other relevant sources of evidence.

Merriam (1998) argues that interviewing is very necessary when the researcher is interested in the past events or when the researcher cannot directly observe behaviour or people's feelings - in this case the political parties. Thus, interviewing was an appropriate method for collecting data for this study. In extracting the required data, semi-structured interviews were adopted to examine and explore whether political parties in Ghana use the political brand architecture approach; and if so, to what extent. Again, the interview was meant to explore how these political parties allocate political resources during campaigns. The rationale behind using semi-structured interviews was that this technique possesses a distinct advantage due to its ability to collect detailed information regarding the attitudes, opinions and values of respondents (Jennings, 2001).

For the quantitative research, data were collected using structured questionnaires developed under the four themed areas, namely: socio-demographic characteristics; political brand architecture management; political resource allocation; and party performance. Questions defining such dimensions were based on a five-point Likert scale. For every dimension, a set of items was included in the questionnaire. For every item a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree) was used for the measurement. The measuring variables were collated from the literature on political brand architecture management, political resource allocation and political party performance.

4.10 Administration of Questionnaires

It has been prescribed by scholars that the questionnaire for a study should be pre-tested on a small sample of respondents for the purpose of revising the wordings of the items, and deleting or adding new items if necessary, for easy understanding of the items by the respondents during the actual survey (Lu, Zhang & Wang, 2009). Hence for the pre-testing and assessment of the variables, some colleague researchers and lecturers were requested to check the questionnaire for clarity, consistency and duplication. This resulted in effectively shaping up the questionnaire and ensuring a clearer understanding. In order to ensure reliability and consistency, an apriori research was conducted using 50 respondents on campus as the pilot sample, which was accompanied by a high response rate. The pilot study was very helpful as it allowed the researcher to reformulate the research instrument and refined the plan and procedure for data collection.

After all the necessary adjustments and modifications were made, the questionnaire was administered and retrieved from the selected voters in five (5) constituencies in Greater Accra Region. The researcher personally distributed the questionnaire to the sample five hundred (500) voters. With the quantitative data collection, Marshall and Rossman (1999) suggest that the method of data collection should relate to the type of information sought. Consequently, the research objectives of this study provided the foundation for the construction of the questions, which guided the semi-structured interviews. This was further established through the formulation of the research questions after a thorough review of literature. Lastly, focus interviews were conducted with some national executives of the sampled political parties on their adoption of political brand architecture and how they allocate campaign resources.

4.11 Ethical Consideration

Researchers have been admonished to critically evaluate their knowledge and ethical competence and the soundness of their research design before conducting the study to ensure that their results are ethically acceptable (Rogelberg, 2002). He intimates that there is a positive correlation between the scientific quality of a study and ethics, with the assertion that research that is of low quality is less likely to be ethically acceptable. One critical ethical requirement is the need to have a good research design that is based on theory and existing literature, and to use suitable methods to test the hypothesis. The sample needs to be from a relevant population since a poorly designed research will lead to inaccurate conclusions and thereby hurt the population to which it is applied (Rogelberg, 2002). Accordingly, this study was designed based on a review of relevant previous literature and the sample was representative enough in relation to the population. Ethical consideration may further be explained under the following sub-headings.

4.11.1 Right to informed consent

In this regard, the motive and purpose of the study must be explained to the potential respondents to acquaint themselves with the issue and to voluntarily decide whether to participate or not. In so doing, the respondents in this study were duly informed and their consent was sought prior to any engagement. Respondents were not put under any duress to participate in the study.

4.11.2 Permission

A written letter of introduction was obtained by the researcher from the Department of Marketing and Customer Management that introduced him and the purpose of the study to the national executives of the four (4) selected political parties; and to the registered voters.

4.11.2 Confidentiality and anonymity

The respondents were duly assured of confidentiality. In view of this, no respondent was asked to write his/her name thereby maintaining the anonymity of the responses.

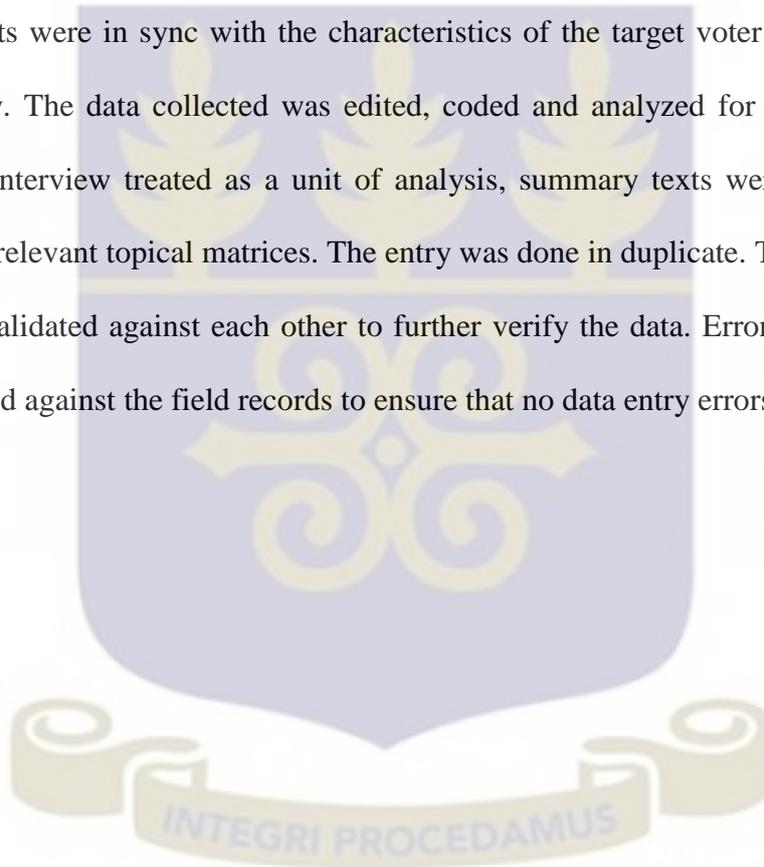
4.12 Data Analysis

This segment captures a vivid discussion of the descriptive and inferential statistical methods as well as the qualitative methods that were used to analyze the data assembled for the study. Adopting the mixed methods approach, the quantitative analysis was done using regression analysis. The survey data collected was analyzed using the statistical software of Microsoft excel and IBM SPSS version 20.0 for windows. The demographic characteristics of the respondents were evaluated using descriptive statistics such as frequency, percentage, mean and standard deviation. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to analyze whether socio-demographic factors play a role in perception about, and choice of, political parties as well as voter decision making.

To check the internal consistency and reliability of the data, the Cronbach's alpha was used. Again, to reduce the data by excluding any redundancy that was occurring among the variables, a principal component analysis was conducted and that helped to obtain a factor loading for each item in the corresponding factors. The relationships as was

hypothesized by the research model were tested through correlation and linear regression analyses.

Qualitative data from the interviews was also analyzed as the study progressed (Brown & Lloyd, 2001). The contents of samples of newspaper adverts were analysed to see whether they represented the specific characteristics of the target voter. In a similar vein, snapshots of billboards were taken and their contents analysed as well to see whether their contents were in sync with the characteristics of the target voter in that particular constituency. The data collected was edited, coded and analyzed for common themes. With each interview treated as a unit of analysis, summary texts were developed and recorded in relevant topical matrices. The entry was done in duplicate. The duplicate data files were validated against each other to further verify the data. Erroneous data values were checked against the field records to ensure that no data entry errors were made.



CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

5.0 Introduction

The foregone chapter presented a discussion of the methodology adopted in achieving the objective of the study. This chapter, however, presents the results of the analyses of data collected and also presents a discussion of these results in light of the study. For the quantitative analysis, the chapter presents the demographic characteristics of the respondents, the descriptive statistics of the variables employed in the study, an assessment of the measure mode and an assessment of the regression model. The study then moves to discuss results of the data analysis in relation to the various hypotheses developed in Chapter Two. The qualitative analysis was done by the thematic approach as well as an analysis of some selected media items. The chapter then concludes with a summary and discussion of the results in relation to the objectives of the study.

5.1 The Field Work

This study used different approaches to collect both the qualitative and quantitative data. The quantitative data took the form of a survey. In the qualitative data, two main sources of information were used: a selection of media items; and in-depth interviews. The essence is to ensure that the advantages of both methods were tapped into and again looks for better clarification of each data source. The sample for the qualitative analysis was purposively selected to ensure that enhanced insight was gathered (Patton, 1990). The section that follows discusses these sources in detail.

A semi-structured method of ten open ended questions was used. According to Yin (2010), a semi-structured interview permits flexibility, allows the use of probes as well

as invitation. The approach allows the modification and re-ordering of the questions and addressing new questions that were not originally part of the research questions. It also allows the interviewees to expand on the various issues raised in their own terms as opposed to a structured interview.

5.2 Qualitative Analysis

All the political parties were analyzed on the bases of four central themes, developed by the researcher in order to:

1. Know the extent of adoption of brand architecture by political parties;
2. Find out the effect of political brand architecture management on effective resources allocation by political parties;
3. Know the effect of effective political resource allocation on the performance of the political parties; and
4. Get an understanding of the mediating effect of effective resource allocation on the relationship between political brand architecture and party performance.

The qualitative research was carried out in the form of interviews, using an open-ended questionnaire that focused on the above-mentioned four central themes. In all cases, the interview was carried out with a national executive of each of the political parties. The information that was obtained was further accompanied by an analysis of their adverts that were captured in The Daily Graphic and those on the billboards located among the five selected constituencies.

5.3. Analysis of Individual Cases

This section provides an overview of the cases under study.

5.3.1 The New Patriotic Party (NPP)

The NPP is a liberal democratic and liberal conservative party in Ghana and has emerged to be one of Ghana's most dominant political parties. Being a centre-right party, its leading contender is the National Democratic Congress (NDC). In the year 2000, NPP won with President John Agyekum Kuffour. At the elections held on 7th December, 2004, NPP won 129 out of the 230 seats with the presidential candidate John Kuffour elected for the second term with a percentage vote of 52.75%. The symbol of the party is the African elephant and their colours are red, white and blue.

In the 2008 polls in Ghana, the NPP led by Nana Akuffo-Addo lost during the closely contested presidential run-off. Nana Akuffo-Addo received 49.77% of the votes while John Evans Atta-Mills, the candidate of the NDC won with 50.23%. In the 2012 general elections, the NPP led by Nana Akuffo-Addo lost with a percentage of 47.7% as against NDC led by John Dramani Mahama who won with 50.7%.

a. The need to differentiate one political party from another

PR-A agreed entirely with the need to differentiate one party from the other. PR-A intimated that NPP is a fully registered political party in Ghana which has been in existence since 1992 and therefore their name alone differentiates them from other political parties. Again PR-A notes:

Secondly by our philosophy, ideology and principles; I mean these could be three cardinal themes that may differentiate us from other political parties (PR-A: Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

PR-A summed up by saying the NPP is a conservative party and therefore is not like the other parties and that is actually what marks NPP from the other parties. This assertion is consistent with existing literature (Aaker, 1991; Sternthal & Tybout, 2001; Kapferer, 2006), who contend that branding is important due to its ability to produce in consumers a level of perceived differentiation among competing offerings as well as playing a critical role in directing consumer choice and preference. On the whole, therefore, it can be said that political parties in Ghana place much importance on ensuring that they are distinct from each other through their actions and activities.

b. Placing emphasis on the brand elements (party, policy and candidate) during campaigns

The position of the NPP on this issue is that the candidate is used to front all activities during elections and therefore they take a keen interest in selecting the candidate. However, such a candidate should be the one that crucially ascribes the ideologies of the party. To them the party is the wheel on which both the candidate and the policy drives. In the words of the Director of Research:

So yes selecting the candidate is key, the party has been established as a brand and the policy emanates from our constitution and we make sure we emphasise on each of them during our campaigns (PR-A : Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

The impression here is that the NPP as a political party believes in placing emphasis on the political elements as it is key to the sustenance of their campaign and electoral advantage. This position, moreover, is in line with Mensah (2011) who asserts that in addition to the candidate and policy brands, it is as well very important to place emphasis on the party brand due to the fact that there are periods and seasons when other

characters and structures in the party are of immense bearing on the sustenance of the entire political campaign. Therefore it is not prudent to side-line any political brand element during campaigns.

c. Periods during which emphasis must be place on the brand elements (party, policy and candidate)

On this issue the position of the PR-A was that there are timelines per their constitution for selecting the candidates (both parliamentary and presidential respectively) and therefore, as the electioneering period approaches, they start talking about and emphasising the brand elements especially the candidate through campaign and advertisements. PR-A observes:

There is always time for every action we take and therefore when election time is approaching we ensure that each of the elements that is key and relevant is stressed upon. This is because we believe that is the most relevant time period during which the electorate are also psychologically ready to listen to us (PR-A: Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

The general consensus is that the electioneering period comes along with most campaign activities and crucially that is where much emphasis is placed on the political elements. The justification here is that during these periods voters place attention on every action of the political parties. This is consistent with Mensah (2011) who maintains that each of these brand elements has a role that must be identified and emphasised based on their strengths as well as weaknesses in connection with the voter during electoral campaigns.

d. The most important political brand element

According to PR-A, NPP places much and equal premium on all the three brand elements and intimated further that each of the elements has a crucial role to play depending on the dynamics and situations at stake. PR-A noted:

For me I would place much premium on all because you take Ghana as a unit but when you move from one constituency to the other, the dynamics are not the same so yes you have a political party, other political parties exist in just name but there are situations where the political parties will sell you (PR-A: Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

NPP concluded by saying that in some instances you might need a candidate to push a way through on the ticket of the NPP and there are also some constituencies that you need to have a good message and a good policy to win. And so, on the whole, NPP looks at all the three elements working hand in hand for a party to perform creditably or excellently in an election. This means that it is crucial to ensure that equal attention should be given to all the political brand elements since they each has a significant role to play. This outcome is consistent with extant literature (Rajagopal & Sanchez, 2004) which advocates for the need to clearly place equal emphasis on the brand elements in a portfolio.

e. Whether effective resource allocation is a key prerequisite for electoral performance

PR-A responded in the affirmative saying that as a political party they are limited in terms of recourse and although they don't have absolute control over everything, they do need to strategically allocate their resources to the constituencies. PR-A notes:

We run our party just like a firm or a company. And so it is very critical that you allocate resources accordingly and that will enhance our political performance

(PR-A: Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

The general consensus on this issue per NPP is that no firm or organisation will thrive without allocating resources effectively and this stems from the fact that these resources are scarce and hard to find. Allocating them effectively therefore will lead toward a better party performance. This point is consistent with extant literature (StrömbergStrömberg, 2001; Matsusaka & McCarty, 2001; Huang & Shaw, 2010) who intimate that political parties must dedicate their money, time, and energy (which are political resources) to optimal effect and that effective resource allocation must become the focus of political parties.

f. How resources are allocated

On this issue the position of NPP is that right from the constituency level the candidates are made to submit the programmemememes and plans of action and an assessment is done based upon which a consensus is made. Again PR-A intimated that the resources are allocated on a “means-to-have basis” and so during campaigns, the elements that really needs more resources is given more to suit the situation. PR-A notes:

Sometimes we give cars, we give motorbikes, we give other material things to our constituents; we need to move, we need to be mobile, we need to communicate to the rank and file so these are some of the ways we share our limited resources

(PR-A: Interview, April 2015)

Discussion

The inference that can be drawn from the foregone response is that the elements that they deem to deserve more resources are given them. These resources range from human, financial and material resources. This assertion however departs from extant literature (Panagopoulos, 2009) whose research advocated for an equitable distribution and allocation of political campaign resources.

g. Whether the characteristics of the voter is considered before siting billboards, posters and other souvenirs

The response from PR-A was “Yes”. He further explained that, as a political party, they profile the constituencies to know the ethnic mix, voter dynamics and they also do voter segmentation to help them constitute their programmememes and messages. PR-A noted:

When we’ve done our policy framework and it has to be explained, we do it in the language the people understand and also, aside that, it has to be explained and also, aside that, we get people to speak to it. These are people who really understand the local language of the people and can relate well with them (PR-A: Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

PR-A concluded by saying that NPP as a party does voter analysis, and constituency profiling to know where to place whichever billboard or poster with whatever message that comes out of it so that they are able to maximize the profit thereof. This outcome is in consonance with Bartels (2008) and Reeves et al. (2006) who recommend that political parties should cultivate a bond with the voters based on the benefits they (voters) will derive further affirming the fact that political parties must be consumer-driven.

h. Whether an effective arrangement/rearrangement of political brand elements can lead to appropriate resource allocation?

On this issue, the response was yes. The position of NPP on this is that all political parties are brands that elect a candidate who can lead the party into an election. PR-A intimated that once these three elements are in place they can be altered and modified to suit the changing characteristics of the target voters. PR-A notes:

“The candidate espouses the policies of the party from the principles and ideologies of the party where the policies framework is communicated to the electorate who buy into it and this is always done with some circumspection to ensure that element we are presenting to them will be embraced” (PR-A, Interview, April, 2015).

Discussion

In effect, NPP believes that effective arrangement and rearrangement of the political brand elements leads to appropriate resource allocation. What this implies is that based on the geographical and demographic characteristics of the voters, the political party should reorder the elements in a way that meets and satisfies those characteristics. This assertion can be traced in literature: Mensah (2011) argues that in order not to end up dissatisfying the target voters, political parties must ensure that their campaign messages and communication approach are couched in a way that effectively target each voter cohort with a respective brand element. However, this departs from the position of Brams and Davis (1974) who argue that political resources must be allocated based on the size of the state/constituency (most populous states). This is also in line with the response given by PR-B on the same issue.

i. Managing the relationship between the party elements and the voters

The position of PR-A on this was that NPP has adopted an attitude that is welcoming and accommodating in every corner they find themselves throughout the length and breadth of the country. He reiterates that it is based on this attitude that the electorate will find solace in them. PR-A notes:

It is our attitude based on which others will find solace in us so we always admonish our supporters, our party officers to be accommodating and that way others will see us as a party and agent who are willing to lead people to get their interest or concerns addressed (PR-A : Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

This position is in line with the position of PR-C on the same issue who intimates that they engage the electorate using principles, party and the candidate to communicate effectively with the electorate and in so doing they build better rapport and bond with the voters. In literature this is in line with Mensah (2011) who asserted that the New Patriotic Party (NPP) in Ghana used their party, principles and especially the vice presidential candidate to create an emotional connection with the voter segments in the North thereby building and solidifying their relationship with them.

j. The media buying behaviour

PR-A's response here was that NPP believes in proactive media behaviour since the pressure increases during campaign periods. Again, the PR-A noted that NPP is very particular about the listenership of the media house and the timing of their adverts to ensure that it reaches a greater audience. He added that NPP believes in crowding out since it gives an advantage to the party that is fast enough to crowd the other out. PR-A notes:

Well I'm saying with our programmemememe some are able to pay and it is aired for you so we submit our programmemememes, if you pay it is aired for you. We've gone to Joy, we've gone to Peace, and we've gone to Citi. However there are some of the stations we would not go because if you look at the effect of the programmemememe you pay for and it doesn't achieve that then it is not worth it. I mean we also do an analyses about the listenership of stations and so when we are placing our programmemememes there we know we will have the effect, if not we will be throwing away money; so there are a lot of things these political parties or NPP may do that people don't just get to know because it is not everything that we put out there and that is what I'm saying that in Ghana we manage a whole lot of things that help us to be what we are but as I said for a political party you win an election and some of the time you lose. When you are not in government it gives you an opportunity to do your homework and while you do that, other things too will be coming. (PR-A: interview, April 2015).

Discussion

The inference from this response is that, like any other political party, the NPP believe in the need to be proactive in occupying a media space. Again, it believes in the presence of competition to the extent that any party that relaxes is overtaken by its rivals. This response is in line with what PR-D said concerning the same issue that the PPP believes in the ideology that the smartest ones will have their way. In respect of the literature, this aligns itself with Mensah (2011) who notes that during elections most political parties engage in media buying and crowding off each other to ensure that they are advantaged.

5.3.2 The National Democratic Congress (NDC)

Being a social democratic political party in Ghana, NDC was founded by Jerry John Rawlings, a former head of state from 1981 to 1993 and the elected president from 1993 to 2001. The party was formed ahead of the 1992 elections and returned Rawlings to power in 1996. The second term of Rawlings ended in 2001. In the 2000 general elections, the NDC lost the presidential election and could only regain power in 2008 with John Evans Atta-Mills. The symbol of NDC is an umbrella with an eagle's head on the top. The colours of the NDC are white, red, black and green. In the international world, NDC is a member of the Socialist International Progressive Alliance. NDC presented John Dramani Mahama in the 2012 general election and the NDC won with 50.7% of the valid votes cast.

a. The need to differentiate one political party from another

PR-B responded “Yes” to this issue and added that due to the fact that political parties are the same in character, perspective, policy, outlook and personality, which can be termed political convergence it is always crucial to come out with a clear distinction in philosophy, ideology and the party positions so as to ensure that you appear distinct and different from the others. PR-B notes:

Yes we agree perfectly to that due to the fact that you know if all political parties are the same in character, perspective, policy, outlook and personality, then it will be difficult for you to be at work so you must always come out with a clear distinction one in philosophy, ideology and the party and policy positions so at all times you must appear to be different (PR-B: Interview, April 2015)

Discussion

This assertion was supported by PR-A who notes that once a party has a candidate and policy position and is in itself a registered party, it can use that as a base to identify and differentiate itself from the rest. This position is in line with Needham (2006) and Reeves et al. (2006) who note that it is crucial for any political party to create difference and identity. Again, it is clearly in line with Mensah (2011) who notes that political parties adopt almost a similar approach in organising their political activities and as a result makes leads to political convergence. This makes it difficult for voters to differentiate one party's offering from the rest, hence the need by political parties to identify and differentiate themselves from each other.

b. Placing emphasis on the brand elements (party, policy and candidate) during campaigns

NDC's position on this is that it is very crucial to place emphasis on the brand elements. PR-B cited several instances over the years where their founder was seen as the face of the brand, where their policy position was to bridge the gap between the poor and the rich. He intimated that because the poor are the masses, they were fused into NDC. According to him no party can thrive in any election without espousing or emphasising the relevance of your brand elements. PR-B notes:

Very crucial, most especially coming from the perspective of the NDC. One in the days of Jerry Rawlings it used to be the face and the brand of the NDC party then what Rawlings stood for as just being there for the commoners and the less privileged and then what was our policy position? Our policy position was that we were trying to bridge the gap between the poor and the rich, so the poor being the masses was fused into the NDC. This could be related to the CPP where Nkrumah was seen as charismatic, affable, and down to earth towards the

deprived and the marginalized. If you juxtapose that one with the current political situation in Ghana, Kuffour came with a humble face, a background like a man of gold and then proposing some mouth-watering policy alternatives.

PR-B further notes:

Late Mills came across as a humble, peacemaking, affable Christian who came out as a very good alternative to J.A. Kuffour and so branding is a very major issue in political parties most especially when you are now streaming into the social media and the ICT world. You need a quality branding strategy and for now if you take away the “Dumsor dumsor” (a term used in Ghana to describe the erratic power supply) then the NDC seems to have a brand, but with “dumsor” we don’t have anything. Because no matter what you do the “dumsor” situation which is very biting will overshadow everything so our prayer is that we are able to solve all the “dumsor” by the third quarter of the year and then we will start presenting our brands for example the character of the president, the NDC as a party how well we have treated the people and distinguish our party plans and programmemes. So we go with that and it is now clear that if you are a party that wants to win an election and you are not well prepared and positioned your plans and programmemes and situate them in new ways, I mean you are sure of going to lose an election and that is where we have a strength. Even with the energy crisis, the opposition has not been able to offer any alternative and so that is where we think that just curing that situation will give us an upper hand (PR-B : Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

Clearly the position of the NDC on this issue is that there is the need to place emphasis on the political brand elements such that the voter can appreciate each of them and form

their voting decision around these elements. This position again is consistent with what PR-C said concerning the same issue; that it is a very distinct feature about political parties and that once the party has an ideology, it has to be easier and crucial to project them together with the candidate to represent the cause of the party. This is consistent with extant literature: Whetten (2006) and Handelman (2006) both note that it is important and crucial to stress on the unique qualities of brands in a portfolio.

c. Periods during which emphasis must be place on the brand elements (party, policy and candidate)

The position of NDC on this is that it is crucial to place emphasis during both electioneering seasons and just after the flag bearer is elected. According to them depending on the particular platform, the appropriate element is emphasised in the campaign or advert. PR-B notes:

We are always put on our toes to talk about all the three elements during the campaign season. You know this is the season during which a lot is done to convince the electorate. Almost all the political parties are seen trying to convince the voter in one way or the other. So we leave no stone unturned during this period. So to your question, we do that mostly during the electioneering periods and again based on the nature of the electorate (PR-B:

Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

The responses given by PR-B indicate that most of the activities involved in emphasising on the brand elements are done during the campaign and electioneering periods. This position is slightly different from PR-A, PR-C and PR-D whose position is that emphasis is placed on the elements almost at anytime and throughout the year. In literature, however this position departs from Aaker and Joachimsthaler (2002) who

advocate for a continuous emphasis and strategic management of the brand element in the brand architecture concept and to ensure clarity and consistency in the approach.

d. The most important political brand element

The position of NDC on this is that all the brand elements are crucial however they conduct research on the field to identify the peculiarities and then design an appropriate programme for them. However, none is done without the mention of the candidate. So whatever they do, they make sure that the candidate is projected through it.

PR-B notes:

In one bet you talk about party policy but you centre it on the presidency as the person whom they are going to vote for so whatever that your research findings brought out, in responding to them, you must raise it around the president so that you will get them for that (PR-B: Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

The inference from the response here is that, although the NDC considers all the brand elements as important, they place more emphasis on the candidate. This departs from the positions of PR-A, who says the NPP considers all elements as important and PR-C who says CPP considers the party as important. It is, however, in line with the position of PR-D who says the PPP considers the candidate as being very important. In literature, this is consistent with Hinson and Tweneboah-Koduah (2010) who note that the NDC in the 2008 elections emphasised on the flagbearer who is the candidate and used him as the God card to appeal to the religious instincts of the voters and that was the magic that secured them the victory in 2008.

e. Whether effective resource allocation is a key prerequisite for electoral performance?

PR-B responded in the affirmative to this question asserting that it is a very important element in the political party management and process. He further said that if resources are not allocated properly even key functionaries and financiers will not appreciate the importance of inverting the money into the campaigning activities of the political parties. Again, with the mushrooming of various interest groups who also depend on the party for financing, care must be taken to ensure that money is not thrown into the wrong venture. This, he said, will lead to a positive electoral performance. PR-B notes:

Yes, I mean that is very important element in the political party management and process. For instance, you have key party functionaries and the party financiers; if they don't appreciate the importance of this, they will allocate resources into wrong ventures. For instance, you see people creating youth for Mahama, then because of the facial popularity of that, the presidency if it's not aware of that, he will pump money in the thing but if we are able to discriminate our policy position on issues, if we are able to sell the NDC as the most credible, affable and important party and we are able to present as the best among all the candidates, what else are we going to lose? But if we act in a disjointed manner may we are all trying to project him as the best option but it must come from a well organised front and a well organized resource allocation. And frankly speaking the NDC did a lot in terms of resource allocation but not coming from a research background but we did that based on the trending and therefore I think we allocated our resources effectively that is why we were able to get those votes (PR-B: Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

The inference from the foregone position is that the NDC are serious in allocating resources effectively and it believes that will lead to enhanced electoral performance. This is consistent with the responses by PR-A, PR-C and PR-D respectively who all ascribe to the need to allocate resources appropriately. In literature, this is in consonance with Cantor and Herrnson (1997) who argue that contemporary political parties are predisposed to using the resources effectively to fulfil electoral, as against policy, ends. The essence is that if resources are allocated effectively, it will outweigh any other normative consideration and lead to an enhanced electoral performance.

f. How resources are allocated

PR-B said they allocate resources to the places where they think they can secure more votes and again in most populous constituencies. To him that is the best approach since voting is about numbers, they allocate more of the financial and human resources to most populous constituencies. Again, he said that, due to the scarce nature of the resources, they are allocated based on strict guidelines. PR-B notes:

And frankly speaking NPP did a lot in terms of resource allocation but not coming from a research background but we did that based on the trending and therefore I think we allocated our resources effectively that is why we were able to get those votes (PR-B : Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

The inference from this response indicates that the NDC indentifies constituencies and states that are populous and allocate most of its resources to them during the campaign season. This position departs from that of Party D which allocates most of the resources to the candidate and based on the nature of the needs of the constituency. This lends

credence to the position of Gilligan and Matsusaka (2001) who observe that resources should be allocated to states which are denser and have more seats in the legislature.

g. Whether the characteristics of the voter is considered before siting billboards, posters and other souvenirs

On this issue the PR-B said they consider them very seriously. He cited an example that Ghanaians who are domiciled in peripheral areas vote by what they see, what they believe a government is capable of doing or not. Hence, the NDC looks at the demographics, and psychographics needs of the citizens and it designs its communication materials to that effect. PR-B notes:

People who live in rural areas will be appreciative if they see a billboard that assures them that we will construct a KVIP for them other than going about touting the credentials of our flagbearer as NPP does” (PR-B, Interview, April, 2015).

Discussion

The import of the response indicates that the NDC does background checks before allocating the resources. This is meant to ensure that whatever campaign information being put out there sits well with the electorates. This position is supported by PR-C who notes that it is crucial to know the characteristics of the voter before designing and citing any communication material. In literature, this is in line with Lees-Marshment (2001) who contends that a political party in adopting the market orientation must identify the need and characteristics of the voter before couching any product design to satisfy them. Lees-Marshment (2001) also added that political parties must analyse the behaviour of the voter right from the beginning through to the end of the electoral cycle (but not just

during an election/campaign) to fully understand the voter and know what would better satisfy their needs.

h. Whether an effective arrangement/rearrangement of political brand elements can lead to appropriate resource allocation

“Absolutely yes” said the PR-B. He explained that most political parties including the NDC has fallen short in that regard but that is the approach to take. PR-B further said that once political parties are able to strategically arrange the brand elements to suit the voters, they can then apply and allocate the appropriate resource. He notes:

I mean we in NDC do allocate our resources judiciously but we have no scientific approach like what you are proposing, so I think we will start doing that (PR-B: Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

The response from PR-B indicates that indeed the NDC has been allocating resources over the years during campaigns but that is not done based on any scientific branding framework like the political brand architecture framework. This is in line with what PR-A said, that it is crucial to order the brand elements to guide the party in effective resource allocation. This position is supported in literature by Kapferer (2012) and Keller (2012) who argue that, due to the potent influence of brand architecture which is basically about rearranging and assigning roles to brands (political brands) in a portfolio, and effective reordering of these elements will inure to a more comprehensive allocation of resources.

i. Managing the relationship between the party elements and the voters

The position of the NDC on this was that somehow managing relationships come naturally, somehow you must work for it, and somehow you must allow it to happen.

PR-D notes:

For instance you cannot engineer the consent of the community but you can do some work there and you seize the opportunity to equalize it. You must be responsive to the needs of the communities” (PR-B, Interview, April, 2015).

He further said a political governance system must be seen in the communities and that is the trump card of NDC. He made reference to the district assembly concept as working effectively and the World Bank facility for the district assemblies as well as some money that are different from the district assembly common fund, all in the bid to build stronger ties with the constituents. To them their relationship approach is the best so far in the country and it seems to be getting day by day.

Discussion

The inference from the foregoing is that the sustainability of every political party rests on the bond and the life time value it establishes with the voters. This position is consistent with extant literature (Henneberg & O’Shaughnessy, 2010) who argue that relationship marketing is a universal panacea and therefore building relationships with voters will lead to re-energizing democratic politics and will lead to plausible electoral outcomes.

j. The media buying behaviour

PR-B posited that it is a crucial issue since if you don’t do that, for example during the prime times and the other key times, your opponents will outsmart you. He actually said “you need to prearrange them and the smartest ones even do it a year or two ahead”. He

further said it seriously involves money and that in 2008, NDC bought them off all the media mix especially the television stations. PR-B stated:

Tune in to every television station every now and then, it was Nana Akuffo Addo's ads, you understand. The rule of the game is to be smart and in Ghanaian politics you don't take chances. So we believe in being proactive in selecting and at times we crowd off our competitors. (PR-B, Interview, April, 2015).

Discussion

This position is consistent with the assertion of PR-A who also alluded to the fact that the NPP engages in being proactive and at times crowds off the others. In literature it is consistent with Mensah (2011) who notes that during elections most political parties engage in media buying and crowding off each other to ensure that they are advantaged.

5.3.3 The Convention People's Party (CPP)

CPP is a socialist political party that is based on the ideologies and ideas of its founder (Dr. Kwame Nkrumah). CPP was formed on 12th June 1949 by its founder to campaign for the Gold Coast. It became the governing party under Kwame Nkrumah in the sovereign British colony of Gold Coast from 1951 to 1957 and independent Ghana from 1957 to 1966. In the year 1964, the constitution was amended to make CPP the only legal party in Ghana plunging the country into a one-party state. CPP was banned after the 1966 coup in Ghana.

a. The need to differentiate one political party from another

PR-C notes:

Yes, there is definitely the need to differentiate because as a commercial or corporate entity you have to establish your identity and so it is mandatory to

differentiate yourself from other political parties (PR-C: Interview, April 2015).

This implies that the CPP fully ascribes to the need to differentiate one political party from the others. This is consistent with what PR-A and PR-B said concerning this issue.

Discussion

The implication here is that political parties need to identify and differentiate themselves from others. This is meant to ensure that the level of perceived convergence is reduced. This position is in line with what PR-B who intimated that identifying and differentiating yourself is a non-negotiable option for political parties that want to stay on top of competition. In literature this is consistent with Hughes and Dann (2009) who argue that political parties should identify and differentiate themselves and through that be able to give promises of future intent, policies as well as a symbol of performance.

b. Placing emphasis on the brand elements (party, policy and candidate) during campaigns

PR-C posited that, this is a distinct feature about political parties. He further maintained that the party in existence has an ideological element that they always have to project as well as candidates who represent the course of the party. PR-C contends:

I think that is a distinct feature about political parties. We are always aware about the brand elements. The party in existence has an ideological element that they always have to project and of course candidates who represent the course of the party. So that is something about most political parties (PR-C: Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

The implication from the responses indicate that as political parties, the major products being sold to the voter are the elements and hence commitment should be given to effectively selling them and this is done through placing enough emphasis on them. This is in line with PR-B who intimated that no party can thrive in any election without espousing or emphasising the relevance of its brand elements. In literature, this aligns itself to Kapferer and Bastien (2009) and Mensah (2011) who assert that adding up to the candidate and policy brands, it is as well very important to place emphasis on the party brand due to the fact that there are periods and seasons when other characters and structures in the party have an immense bearing on the sustenance of the entire political campaign.

c. Periods during which emphasis must be place on the brand elements (party, policy and candidate)

PR-C answered by saying that emphasis on the party is organic, i.e. something that is done on a daily basis. According to him, it is a progressive thing that the party does all the time in one way or the other, either through the youth, women, men and NPP advocates. He further said that emphasis is placed on the policy when there are issues relating to general governance of the country while the candidate is emphasized more during the electoral period. PR-C notes in a quote:

The policy of the party comes up when there are issues relating to the general governance of the country the way the party did that is in contrast and the policy of the party will be emphasized to make our point and most importantly when it comes to electoral period when you actually need to market your message and your policy and of course you really need to project the candidate. The candidate

is emphasized much more during the electoral period because by the constitution of the party once the electoral period is over the candidate's mandate is equally over and the party needs to pick up and run and run again so that once the electoral period is over the candidacy is equally over (PR-C: Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

The inference here is that, throughout the electoral period, political parties must strive to constantly place emphasis on the political brand elements to ensure that it sticks with the voters throughout the year. This will ensure that voters recall each of the elements readily during the elections. This position departs from PR-B who asserted that there are timelines set for those activities but predominantly during campaign periods. In literature, this is consistent with Mensah (2011) and Blondel (1974) who note that political parties need to consistently manage and stress on the political products that have the likelihood of satisfying the different political stakeholders in the market.

d. The most important political brand element

PR-C's position on this was that it is the party since the CPP builds itself from an ideology which is necessarily not the policy and therefore it has an ideological basis for which it exists. PR-C notes:

The ideology forms the party and out of the bloom of the ideology, the policy is created. Now individuals who subscribe to the principles of the CPP and the policy it projects become the candidates. So I think the foremost should be the party (PR-C, Interview, April, 2015).

Discussion

The inference from the foregone depicts that the CPP, as a political party, derives its equity from the party as an element; and hence, much emphasis is placed on the party. This, however, departs from the position of PR-A who intimates that the NPP places equal emphasis on all the three elements. In literature, CPP's position departs from Mensah (2011) who advocates for a synergy of the brand elements and a consistent and equal attention given each element.

e. Whether effective resource allocation is a key prerequisite for electoral performance

PR-C 'S position on this was 'yes' and further intimated that every political party is a corporate entity and like any other business entity you use the resources at your disposal to effectively and efficiently run your activities and that will enhance your performance. He concluded by reaffirming his position that effective resource allocation leads to better electoral performance. PR-C notes:

Of course as I mentioned earlier every political party is a corporate entity ok and like any other business organisation, in running we use some resources at your disposal to be able to effectively and efficiently run you activities, campaign and administration. (PR-C: Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

The inference from this position is that allocating resources effectively leads to enhance political performance. This position is in line with PR-B who also asserts that allocating resources effectively leads to enhanced electoral performance. This position is consistent with StrömbergStrömberg (2001) who argues that political parties must dedicate their

money, time, energy (which are political resources) to optimal effect and that effective resource allocation must become the focus of political parties.

f. How resources are allocated

PR-C said that the party machinery is already in place during the electoral period and so what you are introducing is the policy and the candidate and there are other instances where the candidate is already known and therefore marketing such a candidate doesn't demand too many resources. PR-C notes:

You see during the electoral period we already have the party machinery in place ok so what you are introducing is the policy and the candidate ok, there are instances where the candidate is already known so marketing that candidate doesn't demand too much of resources but if you look at our current situation it means whichever candidate that you take you have to do extra work to market the candidate, one because there is competition whereby other political parties are also sponsoring candidates in the same market so then when it get to those periods, the party is already there but the product you are selling are the candidate and the policy. The candidates are used as the mouthpiece in the dissemination of the policy so that you will invest more on the candidate as against the other two (PR-C: Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

The inference here is that, depending on which political party element is well know by the voters, most resources are allocated to the other elements to ensure that they are equally marketed and made appealing to the electorate. In a way, this is to ensure equality and this is consistent with what PR-A said - that equal effort is put into allocating resource to all the brand elements. In literature, this is a departure from

Gilligan and Matsusaka (2001) who observed that resources should be allocated to states which are denser and have more seats in the legislature.

g. Whether the characteristics of the voter is considered before siting billboards, posters and other souvenirs

PR-C's position on this was it is crucial to assess the place where you are going to sell your candidate and know how to direct the messages effectively to them. He added that an urban setting is different from a rural setting and therefore you cite the billboards and other campaign materials in ways that would yield a positive reaction. In quoting him, PR-C notes:

In the rural sector you can put large billboards for instance Telensi in the northern region and you go and put large billboards, you could have only about fifty (50) people seeing it because of the dispersed nature of the people staying in such constituencies. So it depends of the geographical location of your target group and then how you will target them (PR-C: Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

The inference from the foregone response is that CPP analyses the geographic and demographic characteristics of the voters before citing their billboards in order to fully satisfy their unique characteristics. This is in line with PR-B who notes that the NDC looks at the demographics, and psychographics needs of the citizens and it designs its communication materials to that effect. This position is consistent with literature (Lees-Marshment, 2001) which notes that political parties must analyse the behaviour of the voter right from the beginning through to the end of the electoral cycle (but not just during an election/campaign) to fully understand the voter and know what would better satisfy their needs.

h. Whether an effective arrangement/rearrangement of political brand elements can lead to appropriate resource allocation

PR-C's position on this was "no" because, according to him, CPP has maintained its name and policy for over sixty-five (65) years. The party stopped working and has started working again but is still using the same party and policy. With the candidate, PR-C said the Nkrumaist tradition has been so pervasive such that each candidate they bring on board reflects Nkrumah and therefore they don't entirely believe in rearranging the brand elements. PR-C notes:

At the current situation I will say no just because if you are going to go by the elements then of course you should know that it is in every political party running this country. Because see, we are sixty-five (65) years we have maintained the same brand name though at a point we stopped working . Now when we started working we have been using the same brand name which is the CPP. So we've had CPP from the early 1950s and we still have CPP now. We don't have any political party that has stood this length of time as we have; and so as a party structure we do have. Now when it comes to policy we have maintained our socialist objectives up to now so when you mention the CPP it is synonymous to the socialists. Now the issue has been the candidates; of course over time you know how the trend of CPP candidates have been over and over ok but the benefit we have as a party is the figure of Nkrumah who is the candidate from the beginning and even the message. And you see some political parties are trying to associate themselves with CPP and our socialist orientation. Look at NDC; they claim to be socialists but they are not (PR-C: Interview, April 2015)

Discussion

The inference from the response indicates that the CPP does not think rearranging the elements will lead to better resource allocation since it has been using the same party name and tradition for over 60 years. Clearly, this shows a lack of understanding of the issue of branding and applying the political brand architecture by the CPP. This response departs from the earlier responses by PR-A and PR-B who believes that rearranging and reordering the elements leads to allocating resources effectively. This position departs from Mensah (2011) who argues that in order not to end up dissatisfying the target voters, political parties must ensure that their campaign messages and communication approach are couched in a way that effectively target each voter cohort with a respective brand element.

i. Managing the relationship between the party elements and the voters?

PR-C's position on this was that in campaigning, whatever you put out there should be salient. PR-C asserted that CPP engages its electorate using its principles, party and the candidate who acts as the leader of the party. PR-C further added that, with the current energy crisis, the leader will soon come out with a strong statement about it and that will be CPP's strategy of assuring its electorate that they care for them and to keep the relationship moving. Beyond that, CPP uses social media to engage and maintain the rapport between its electorate. PR-C notes:

Well I think in campaigning, whatever you put out there should be salient. You see in politics and any other industry there are organic situations that you see. Example there is the dumsor and we can't pretend to not know what is happening or not happening. So we've already come out with one statement on "dumsor" and we are planning to organise a symposium on the energy crisis. One critical

strategy in politics is to beat down on your weakness and try to project your strengths. Now what we do is we engage our electorate using our principles, our party and our candidates and in this current state the candidate is the leader of the party per our constitution so she is soon going to come out with a statement on energy then the people will hear our side of it and how we think this whole thing should be solved. And so essentially that's how we should deal with the electorate (PR-C: Interview, April 2015)

Discussion

The deduction from the response above is that the CPP uses all its three political party elements to manage its relationship with the voter. Again, CPP uses social media to interact with its supporters and thereby creates a bond with the voter. This departs from PR-B whose position is that they do not engineer the consent of the community but through their work, they leverage on that to create the relationships with them. Again in literature this position is consistent with Henneberg and O'Shaughnessy (2010) who argue that relationship marketing is a universal panacea and therefore building relationships with voters will lead to re-energizing democratic politics and will lead to plausible electoral outcomes.

j. The media buying behaviour

PR-C intimated that because CPP has inadequate resources, it is compelled to do the media buying themselves. At times the services of advertising agents are engaged who surcharge the party for the service rendered. PR-C notes:

Well I believe because we do not have adequate resources we are compelled under the circumstances to do the media buying ourselves, erm (sound) probably you would have to engage the services of an advertising agency and in this sense

they will also surcharge you for the service rendered and so we are being compelled within the current circumstances to do the media buying but we do so in a modest way given our resource constraints (PR-C: Interview, April 2015)

Discussion

The inference from the response shows that CPP also acts proactively to secure some media space during electioneering periods and at times crowds off the others. This is in line with PR-A who noted that the NPP believes in proactive media behaviour since the pressure increases during campaign periods. In literature, this affirms Mensah's (2011) position that, during elections, most political parties engage in media buying and crowding off each other to ensure that they are advantaged.

5.3.4 The Progressive People's Party (PPP)

PPP was formed after a declaration on 28th December 2011 by its founder for progressive and independent-minded people to arise and form an alternative political group. Right from the onset the interim leadership of PPP started a nationwide campaign to take on members to form the interim regional and constituency executives. All the ten regions were visited by the team. The party submitted for registration to the electoral commission according to the Political Parties' Act. On 3rd February 2012, PPP received its provisional certificate and went to its first national convention on 25th February 2012, held at the Accra sports stadium. PPP received its final certificate on 15th March 2012. The motto of the party is "Prosperity in Peace" and the slogan is "Awake"

a. The need to differentiate one political party from another

PR-D agreed to the fact it is crucial to differentiate one party from the other considering the competitive nature of politics and the fact that they are all eyeing one common goal.

He further said that PPP was motivated to differentiate itself from the politics of insults that had evaded the political fabric of the country and so everywhere they are, they make sure they discuss issues and policies but not insults and that is what has set PPP above almost all the other parties. PR-D ended by saying “so yes it is crucial to differentiate”.

PR-D notes:

Well yes I agree to that. Errm when we started we thought there was a lot of insult in politics and I mean it was deliberate; it was evil in my opinion because the issue about political power can be done differently in a more decent manner. So basically we said that no insults as far as we are concerned, no disrespect to any political party and we said we will give out any member of our party who goes to insult and I think somehow it helped. 2012 was better than previous elections because I think the people were getting fed up with the insults and then people were not making sense. A lot of people go on radio and get on our nerves so we said that let's focus on campaign issues and so we said no insults. So how else we differentiate is also providing concrete proposals and saying that this is what we stand for and we stick to it (PR-D: Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

The inference from the above response indicates the PPP, just like the other three parties, agrees to the need to identify and differentiate itself from the rest. This sets one party apart from the others and clearly makes it easier for voters to associate with you. In literature this position is consistent with Aaker (1991), Sternthal and Tybout (2001) and Kapferer (2006), who contend that branding is important due to its ability to produce in consumers a level of perceived differentiation among competing offerings as well as playing a critical role in directing consumer choice and preference.

b. **Placing emphasis on the brand elements (party, policy and candidate) during campaigns**

On this issue PR-D's position was positive. He said the flagbearer of PPP can actually beat his hand on his chest and actually say he can rule the country because of his sterling track record. Hence the party really places emphasis on its candidate almost every and anytime. On the PPP policy position, the emphasis is epitomized by the way PPP behaves and it is emphasized during elections. PR-D notes:

Of course we do. I mean "Adwumawura" (nickname given to the presidential candidate) could raise his hand and say that he has done it here so it means he can do it elsewhere and of course our party and our policy is how we behave. So yes we do emphasize that in the elections (PR-D: Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

From the preceding response, it can be inferred that the PPP places emphasis on its candidate more as compared to the other elements. This position is in line with PR-A who notes that, because the candidate is used to front all activities during elections, they take keen interest in selecting and placing emphasis on him. In literature, this is a departure from Mensah (2011) who asserts that adding up to the candidate and policy brands, it is as well very important to place emphasis on the party brand due to the fact that there are periods and seasons when other characters and structures in the party have an immense bearing on the sustenance of the entire political campaign.

- c. **Periods during which emphasis must be place on the brand elements (party, policy and candidate).**

PR-D's response to this position was that emphasis is placed on the elements almost all the time but it is more pronounced during campaigning or an electioneering period. PR-D notes:

Well I think almost all the time. But it is more pronounced during campaigning or an electioneering period. But anytime we get the opportunity we try to explain with examples anything that borders on policy, party and candidate so that is what we are doing now. But I think it's difficult to answer, but I think by and large it depends on what is at stage, which platform so for example if we are invited to a school programmemememe, it depends on what we are going to do there, you understand so it is not necessarily going to be partisan. But largely I think it is intrinsic, more of new ideas to solve problem. For example if I'm introducing Adwumawura somewhere, like we've attended a lecture and we are going to have an address, I think the emphasis will be on him as person.. May on a platform when we are discussing a particular reform then our policy will be more on the forefront more than the candidate as to what is capacities are and then if let's say another topic talking about attributes of a political party, in that case you can talk about party but invariably during the campaign times they are together. The off season, it depends on the forum and the platform. (PR-D: Interview, April 2015)

Discussion

The inference here is that PPP always places emphasis on their elements throughout the year. However, it is heightened and rigorous during the electioneering year. This position

is in line with PR-A who posits that it is crucial to place emphasis during both electioneering seasons and just after the flag bearer is elected. This assertion supports Aaker and Joachimsthaler's (2002) position, which advocates for a continuous emphasis and strategic management of the brand element in the brand architecture concept and to ensure clarity and consistency in the approach.

d. **The most important political brand element**

PR-D's position on this was the candidate. He further added that the policy comes last because you can have the best policy but the people may not listen. PR-D stated:

With this, we think it's the candidate but we also think that the policy is obviously last because if you best policy but the people are not listening so we think it is the candidate. Our best bet from the people's point of view is the candidate. So it's predominantly the candidate and I think the party is second and number three is the policy (PR-D: Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

From the discussion above it can be noticed that PPP sees the candidate to be the most important element among the three. This may be because of the fact that it is the candidate that fronts all its activities. This position departs from PR-A who notes that the NPP places much and equal premium on all the three brand elements and intimated further that each of the elements has a crucial role to play depending on the dynamics and situations at stake. This position again departs from Rajagopal and Sanchez (2004) who advocate for the need to clearly place equal emphasis on the brand elements in a portfolio.

e. **Whether effective resource allocation is a key prerequisite for electoral performance**

PR-D's position on this was 'yes'. He maintained that once political parties are run as businesses with limited resources, effectively allocating these scarce resources will definitely lead to an enhanced political performance. PR-D notes:

Yes of course even ideas, research information, physical money, fuel, even the candidate's personality, his understanding of local issues. So of course I think it's the candidate, the party itself is normally in the background. Whatever we do to affect the party so we do everything to promote the candidate (PR-D, Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

The inference here is that if political parties are able to effectively allocate resources, it will lead toward a better party performance during elections. Again, this means that resources may have gone to their right places and wastage would have been avoided. This position is in line with PR-C who notes that every political party is a corporate entity and like any other business entity you use the resources at your disposal to effectively and efficiently run your activities and that will enhance your performance. In literature, this is in consonance with Cantor and Herrnson (1997) who argue that contemporary political parties are predisposed to using the resources effectively to fulfil electoral as against policy ends. The essence is that, if resources are allocated effectively, it will outweigh any other normative consideration and lead to an enhanced electoral performance.

f. **How resources are allocated**

PR-D's response to this was brief. He stated that in PPP, the majority of the resources are allocated to the candidate; and then at times, depending on the area they are going to campaign, they pick and choose the appropriate element. PR-D observed:

Well I think we do it more to the candidate and well I think we pick and choose depending on the area we are going” (PR-D: Interview, April 2015)

Discussion

The impression here again is that the PPP allocates more of the resources to the candidate as compared to the rest of the elements. This departs from the position of PR-B who noted that the NDC allocates resources in most populous states and states where they think they can get more votes. In literature, this again departs from Gilligan and Matsusaka (2001) who observe that resources should be allocated to states that are denser and have more seats in the legislature

g. **Whether the characteristics of the voter is considered before siting billboards, posters and other souvenirs**

PR-D's position on this was 'yes' and that it is something PPP seriously considers and does in its campaigns. PR-D notes;

We can't just wake up and start allocating billboards and posters anywhere and anyhow. We make sure we send our guys on the ground to survey the areas before these things are done (PR-D: Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

The inference that can be drawn from the response is that the PPP agrees with the fact that it is crucial to analyse the characteristics of the voter before billboards and other

communication materials are cited. This position is in line with PR-A who stated that, as a political party, they profile the constituencies to know the ethnic mix, and voter dynamics; and they also do voter segmentation to help them constitute their programmememes and messages. This is consistent with Bartels (2008) and Reeves et al. (2006) who recommend that political parties should cultivate a bond with the voters based on the benefits they (voters) will derive; further affirming the fact that political parties must be consumer-driven.

h. **Whether an effective arrangement/rearrangement of political brand elements can lead to appropriate resource allocation**

PR-D's position on this was to the affirmative and he further stressed that a better arrangement of the brand elements will serve as a guiding framework, which will also serve as a means of checks and balances during the allocation of resources. PR-D stated:

Definitely once a political party is able to effectively arrange or manage its brand elements well it thing that party will be in a better position to allocates its resources to the best of its abilities barring any eventualities (PR-D: Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

The inference from the above is that for political parties to effectively allocate resources, it must be able to strategically arrange and rearrange the political brand elements. This is in line with PR-B who noted that once political parties are able to strategically arrange the brand elements to suit the voters, they can then apply and allocate the appropriate resource. This is consistent with Mensah (2011) who argues that, in order not to end up dissatisfying the target voters, political parties must ensure that their campaigns messages and communication approach are couched in a way that effectively target each voter cohort with a respective brand element.

i. **Managing the relationship between the party elements and the voters**

On this issue, PR-D couldn't give any tangible position about what the PPP does to manage its relationship with the voters. PR-D noted:

The Party decided to do a “post-election 2012” analysis which they have not been able to do since 2012 (PR-D: Interview, April 2015)

Discussion

Unlike the other parties the PPP could not state its position on how it manages its relationship with the voters. The post-election 2012 analysis, when done, may serve as a guide to direct the party in how to effectively communicate with, and manage their relationship with the voter.

j. **The media buying behaviour**

PR-D's position on this is that PPP does the media buying directly without any agent and as well believes in the ideology that the smartest ones will have their way. Predominantly, the party does the media buying but with a direct approach. PR-D noted:

Oohh we do it ourselves and sometimes you are told there is not space by these agents but predominantly we go directly (PR-D: Interview, April 2015).

Discussion

What can be inferred from the PPP's position is that, like the other parties, it also believes in being smart when it comes to media buying behaviour and as such will not hesitate in crowding off other opponents. This point is consistent with the assertion of PR-A who also alluded to the fact that the NPP engages in being proactive and at times crowds off others. In literature, it is consistent with Mensah (2011) who notes that, during elections, most political parties engage in media buying and crowding off each other to ensure that they are advantaged.

5.4 Summary of Individual Cases

The individual case studies provided a background to each political party; and their responses to each of the ten questions developed from the literature review. The data was collected using interview questions for each research question. Starting with an introduction to each party, the issues bordered on information about the understanding of political branding, political brand architecture, political resource allocation, political party performance as well as media buying behaviour.

All relevant data collected during the interviews have been supported with frequent direct quotations drawn from the interviewees' direct comments (indicated in italics). The next section deals with the identification of commonalities arising from the responses from the various interviews.

5.5 Cross-Case Analysis

The individual cases analysed in the previous section provided a case-by-case understanding of each political party and their responses to the research questions. The analysis thus provided the foundation for undertaking a cross-case data analysis.

5.5.1 To what extent have political parties in Ghana adopted political brand architecture?

To answer this research question, the researcher asked the following questions in the interview.

- **Do you agree that you have to differentiate yourself from other political parties?**

On this interview question, the following are the responses from the individual cases:

a. NPP said they entirely agreed with the need to differentiate one party from the other and further posited that once NPP is a fully registered political party, it is crucial to clearly identify and differentiate itself from the others on party, policy and candidate attributes.

b. NDC said it agrees there is a need to differentiate due to the fact that political parties appear to be the same in character, outlook, perspective and personality; and hence differentiation is crucial to its sustainability.

c. CPP's position on this was positive alluding to the fact that political parties, just as corporate entities, have to distinguish themselves from others.

I mean though we are political parties, we are in business and we operate like corporate entities, hence there is the need for us to identify and differentiate ourselves from the other political parties (PR-C interview, April 2015).

d. PPP intimated that it is vital to differentiate one party from others considering the competitive nature of politics and the fact that all the political parties are eyeing one common goal.

Once we are not the only political party in Ghana, I believe we have to do things that will clearly mark us out from other political parties (PR-D interview, April 2015).

5.5.2 Finding

The underlying conclusion is that all the cases asserted that there is the need to differentiate one party from the other. Hence, it can be posited that branding political parties is crucial in ensuring differentiation and marking one party out from the others. This is consistent with Kapferer (2006) who said that what actually make a brand are the saliency, differentiability and intensity attached to those associations.

5.5.3 Summary of findings from RQ1

Research question 1 sought to explore respondents' level of appreciation of branding political parties. From the foregoing, it can be said that all the political parties are in support of the need to brand which is basically an approach to differentiate and distinguish your party from others.

➤ **Do you consider emphasizing on the brand elements (party, policy and candidate) at each point in time in your campaign?**

a. NPP posited that the candidate is used to front all activities during elections and therefore key interest is taken in selecting the candidate. Again NPP's position on this is that, since the party is the wheel and the brand from which the policy comes, each of them is clearly emphasized during campaigns: major emphasis is placed on the party, followed by the candidate and the policy.

“I mean there will be no candidate or policy without the party so we put major emphasis on the party, candidate and policy in that order. This doesn't mean any of them is more important than the other” (PR-A interview, April 2015).

b. NDC's position on this is that placing emphasis on the brand elements is very key in ensuring political victory. NDC further reiterated that no party can thrive in any election without espousing the brand elements which are the relevant issues that attracts the voter.

“If you have a good product and you don't make noise about it, nobody will know about it and they won't buy it (PR-B interview, April 2015)

c. CPP's position on this is that every political party has an ideological position, which they have to project, and a candidate who represents the course of the party. Each of these attributes has to be clearly emphasised through communicating it to the voters.

d. PPP's position on this is that its flagbearer is enough evidence of good leadership. Again, the party and policy are characterised by how they behave and hence their everyday life and activities place, on their own, a stronger emphasis on the brand elements.

So as for us our candidate is enough manifestation of what we profess and he does that on the ticket of the party which shapes us the policy (PR-C interview, April 2015)

5.5.4 Summary of findings from RQ2

RQ2 explored whether political parties consider emphasising the brand elements. Throughout the responses, it can be clearly seen that all the political parties agree to the need to emphasise the brand elements since this is the only way through which the voter can appreciate their offering. This is in line with Mensah (2011).

What is the effect of political brand architecture management on effective resource allocation?

To achieve this objective the researcher asked these questions:

➤ **Do you see effective resource allocation as a key prerequisite for electoral performance?**

a. On this issue NPP's response was that, since political parties are limited in resources, they can't afford to misapply them and hence effective allocating of the resources will ensure that the party meets its target of winning elections.

b. NDC's position on this issue is that, if resources are not effectively allocated, key financiers of the party might lose interest and withdraw their sponsorship. Again, if resources are well allocated by following the needs and characteristics of the voters, the

party will be able to effectively allocate resources leading to better electoral performance.

c. CPP's position on this is that every political party, just like any other corporate entity, uses resources and the ability to effectively and efficiently allocate them will lead to an enhanced party performance.

d. PPP's position on this was that, once resources are limited, effectively allocating of them would inure towards success.

Political parties, like any organisation, are constrained with resources and you wouldn't want to risk misapplying them (PR-D interview, April 2015).

5.5.5 Summary of findings from RQ3

All the political parties agreed in unison that allocating resources effectively is key in ensuring sustainability of the party but most were quick to add that they do not follow any laid down branding framework in allocating resources. This is in line with Panagopoulos (2006) who advocates for effective resource allocating as being the surest way to political success and triumph.

What is the mediating effect of effective resource allocation on the relationship between political brand architecture and party performance?

To achieve this, the following questions were asked;

➤ How are resources allocated?

a. NPP's response to this was that resources are allocated in a means-to-have approach where the elements that need more resources are given more in that order. These types of resources range from financial resources to human resources.

b. NDC's response to this was that resources are allocated to places where they perceive they can get enough votes. Again, NDC's position on this was that, due to the scarce nature of the resources, they allocate it more in most populous constituencies.

We allocate our resources more in most populous states because at least if for nothing at all, we know we can win or get more votes (PR-B interview, April 2015).

c. CPP's response to this was that once the party is in existence all the time and is known to all the electorates, there is no need for wasting resources on it. However, resources are allocated in rather projecting the policy and candidate and it is normally done during the election periods.

d. PPP's position on this is that it allocates most of its resource to the candidate compared to the other two elements. Resources are allocated to the others as and when it is needed.

We think it is the candidate who represents everything about the party. He is actually the embodiment of the party. So most of our resources are allocated to him regardless of the constituency (PR-D, 2015).

5.5.6 Summary of findings from RQ4

RQ4 explored how the political parties allocate resources. Almost all the political parties invariably said they allocate resources to the elements but not in equal proportion. What was actually conspicuous was the fact the some of the parties concentrated more on some of the elements than the others and this can be attributed to the fact that there is no guiding framework used to allocate resources. This is in consonance with Mensah (2011) who argues that, although branding has become a pervasive culture in Ghanaian politics,

little effort is put into effectively managing the elements. The position is also in line with Tweneboah-Koduah et al. (2010) who note that political parties in Ghana, although seen as brands, are not effectively managed as brands.

Whether the characteristics of the voter is considered before siting billboards, posters and other souvenirs

a. NPP's position on this is that the constituencies are well profiled into ethnic mixes to know the voter dynamics and based on that, effective segmentation is done to clearly know which of the elements will better satisfy and meet their characteristics.

b. NDC's position on this is that it is crucial to analyse the characteristics of the voter before siting billboards.

The demographics, psychographics and geographical characteristics are assessed to guide the party in designing its communication tools. (PR-B interview, 2015).

c. CPP's position on this is that there are differences in rural and urban dynamics, hence what suits rural folk might not necessarily suit urban folk: the campaign materials and billboards should therefore be cited in ways that will yield positive responses from the constituents.

d. PPP's response to this was that it is a serious consideration if a better electoral performance is envisaged.

5.5.7 Summary of findings from RQ5

RQ5 explored whether the characteristics of the voter are considered before siting the billboards, posters and other souvenirs. Almost all the political parties agreed that it is crucial to analyse the characteristics of the voter before siting the billboards, and other

souvenirs. However, even though they said they do that at times, it was clear their attention has not been on the characteristics of the voter. This is consistent with Bartels (2008) and Reeves et al. (2006) who recommend that political parties should cultivate a bond with the voters based on the benefits they (voters) will derive further affirming the fact that political parties must be consumer-driven.

5.6 Analysis of Media Items

Text No.	Date	Media channel	Headlines	Content discussion
Text AD1	20/09/2012	Daily Graphic	A better Ghana for you	This ad has a very bold and imposing picture of the candidate of NDC, a very bold policy statement with a small logo of the party. Clearly the ad is projecting the candidate
Text AD 2	13/11/2015	Daily Graphic	CPP to produce fertiliser in four years	This ad captured the conspicuous policy position of the CPP and a visible picture of the candidate. Clearly the policy and candidate positions are projected but not much emphasis is placed on the party.
Text AD3	30/10/2012	Daily Graphic	Quality and accessible healthcare for everyone	This ad captured a picture of a nursing mother with a very visible policy position. The ad is also projected in the colours of the NDC party. The logo of the party is captured but hidden in the lower right corner.
TextAD4	29/10/2012	Daily Graphic	Dr Nduom: A visionary leader	This ad has an imposing picture of the candidate for Progressive People's Party and its leadership credentials are projective. Clearly everything in the ad is about the candidate.
Text AD5	22/09/2012	Daily Graphic	PPP targets more votes; NDC focuses on job creation; I won't reduce salaries of security personnel	There were three adverts on this page. The first ad just talked about PPP's quest for more votes. NDC's ad had a clear picture of the running mate of the party and a conspicuous policy position of creating more jobs. The NPP ad had a clear picture of the flagbearer and a clear policy position. However, the party was not given much prominence.
Text AD6	24/09/2012	Daily Graphic	Quality education for every Ghanaian child	The ad showed a clear picture of the PPP candidate and his running mate. The entire ad was a vivid description of their policy position. The party name however was captured at the lower right corner. So predominantly the ad was about the policy position.
Text AD7	23/11/2012	Daily Graphic	Prez outlines plans on science and technology	This ad captures three political party candidates (i.e. NDC, NPP and CPP). Each had a clear policy statement positioned right by him. So predominantly this ad featured the candidate and their policy positions.

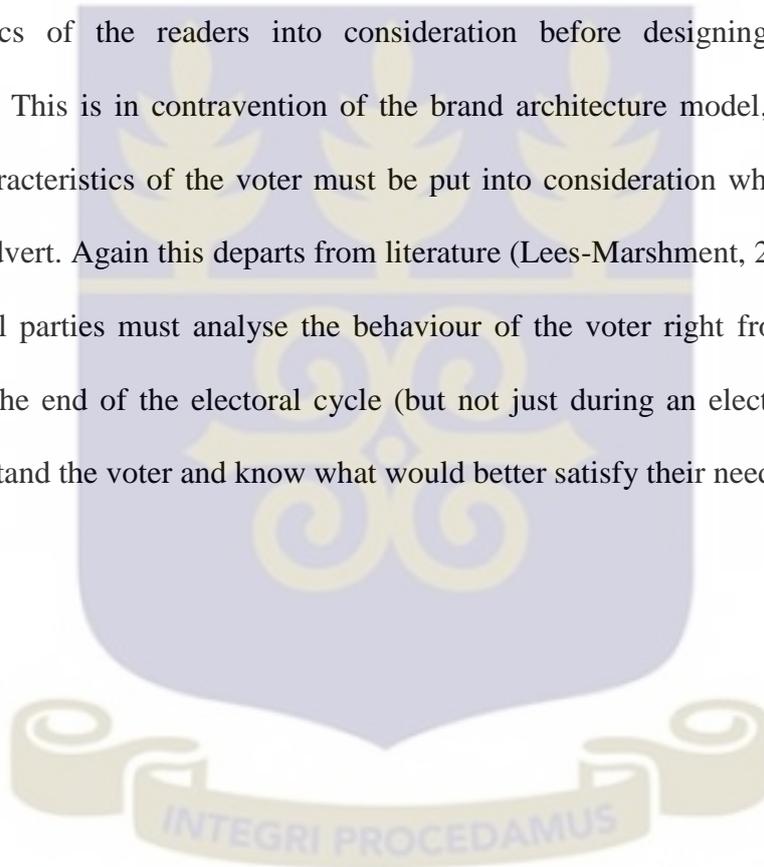
			(NDC); education will save nation(NPP); CPP will champion cause of women(CPP)	Little emphasis was placed on the party.
Text AD8	26/11/2012	Daily Graphic	Only NDC has got cogent plans for education	This ad boldly captures NDC policy position on education and a picture of the candidate. Some party colours were found at the background but the party was not given much prominence.
Text AD9	31/10/2012	Daily Graphic	CPP only party that can bring change	This ad showed a conspicuous picture of the candidate for CPP and a policy statement. Not much emphasis was placed on the party.
Text AD10	4/12/2012	Daily Graphic	Victory 2012	This ad captured a clear, bold picture of the candidate of the NPP with a policy statement written in a small section at the bottom of the page. In effect, this ad was predominantly to project the candidate.
Text AD11	27/11/2012	Daily Graphic	Energy for all by 2016	This ad showed a picture of a nursing mother in the background with a clear and conspicuous policy position. The name and logo of the party however is given little emphasis and is captured at the lower right corner of the ad. The colour coding of the advert was also done in the colours of the NDC party.
Text AD 12	14/11/2012	Daily Graphic	PPP will support security agencies to enforce discipline	This ad also shows a picture of the candidate of the PPP boldly captured and a policy statement. Little emphasis was placed on the party however.
Text AD13	14/11/2012	Daily Graphic	Vote John Mahama and Kwesi Amissah Arthur	This ad captures a bold imposing picture of the candidate and running mate of the NDC. The ad was designed in the colours of the party. The policy position was also boldly captured beneath the ad with the party name and logo clearly captured.

5.7 Discussion of Media Analyses

The media analysis took the form of analysing the content of some selected newspapers, predominantly the Daily Graphic between October 2012 and December 2012 to ascertain how the various parties carried out their advertisement in the newspapers. The analysis dwelt on the content of the advert to see whether they reflect the characteristics of the

target. Evidence from the analyses showed that almost all the adverts dwelt on the candidate's position with little emphasis on the other elements. However, considering the characteristics of the voter segments who patronize newspapers, these are people who will decipher every element in the advert and are disposed to analysing the policy position of these parties.

On this basis it can be said that almost none of the political parties in Ghana take the characteristics of the readers into consideration before designing adverts in the newspapers. This is in contravention of the brand architecture model, which stipulates that the characteristics of the voter must be put into consideration when designing any campaign advert. Again this departs from literature (Lees-Marshment, 2001) which notes that political parties must analyse the behaviour of the voter right from the beginning through to the end of the electoral cycle (but not just during an election/campaign) to fully understand the voter and know what would better satisfy their needs.



5.8 Analysis of Billboards

BB NO.	CONTENT DISCUSSION
BB1	A vivid perusal of the content of the billboard indicates that the advert dwelt more on the candidate and though bits of the party was capture it failed to give it prominence but predominantly emphasized the candidate
BB2	Again this billboard dwelt on the candidate; and although the background depicted the party colours, little emphasis was placed on it but rather the candidate was conspicuously emphasized
BB3	The billboard dwelt on the policy position of the party by boldly inscribing it on the billboard. The colours and logo of the party was seen in the background but more prominence was given to the policy position of the party
BB3	This billboard gave attention to the candidate and policy position of the party. Although the logo and colours of the party were used, little emphasis was placed on it. However, the policy and candidates were visibly projected.
BB4	This billboard gave attention to the candidate and policy position of the party. Although the logo and colours of the party were used, little emphasis was placed on it. However the policy and candidates were visibly projected.
BB5	Again this billboard dwelt on the candidate; and although the background depicted the party colours, little emphasis was placed on it but rather the candidate was conspicuously emphasized.
BB6	This billboard highlighted the candidate; and although the background depicted the party colours, little emphasis was placed on it but rather the candidate was conspicuously emphasized.
BB7	Also this billboard placed much attention on the candidate; and although the background depicted the party colours, little emphasis was placed on it but rather the candidate was conspicuously emphasized.

5.8.1 Discussion of Billboard Analysis

The analysis of the contents of the billboards shows that almost all the adverts on the billboards dwelt on the candidate as opposed to the other elements. So here again this is in contravention of the brand architecture model which states that the contents should take the characteristics of the voter into consideration when designing any campaign advert. Again this outcome departs from Mensah (2011) who argues that, in order not to end up dissatisfying the target voters, political parties must ensure that their campaigns messages and communication approach are couched in a way that effectively target each voter cohort with a respective brand element.

5.9 Quantitative Analysis

This section looks at the quantitative analysis of the data in relation to the objectives as well as the hypotheses set.

5.9.1 Descriptive and Correlation Analysis

From Table 5.1, political brand architecture management has a mean of 26.75 with a standard deviation of 8.05; effective resource allocation has a mean of 15.67 with a standard deviation of 5.20; and political party performance has a mean of 36.57 and a standard deviation of 7.14. No descriptive statistics was reported for age, gender, and education since they are dummy variables.

5.9.2 Correlation Analysis

A correlation analysis is performed to determine the relationship between the key variables. A correlation of .10 is described as a small effect size, a correlation of .30 is described as a medium effect size, and a correlation of .50 is described as a large effect

size (Cohen, 1988). By using a standard such as Cohen (1988), the relative strength of the correlation between variables can be reported with greater clarity.

As shown in Table 5.1, there is a significant positive relationship ($r = 0.50$) between political brand architecture management and effective resource allocation, but the relationship can be described as moderate based on Cohen's (1988) interpretation of correlation coefficient. Also, a significant positive relationship ($r = 0.15$) was found between political brand architecture management and political party performance, but the relationship is weak based on Cohen's (1988) interpretation of correlation coefficient. Furthermore, a significant negative relationship ($r = -0.19$) was found between political party performance and effective resource allocation.

Apart from effective resource allocation, age did not have any significant relationship with the rest of the variables. In addition, gender has a significant negative and positive relationship with political party performance, and age respectively. The relationship is however weak. No relationship was observed between gender and the rest of the variables. More so, education has a positive relationship with political party performance, and gender. No significant relationship was observed between political brand architecture management, effective resource allocation, and age.

Table 5.1: Descriptive Statistics and Correlation

Variables	Mean	S.D	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Political Brand Architecture. Mgt	26.75	8.05	1.00					
2. Effective Resource Allocation	15.67	5.20	0.50**	1.00				
3. Political Party Performance	36.57	7.14	0.15**	-0.19**	1.00			
4. Ageyouth	-	-	0.06	0.10*	0.08	1.00		
5. Gendermale	-	-	-0.10**	0.02	0.20**	0.01	1.00	
6. Educationtertiary	-	-0.06	0.04	0.10*	0.08	0.51**		1.00

*p<0.05, **p<0.01

N= 463

Source: Field Data, April 2015

Conditions for Controlling Variables in Regression Analysis

In order to control for a variable, it must have a significant correlation with the dependent variable. Based on the correlation matrix, the researcher controlled for only age when analysing the effect of PBAM on ERA in Model 1 in Table 5.2. This is because it has significant correlation with the outcome variable (ERA). Also, when analysing the effect of PBAM on PPP, gender was controlled for in Model 1 in Table 5.3, since it has a significant correlation with the outcome variable (PPP). Education did not have any significant correlation with any of the dependent variables, and as a result was not controlled for in any of the models.

H01: PBAM has no significant effect on ERA.

From Table 5.2, political brand architecture management has a significant positive effect on effective resource allocation in Model 2 (b = 0.32, p< 0.05). This

means that a 1% improvement in PBAM, allocation of resources will be 32% more effective. The study controlled for age in Model 1. The result in Model 1 with control variables also showed that PBAM has significant and positive effect on effective resource allocation ($b = 0.32$, $p < 0.05$). This implies that when PBAM improves by 1%, allocation of resources will be 32% more effective. The coefficient of determination (R^2) showed that political brand architecture management explained only 26% and 25% variations in effective resource allocation in Model 1 and Model 2 respectively. The F-statistics also showed that the two models are significant.

This implies that, if political parties effectively manage the political brand architecture (i.e. order and rearrange the political brand elements) in a way that reflects and satisfies the unique characteristics of the voter, it will lead towards effective resource allocation and avert an issue of mis-targeting or side-stepping the elements. This outcome is consistent with extant literature (Kapferer, 2012; Keller, 2012) which argues that, due to the potent influence of brand architecture which is basically about rearranging and assigning roles to brands (political brands) in a portfolio, an effective reordering of these elements will inure to a more comprehensive allocation of resources.

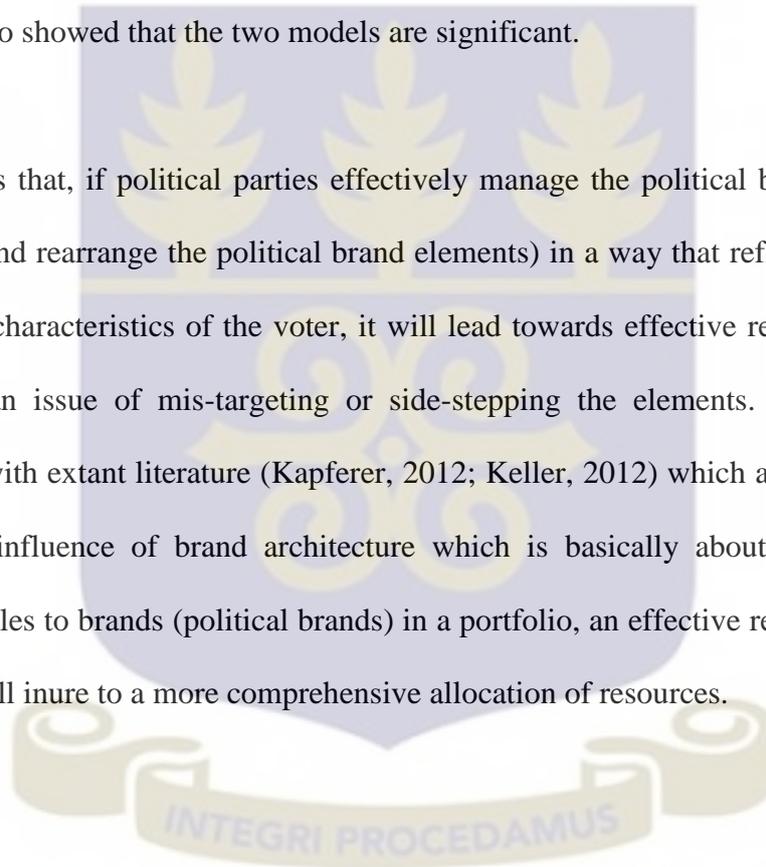


Table 5.2: Linear Regression of the Effect of PBAM and ERA

	<u>Effective Resource Allocations</u>	
	Model 1	Model2
Constant	7.04**	6.04**
Ageyouth	6.78	-
Political Brand Architecture Management	0.32**	0.32**
R ²	0.26	0.25
<i>F-test</i>	78.53**	153.13**

*p<0.05, **p<0.01 N= 463

Source: Field Data, April 2015

H02: PBAM has no significant effect on political party performance.

In Model 2 of Table 5.3, PBAM has a significant positive effect on political party performance ($b = 0.13$, $p < 0.05$). This means that if PBAM improves by 1%, performance of political parties will also improve by 13%. Also, in Model 1 in which with control variables were included, PBAM has a significant positive effect on political party performance ($b = 0.15$, $p < 0.05$). This suggests that when PBAM improves by 1%, performance a political party will improve by 15%. The coefficient of determination (R^2) showed that PBAM explained 2% and 7% variations in Political Party Performance in Model 2 and Model 1 respectively. The F-test showed that the model is jointly significant.

The result implies that if political parties do due diligence in managing the roles of the political brand elements and arrange them to suit the characteristics of the target voter, it will inure to effective targeting and that will yield an enhanced political party performance. This outcome aligns itself with Mensah (2011) and Blondel (1974) who note that political parties need to consistently manage and stress on the political brand

elements that have the likelihood of satisfying the different political stakeholders in the market to ensure electoral victory.

Table 5.3: Linear Regression of the Effect of PBAM on Political Party Performance

	<u>Political Party Performance</u>	
	Model 1	Model2
Constant	30.23**	33.05**
Gendermale	3.56**	-
Political Brand Architecture Management	0.15**	0.13**
R ²	0.07	0.02
<i>F-test</i>	16.87**	10.37**

*p<0.05, **p<0.01 N= 463

Source: Field Data, April 2015

5.10 Mediation Analysis

H03: ERA will not mediate the effect of PBAM on PPP

The mediation analysis was done using Baron and Kenny's (1986) Causal Effect Model, which suggested that mediation is tested through three regression models:

1. A regression predicting the outcome variable from the predictor variable (Model 1).
2. A regression predicting the mediator from the predictor variable (Model 2).
3. A regression predicting the outcome variable from both the predictor and the mediator variables (Model 3).

These models test the four conditions of mediation.

- i. The predictor variable must significantly predict the outcome variable in Model 1;
- ii. The predictor variable must significantly predict the mediator in Model 2;
- iii. The mediator must significantly predict the outcome variable in Model 2; and

- iv. The predictor variable must predict the outcome variable less strongly in Model 3 than in Model 1.

In Table 5.4, PBAM significantly predict the outcome variable (PPP) in Model 1 ($b = 0.13, p < 0.05$) and the mediator variable (ERA) in Model 2 ($b = 0.32, p < 0.05$). Also, the mediator (ERA) significantly predict the outcome variable in Model 3 ($b = -0.49, p < 0.05$), but the predictor variable (PBAM) significantly predict the outcome variable (PPP) ($b = 0.29, p < 0.05$) *more* in contrast to the fourth condition which says the predictor should significantly predict the outcome variable less in Model 3 than in Model 1.

Since only three conditions out of the four were met, it follows that ERA did not mediate the relationship between PBAM and PPP. The implication therefore is that, although effective resource allocation is key in predicting political performance, it cannot mediate the relationship between political brand architecture management and political party performance.

Table 5.4: Linear Regression of the Effect of PBAM on Political Party Performance

	<u>PPP</u>	<u>ERA</u>	<u>PPP</u>
	Model 1	Model 2	
Model 3			
Constant	33.05	7.04	36.48
Political Brand Architecture Management	0.13**	0.32**	0.29**
Effective Resource Allocations (ERA)	-	-	-
0.49**			

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ N = 463

Source: Field Data, April 2015

5.11 Moderation Effect

H04: Social factors will not moderate the relationship between PBAM and PPP.

Testing Baron and Kenny's (1986) Condition for Moderation

According to Baron and Kenny (1986), for a researcher to proceed to test for moderating effect of a variable on the relationship between a dependent and independent variable, the following conditions must exist:

1. There must be a significant correlation between the independent variable and the dependent variable;
2. There must be a significant correlation between the moderator and the dependent variable; and
3. There must be a significant correlation between the moderator and independent variable.

The correlation matrix illustrated on Table 5.5 was used to investigate the above conditions of moderation analysis. Based on the above conditions, social (centred) satisfied all the above conditions; technology (centred) did not satisfy the third condition; cultural (centred) did not satisfy the second condition; and finally, economic (centred) did not also satisfy the second condition. Thus, only social (centred) satisfied all the conditions for a moderating variable.

NB. In moderation analysis, the product of the centred independent and the centred moderator are regressed on the dependent variable. Centred, which is the difference of the individual scores and mean for each of the variables (i.e. independent and the

moderator), is calculated for control for multicollinearity (which occurs when two independent variables are highly correlated).

In Table 5.6, the result showed that social issues positively moderate the relationship between political brand architecture management and political party performance ($b=0.13$, $p<0.05$). The implication is that social issues or factors in a particular setting has an impact on the success or otherwise of any political party. This means that political parties must ensure that all their activities accede to the social and acceptable norms in the political society. This outcome is consistent with Ginsborg (2003) who contends that social issues and factors have tremendous impact on the success of every political regime. Again, the outcome goes a long way to confirm the social contract that political parties have with the citizens.

Table 5.5: Testing Baron and Kenny's (1986) Condition for Moderation

	1.	2.	3.	4	5.	6.
1. PPP	1.00					
2. PBAM (Centred)	0.15**	1.00				
3. Socialyes (Centred)	-0.37**	-0.14**	1.00			
4. Technologyes (Centred)	-0.20**	-0.07	0.26**	1.00		
5. Cultureyes (Centred)	-0.07	0.12**	0.33**	0.06	1.00	
6. Economicyes (Centred)	-0.14**	0.06	0.18**	0.43**	0.04**	1.00

* $p<0.05$, ** $p<0.01$ N= 463

Source: Field Data, April 2015

Table 5.6: Moderation Effect of Social Factors on the Influence of Political Brand Architecture Management on Political Party Performance (PPP)

	PPP Model 1	PPP Model2	PPP Model3
PBAM (Centred)	0.15**	-	0.12**
Socialyes (Centred)	-	-0.37**	-0.36**
PBAM (X) Socialyes			0.13**

*p<0.05, **p<0.01 N= 463

Note the following coding:

Gendermale: (1=Male, 0 otherwise)

Ageyouth: (1=Youth, 0 otherwise)

Educationtertiary: (1=Tertiary level of participants education, 0 otherwise)

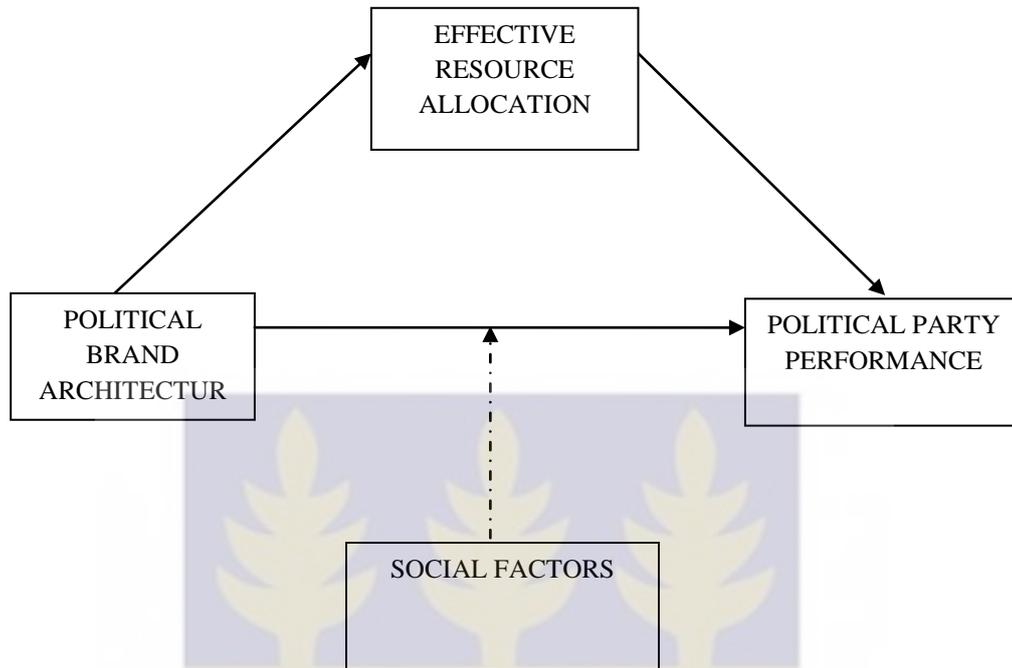
Socialyes: (1= Yes if social factors will affect party performance, 0= otherwise)

Technologicalyes: (1= Yes if technological factors will affect party performance, 0 otherwise)

Culturalyes: (1= Yes if cultural factors will affect party performance, 0 otherwise)

Economicyes: (1= Yes if economic factors will affect party performance, 0 otherwise).

NB.2: Also, the presentation style of the regression results is the new recommended style, and can be found on page 144 of 6th edition of APA (the latest edition).

Fig 2: Post-Analysis Framework

Source: Adapted from Mensah (2011)

Discussion

After the multiple regression analysis was used to test and validate the hypothesis, political brand architecture management had a significant and positive direct relationship with political party performance. This means that, if political parties effectively manage their political brand elements, it will enhance their party performances. Again, political brand architecture management had a significant positive relationship with effective resource allocation. This again implies that political parties will be able to effectively allocate resources if they successfully manage the brand architecture. This is consistent with Mensah (2011) who argues that, in order not to end up dissatisfying the target voters, political parties must ensure that their campaign messages and communications approach are couched in a way that effectively target each voter cohort with a respective brand element.

Further effective resource allocation had a significant positive relationship with political party performance. The implication is that political parties will enhance their performance if they effectively allocate political campaign resources. In literature, this is in consonance with Panagopoulos (2009) who argues that contemporary political parties are predisposed to using the resources effectively to fulfil electoral, as against policy, ends.

The essence is that if resources are allocated effectively, it will outweigh any other normative consideration and lead to an enhanced electoral performance. Finally, social issues moderated the relationship between political brand architecture management and political party performance. This implies that political parties must be wary of the political society when they are designing their products and policies. This thesis therefore proposes the Political Brand Architecture Management and Resource Allocation model to serve as a strategic framework to guide political parties in their strategy formulation, campaign design decision-making as well as political resource allocation.



CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

The preceding chapter presented the results of the data analysis as well as the discussion of the respective results obtained through the testing of the study's hypotheses. This chapter concludes the study by presenting a summary of the study, conclusions drawn in relation to the objectives of the study, an overall conclusion based on findings and a discussion of the implications, limitations and recommendations for future research.

6.1 Summary

The study set out to examine a mechanism through which political parties' management of the political brand architecture translates into effective resource allocation and political party performance while accounting for the influence of other factors.

To achieve the broad aim of the study, the study focused on examining the effect of political brand architecture management on effective resource allocation, the effect of effective resources allocation on political party performance and the interrelationship among political brand architecture management, effective resource allocation and political party performance.

After an extensive review of literature, development of appropriate hypotheses and a discussion of the context of the study, the study employed interviews and questionnaires to collect data from four political parties and 463 registered voters drawn from five selected constituencies in the Greater Accra Region. The constructs employed in the study were validated while the relationships among the constructs were estimated using a

multiple regression model. The findings of the study provide support for the fact that political brand architecture management directly affect effective resource allocation and political party performance. An effect across voter demography was controlled and found to be significant.

6.2 Major findings

This section briefly discusses the findings in relation to the specific objectives of the study.

6.2.1 Objective 1

The first objective of the study was to analyse the extent of adoption of brand architecture by political parties in Ghana. This objective was achieved through focus interviews with four national executives of the four selected political parties to ascertain the extent to which they use brand architecture and how it helps them to strategically allocate resources. The findings from the interviews suggest that most political parties agree to the fact that political brand architecture management is key in effectively allocating political resource. Additionally, with the right structures in place, effective resource allocation will lead to political party performance. However, the nature of the responses across all the four political parties, showed that their adoption of the political brand architecture model is minimal and as a result, there is no scientific approach by which they allocate campaign resources.

6.2.2 Objective 2

The second specific objective was to examine the effect of political brand architecture management on effective resource allocation. The study achieved this by examining the

estimated relationship between political brand architecture management and effective resource allocation within the multiple regression model. The correlation result showed that political brand architecture management (PBAM) has a significant positive but moderate relation with effective resource allocation (ERA). Also, the regression results showed that PBAM has a significant positive effect on ERA. This thesis therefore posits that political brand architecture management has a role to play in effective resource allocation by political parties.

6.2.3 Objective 3

The third objective of the study was to examine the effect of political brand architecture management on political party performance. The study relied on the review of literature to test a hypothesis on the effect of political brand architecture management on political party performance. The correlation results showed that political brand architecture management has a significant, positive but weak relation with political party performance (PPP). Also, the regression results showed that political brand architecture management has a significant positive effect on PPP. This thesis can therefore posit that effective management of the political brand architecture leads to an enhanced political party performance.

6.2.4 Objective 4

The fourth objective was to examine the mediating effect of effective resource allocation on the relationship between political brand architecture management and political party performance. The study relied on literature to test a hypothesis of a possible mediating effect of effective resource allocation on the relationship between political brand architecture management and political party performance. However, the regression

results showed that effective resource allocation did not mediate the relationship between political brand architecture management and political party performance. This thesis can therefore posit that, although effective resource allocation has a significant and positive effect on political party performance it cannot mediate the relationship between political brand architecture management and political party performance.

6.2.5 Objective 5

The fifth objective was to examine the influence of social, economic technological and cultural factors on the relationship between political brand architecture management and political party performance. In the context of the established negative or insignificant mediating effect of effective resource allocation on the relationship between political brand architecture and political party performance, the study proceeded to examine the possible moderation effect of social, economic, technological and cultural factors on the relationship between political brand architecture management and political party performance by conducting moderation analysis. The results showed that social issues, among the rest, moderate the relationship between political brand architecture management and political party performance. Based on this, this thesis can conveniently posit that the effect of political brand architecture management on political party performance depends on social factors or in the political society in which the party finds itself.

6.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, evidence from the discussed results of the study reveal that political parties in Ghana appreciate the strategic role that political brand architecture management plays in effective resource allocation and political party performance

respectively. However, their level of adoption and utilization of the brand architecture model is inadequate and, as such, have not been able to effectively allocate resources over the years.

From the foregoing, the study reveals that political parties' embrace of political brand architecture management enables them to allocate campaign resources effectively and this effective resource allocation helps enhance their political performance. Additionally to the above, the relationship of political brand architecture management and political party performance is not significantly affected by economic, cultural and technological issues but is, however, affected by the social factors or the political society in which the political party finds itself. Political parties must therefore try to ensure that their activities and actions are relevant to the society in which they find themselves and must consciously try to tap into the emotional capital of the voters in the society and the nation at large.

6.4 Recommendations

This section presents some recommendations based on the outcome of the research.

In the first instance, political parties must embrace the brand architecture framework in their branding activities.

Furthermore, political parties must allocate their campaign resources (financial/human/material) based on the brand architecture model.

More so, before undertaking any political/campaign activity, political parties must take the political society and the social norms/setting into consideration.

To add to the above, political parties must engage political marketing strategists to guide them in their strategy formulation.

6.5 Future Research Directions

Future studies can investigate the interaction effects of various individual factors in predicting or moderating political party performance.

Furthermore, given that the regression model did not account for all of the variance in the model, future studies could include other factors that may be more related to politics in a bid to account for more of the changes in political party performance.

Meanwhile, future studies can also attempt to measure actual effect of PBAM rather than focus on the measure of perceptual response.

Also, future research can use a wider sample; say all the political parties as well as all regions in Ghana.

6.6 Limitations of the Rresearch

The first major limitation was that the study was limited to five constituencies in the Greater Accra Region.

Again, only four political parties were sampled for the study.

Also, the sample size of selected voters was only five hundred (500).

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE



RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA BUSINESS SCHOOL

DEPARTMENT OF MARKETING AND CUSTOMER MANAGEMENT

The researcher is a Master of Philosophy (MPhil) marketing student at the University of Ghana Business School, Accra. The researcher seeks to examine Political Brand Architecture Management: A Resource Allocation Perspective in Ghana. This is in partial fulfilment of requirements leading to the award of a master of philosophy degree in marketing. Information provided for the purposes of this research will be treated with utmost confidentiality and used only for academic purposes. Please take a few minutes to fill out this questionnaire.

Part 1

Q1. Are you a registered voter?

- ❖ Yes
- ❖ No

Q2. Gender: Please indicate your gender below

- ❖ Male
- ❖ Female

Q3. Age: Please indicate your age below

- ❖ 18 – 28
- ❖ 29 – 39
- ❖ 40 – 50
- ❖ 51 – 61
- ❖ 62 – 72
- ❖ 73 – 83
- ❖ 84 – 94

Q4. Education: what is your highest level of school completed? If currently enrolled, highest qualification received.

- ❖ No schooling received
- ❖ Basic Education Certificate
- ❖ Senior High School Certificate
- ❖ Trade/ Technical/Vocational Certificate
- ❖ Diploma
- ❖ Professional Certificate
- ❖ Bachelor's Degree
- ❖ Master's Degree
- ❖ Doctorate Degree

Q5. Employment Status: Are you currently employed?

- ❖ Yes
- ❖ No

Q6. Where do you stay?

Q7. At what age did you first vote?

- ❖ 18 – 28
- ❖ 29 – 39

- ❖ 40 – 50
- ❖ 51 – 61
- ❖ 62 – 72
- ❖ 73 – 83
- ❖ 84 – 94

Q8. Which of these three elements did you notice the most during the 2012 campaign?

- ❖ Party
- ❖ Candidate
- ❖ Policy

Q9. What would influence your political choice in any elections?

- ❖ Party
- ❖ Candidate
- ❖ Policy
- ❖ Friends
- ❖ Family
- ❖ Advertisement
- ❖ Ideological Belief
- ❖ Others

Q10. In your view which of the political parties in Ghana really projects/promotes its brand elements (candidate, policy, party) very well?

- ❖ NPP
- ❖ NDC
- ❖ PPP
- ❖ CPP
- ❖ PNC

Q11. Which of these elements (candidate, policy, party) do you see on most of the billboards and posters in your area?

- ❖ Candidate
- ❖ Party
- ❖ Policy

Q12. Although political parties allocate resources effectively, the voter's lifestyle can affect the electoral outcome

Yes No Not sure

Q13. Peer influence can affect the outcome of the elections although the political party allocates resources effectively

Yes No Not sure

Q14. Technological issues like the energy crises can substantially affect the outcome of an election even if political parties allocate resources effectively

Yes No Not sure

Q15. Political parties' adoption of technology substantially affects their electoral performance

Yes No

Others

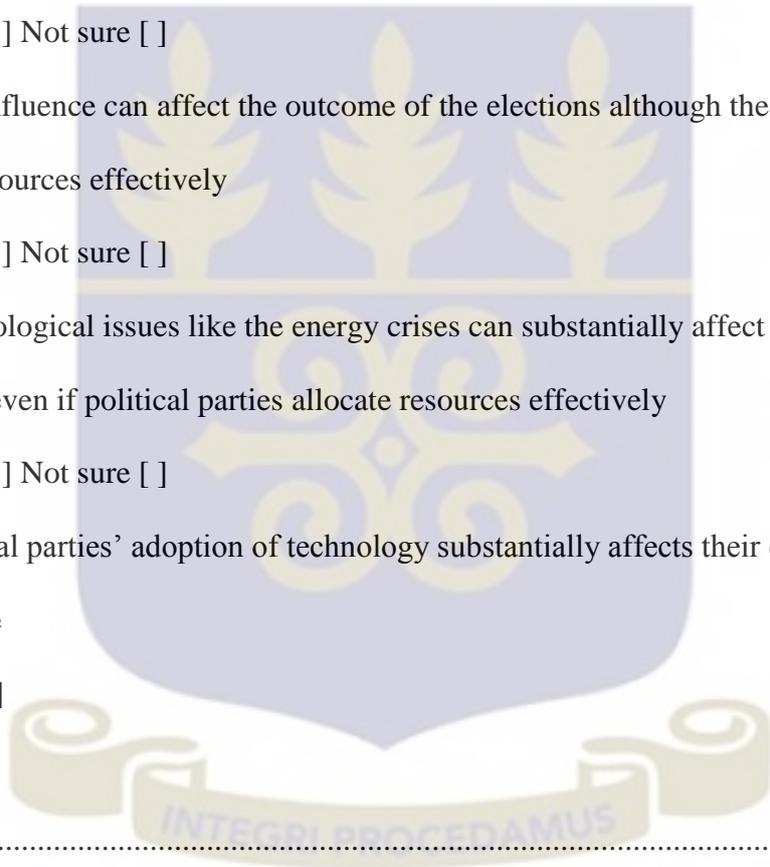
specify.....

Q16. The heightened level of competition can substantially impact upon the performance of a party even if they allocate resources effectively

Yes No

Others,

specify.....



Q18. The heightened level of competition has compelled political parties to allocate resources effectively

Yes [] No []

Others

specify.....

Q19. The cultural orientation of voters greatly impact on election outcomes even if resources are allocated effectively

Yes [] No []

Others,

specify.....

Q19. People make electoral decisions based on cultural issues

Yes [] No []

Others

specify.....

Q20. Even if political resources are allocated effectively, the economic conditions of the nation impacts on the performance of a party

Yes [] No []

Others,

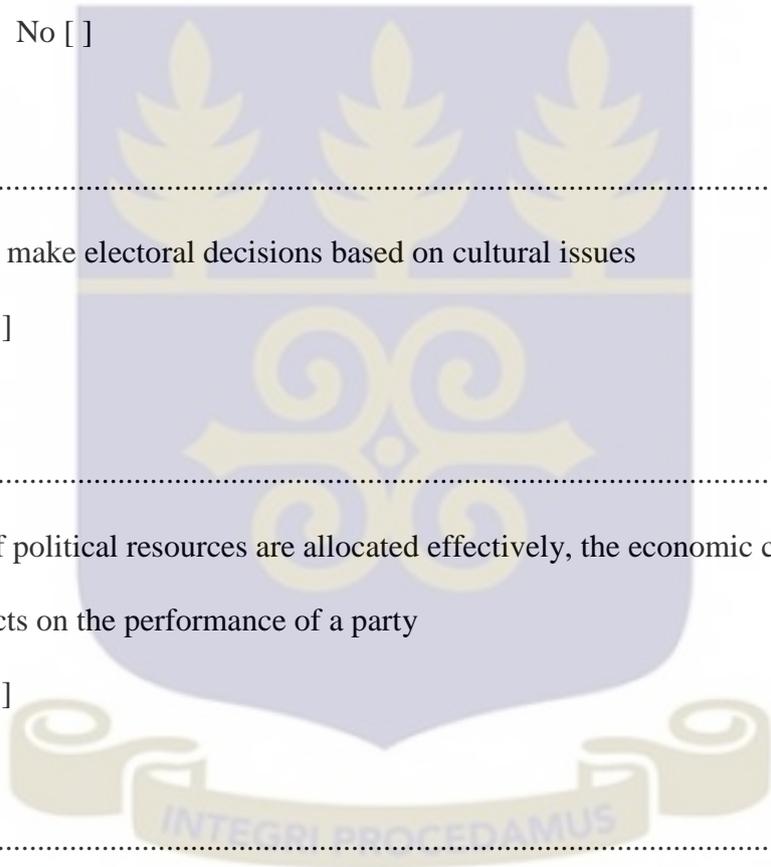
specify.....

Q21. Political party performance does not depend on economic conditions in the county

Yes [] No []

Others,

specify.....



PART 2

Rank the following statements on a scale of 1- 5 with 1 being strongly disagree and 5 being strongly agree by ticking the appropriate box

Key – Strongly Agree=SD, Disagree=D, Neutral=N, Agree=A and Strongly Agree=SA

SD=1, D=2, N=3, A=4, SA=5

No.	Statement	SD 1	D 2	N 3	A 4	SA 5
POLITICAL BRAND ARCHITECTURE MANAGEMENT						
Q22	Political parties in Ghana really understand the voter?					
Q23	Political parties in Ghana constantly interact with voters to understand their needs					
Q24	Political parties do well in promoting their policy attributes					
Q25	Political parties do well in promoting their party attributes					
Q26	Political parties do well in promoting their candidate attributes					
Q27	The NDC won the 2012 election because they effectively projected the brand elements to meet the characteristics of the voter					
Q28	Political parties spend more resources on meeting the specific needs of the voter					
Q29	Political parties are dynamic and easily adapt to the changing voter characteristics					
Q30	I can easily identify myself with a political party because they highlight my needs					
Q31	I think political parties do well in distinguishing and differentiating themselves from each other					
EFFECTIVE RESOURCE ALLOCATION						
Q32	Political parties consider the characteristics of the voter before allocating resources					
Q33	Political parties conduct research to know where to allocate resources					
Q34	Political parties always have the voter in mind when allocating resources					
Q35	Political parties make good use of their campaign budgets					
Q36	I think political parties really understand allocating resources					
Q37	There is a fair allocation of resources towards the three elements					
Q38	There is equal representation of the brand elements in all campaign adverts					
POLITICAL PARTY PERFORMANCE						
Q39	Effective allocation of resources leads to an increase in electoral votes					

Q40	Political parties increase their visibility when they allocate resources effectively					
Q41	I will associate myself with a party that satisfies my needs					
Q42	The name of a political party that addresses my needs easily pops up when I hear about politics					
Q43	I will be loyal to my party because it has me at heart					
Q44	NDC won the 2012 elections because they allocated resources appropriately					
Q45	NPP lost the 2012 election because they did not allocate resources appropriately					
Q46	CPP lost the 2012 election because they did not allocate resources appropriately					
Q47	PPP lost the 2012 elections because they did not allocate resources appropriately					



APPENDIX 2

PROFILES OF DATA SOURCES

Table A1.1 Profile of the interviewees - Party Respondents (PR)

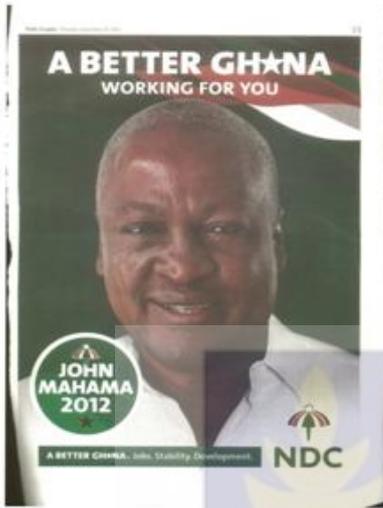
Interviewee Code	Profile
PR-1	Is a lecturer by profession and has been one of the leading figures of the NPP since 1992. He is currently the Director of Research and International Affairs at the NPP headquarters.
PR-2	Is a leading figure in the NDC. He has risen through the ranks from constituency, regional and now up to the national level. He is currently the Director of Communication of the NDC
PR-3	Is a stalwart of the CPP. Having worked successfully as a marketing professional, he brings on board solid experience and expertise to the course of the CPP. He is currently the acting Head of Administration at the Headquarters of the CPP
PR-4	Is a leading member of the PPP. He is instrumental in most strategic activities of the PPP. Currently he is the national secretary of the PPP

Profile of selected the Media (Newspaper selected)

The Daily Graphic is one of the state-owned national newspapers. It has a circulation of more than 200,000. The paper has offices in all the 10 regional capitals in Ghana and is issued all through the country, including most rural areas. It is seen to be the most flourishing news organization in Ghana with significant marketing revenue along with official state subsidies. It claims to follow a 'political neutrality' policy and this is one basic reason why it was selected for this study.

APPENDIX 3

PRESS CUTTINGS



AD1



AD2

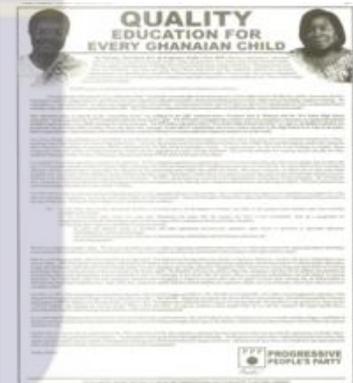


AD3



AD4

AD5



AD6





AD7



AD8



AD9



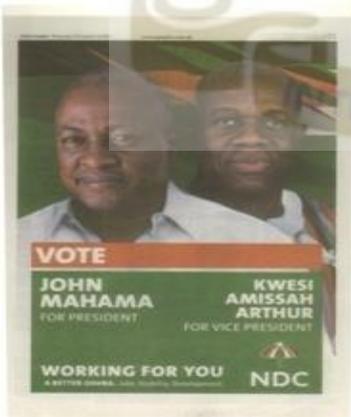
AD10



AD11



AD12



AD13

APPENDIX 4

BILLBOARDS



BB1



BB2



BB3



BB4



BB5



BB6



BB7