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THE POLITICS OF PRIMARY ELECTIONS IN GHANA: A STUDY OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS' PARLIAMENTARY PRIMARIES IN THE UPPER WEST REGION FROM 2003-2015

BY

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THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSIYT OF GHANA, LEGON IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF PH.D IN POLITICAL SCIENCE DEGREE.

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

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DECLARATION

I, Arah Lobnibe Mathew, declare that this thesis is the result of my original research, except for references to other works, which have been duly acknowledged. I am solely responsible for the authorship, errors or omissions that might appear in this thesis. I also declare that no part of this work has been published as part of the requirement for any degree in any university.

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this work was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of thesis as laid down by the University of Ghana, Legon.

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ABSTRACT

In Ghana, parliamentary primaries are so topical and keenly contested for in a party's strongholds. This is because, the chances of becoming a Member of Parliament (MP) are very high after wining the primaries and so primaries are the real elections in those areas. For this reason, contestants especially sitting MPs would employ all manner of tactics in order to outwit their opponents. This thesis therefore examines the sort of politics that goes on in the National Democratic Congress' (NDC) parliamentary primaries in the Upper West Region. The study uses "A theory of political parties: groups, policy demands and nomination", and the Alternative theory for the use of primary elections in new democracies as the theoretical foundation. The views of three hundred and ninety-eight (398) respondents were sought by the use of a survey questionnaire, and elite interviews conducted for twenty-seven (27) specially selected NDC members. After the analysis of the data, the study argues that the actual contest in the parliamentary primaries starts with parliamentary hopefuls influencing the selection of constituency executives, which precede the parliamentary primaries. This is in view of the crucial role these executives' play as to who wins primaries in each constituency. Secondly, from 2003-2007, many sitting MPs went unopposed based on three reasons; fist, many NDC members were not politically enlightened to contest for the post. Secondly, the NDC was in opposion and so new entrants could not marshall the necessary resources to challenge sitting MPs.Thirdly, party officials coluded wih sitting MPs to appealed to new entrants to step down for the future and for party unity. More importantly, the administrative processes governing the primaries were highly flawed to give undue advantage to certain candidates, as the entire process was fraught with favouritism, intimidation, bribry and vote buying. Additionally, it was noticed that incumbency served as an advantage to especially sitting MPs, but party endorsement of candidates did not inure to the advantage of either the candidate or the party as a whole. Lastly, women participation in parliamentary primaries was low because of societal odds that militate against their participation in politics. The study therefore recommended reforms to creat a level playing field for all and to enticse more women into politics. This should be done to match the name the National democratic Congress.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the memory of my late father Danyaare Arah, under whose discipline and upbringing I got to this level. I also dedicate this thesis to my lovely children; Nuogar Arah, Yellville Arah, Mwinnoma Arah, and Mwingu Lobnibe Arah. My prayer is that they strive to achieve higher heights in life.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION i

DEDICATION iii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT iv

LIST OF TABLES xi

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYM xiv

CHAPTER ONE 1

INTRODUCTION 1

1.0 BACKGROUND 1

1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT 3

1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY 4

1.2.1 Specific Objectives 5

1.3 THE CENTRAL ARGUMENTS OR ASSUMPTIONS OF THE STUDY 6

1.4 CONTRIBUTION OR SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY 7

1.5 OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS AND CONCEPTS 9

1.6 BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF NDC PARLIAMENTARY PRIMARIES IN THE UPPER WEST REGION, FROM 1992 TO 2015 10

1.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY 18

1.8 CHAPTER ORGANIZATION OF THIS STUDY 19

LITERATURE REVIEW 20

2.0 INTRODUCTION 20

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW AND ITS PURPOSE 20

2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW ON THE CONCEPT OF POLITICS 21

2.3 PRIMARY ELECTIONS IN DEMOCRACIES OUTSIDE AFRICA 26

2.4 PRIMARY ELECTIONS IN DEMOCRACIES IN AFRICA 61

2.5 CONCLUSION 73

CHAPTER THREE 74

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 74

3.0 INTRODUCTION 74

3.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 74

3.1.1 A theory of Political Parties: groups, policy demands and nominations in American politics 75

3.1.2 Strength and Weaknesses ofA theory of Political Parties: groups, policy demands and nominations in American politics 77

3.1.3 Alternative Theory for the use of ParliamentaryElection in New Democracies 79

3.1.4 Applicability of the Theories to the Study 82

3.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS 84

3.3 CONCLUSIONS 85

METHODLOGY AND METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS 86

4.0 INTRODUCTION 86

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

4.1 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE CHOICE OF NDC PARLIAMENTARY PRIMARIES IN UPPER WEST REGION FROM 2003 - 2015 87

4.2 PHILOSOPHY UPON WHICH THE METHODOLOGY OF THIS STUDY IS ANCHORED 89

4.2.1 Introduction 89

4.2.2 Pragmatism 89

4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN 92

4.3.1 Sources of Data 94

4.3.2 Data Collection Methods 95

4.3.3 Research Population 95

4.3.4 Target Population 96

4.3.5 Sampling Techniques 96

4.3.6 Sampling Size 101

4.3.7 Selection Criteria and Justification 103

4.3.8 Data Collection Instruments 105

4.3.9 Methods of Data Analysis 106

3.4.0 109

4.4 LIMITATION AND CHALLENGES 110

4.5 FIELD WORK 111

4.6 CONCLUSION 111

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

CHAPTER FIVE 113

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS 113

5.0 INTRODUCTION 113

5.1 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTIC OF RESPONDENTS 114

5.2 NAMES OF CONSTITUENCIES STUDIED 120

5.3 YEARS PARTICIPATED AS NDC DELEGATE 121

5.4 WHY THERE WERE NO SERIOUS PARLIAMENTARY PRIMARIES IN MOST CONSTITUENCIES OF THE UPPER WEST REGION FROM 2003-2007 122

5.5 THE CANDIDATES: BRIEF SOCIAL PROFILE OF CONTESTANTS 133

5.5.1 Contestants in Daffiama/ Bussie/Issa (DBI) 133

5.5.2 Contestants in Jirapa 136

5.5.3 Contestants in Lambussie-Karni 139

5.5.4 Contestants in Lawra 142

5.5.5 Contestantants in Nadowli/Kaleo 143

5.5.6 Contestants in Nandom 145

5.5.7 Contestants in Sissala East 147

5.5.8 Contestants in Sissala West 150

5.5.9 Contestants in Wa Central 151

5.5.10 Contestants in Wa East 154

5.5.11 Contestants in Wa west 157

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

5.6 STAKE HOLDERS/ INTERESTED PARTIES, SUPPORT BASE AND ROLES PLAYED BY SUPPORTERS TO INFLUENCE THE SELECTION OF CANDIDATES 164

5.7 THE ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESSES: HOW RIGHT OR WRONG WERE THEY ? 193

5.8 THE USE OF MONEY, ETHNICITY /RELIGION /CLAN AND TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES IN PRIMARIES AND THEIR EFFECTS ON GHANA'S DEMOCRACY 208

5.9 FALL OUT FROM THE 2011 AND 2015, MOST ESPECIALLY THE 2015 PARLIAMENTRY PRIMAPIES AND THEIR EFFECTS ON THE NDC IN THE UWR 212

5.10 CONCLUSION 220

CHAPTER SIX 221

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS 221

6.0 INTRODUCTION 221

6.1 THE CALIBER/QUALITY OF CANDIDATES WHO CONTESTED THE NDC PRIMARIES FROM 2003-2015 IN THE UPPER WEST REGION 227

6.2 STAKEHOLDERS, SUPPORTERS AND ROLE PLAYED TO INFLUENCE THE SELECTION OF CANDIDATES. 230

6.3 THE ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESSES – HOW RIGHT OR WRONG WERE THEY. 247

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

6.4 THE EFFECTSOF MONEY ETHNICITY, RELIGION AND CHIEFTAINCY IN PRIMARIES ON GHANAS DEMOCRACY 250

6.5 FALLOUTS FROM THE NDC 2011 AND 2015 PARLIAMENTARY PRIMARIES IN THE UPPER WEST REGION 251

6.6 CONCLUSION 255

CHAPTER SEVEN 256

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMEDATIONS 256

7.0 INTRODUCTION 256

7.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS 257

7.2 CONCLUSIONS 262

7.3 RECOMMEDATIONS 264

7.3.1 Policy Recommendations 264

BIBLIOGRAPHY 267

APPENDIX A 297

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 4. 1 RESEARCH DESIGN 93

TABLE 4. 2 CONSTITUENCY BREAK DOWN OF SAMPLE SIZE 103

TABLE 5. 1 SEX OF RESPONDENTS 114

TABLE 5. 2 AGE OF RESPONDENTS 115

TABLE 5. 3 RELIGIONS OF RESPONDENTS 116

TABLE 5. 4 LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF RESPONDENT 117

TABLE 5. 5 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS 118

TABLE 5. 6 INCOME LEVELS OF RESPONDENTS 119

TABLE 5. 7 NAMES OF CONSTITUENCIES 120

TABLE 5. 8 YEARS PARTICIPATED AS DELEGATE 121

TABLE 5. 9 NO ATTRACTION FOR PRIMARIES IN 2003 & 2007 BECAUSE PARTY WAS IN OPPOSITION 124

TABLE 5. 10 THOSE INTERESTED WERE PREVAILED UPON TO STEP DOWN. 126

TABLE 5. 11 THOSE INTERESTED WERE INTIMIDATED. 128

TABLE 5. 12 OTHER REASONS FOR NO PRIMARIES IN 2003-2007 129

TABLE 5. 13 HIGH ACADEMIC QUALIFICATION AND SUCCESS IN PARLIAMENT 159

TABLE 5. 14 CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND SUCCESS IN PARLIAMENT ... 161

TABLE 5. 15 SERVICE TO PARTY AND CANDIDATE SUCCESS IN PRIMARIES. 162

TABLE 5. 16 MORAL INTEGRITY AND SUCCESS AS PARLIAMENTARY ASPIRANT 163

TABLE 5. 17 PARTY EXECUTIVES AS STAKEHOLDER IN PRIMARIES 165

TABLE 5. 18 RELIGIOUS, CLAN/ETHNIC/TRIBE AS STAKEHOLDERS IN PRIMARIES 166

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

TABLE 5. 19 TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES AS INTERESTED PARTIES. 168

TABLE 5. 20 CAMPS AS INTERESTED PARTIES 170

TABLE 5. 21 OPPOSITION AS INTERESTED STAKEHOLDERS 172

TABLE 5. 22 PARTY EXECUTIVES MANIPULATE THE SYSTEM TO SELECT SOME CANDIDATES 177

TABLE 5. 23 RELIGIOUS, ETHNIC & CLAN APPEALS 180

TABLE 5. 24 INFLUENCE OF TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES ON PRIMARIES 182

TABLE 5. 25 INFLUENCE OF BUSINESSMEN ON PRIMARIES 183

TABLE 5. 26 CAMPS WITHIN THE PARTY SUPPORT CANDIDATES. 186

TABLE 5. 27 OPPOSITION INFLUENCE ON THE SELECTION OF WEAKER CANDIDATES 187

TABLE 5. 28 COMPETENCE INFLUENCED DELEGATES CHOICE 189

TABLE 5. 29 PARTY'S CHOICE INFLUENCED DELEGATES 190

TABLE 5. 30 TRADITIONAL APPEAL INFLUENCED DELEGATES' CHOICE 191

TABLE 5. 31 MATERIAL REWARDS INFLUENCED DELEGATES' CHOICE 192

TABLE 5. 32 HOW FAIR EXECUTIVES WERE TO CANDIDATES. 195

TABLE 5. 33 IF EXECUTIVE WERE FAIR, KINDLY EXPLAIN. 196

TABLE 5. 34 PARTY EXECUTIVES SUPPORTED SOME CANDIDATES AGAINST OTHERS. 198

TABLE 5. 35 PARTY EXECUTIVES WATCHED CONTESTANTS ENTICE DELEGATES WITH GIFTS. 199

TABLE 5. 36 MORE REGISTRATION MATERIALS TO SOME MORE THAN OTHER AREAS. 201

TABLE 5. 37 NON- PARTY MEMBERS NAMES ON THE REGISTER 203

TABLE 5. 38 AWARENESS OF CONTESTANTS CONTRIBUTING MORE TO ORGANIZE PRIMARIES. 206

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TABLE 5. 39 RICHER CANDIDATE MANIPULATE SYSTEM TO THEIR ADVANTAGE..... 207

TABLE 5. 40 USE OF MONEY AND ETHNICITY LEADS TO INCOMPETENT MPS ELECTED. 209

TABLE 5. 41 USE OF MONEY& ETHNICITY LEADS TO CORRUPTION. 210

TABLE 5. 42 USE OF MONEY& ETHNICITY DOES NOT LEAD TO DEEPENING OF DEMOCRACY.

..... 211

TABLE 5. 43 AWARENESS OF EFFECTS OF ISSUES IN 2011&2015 ON NDC. 215

TABLE 5. 44 DISUNITY AMONGST NDC MEMBERS DUE TO BIOMETRIC REGISTER. 216

TABLE 5. 45 DISGRUNLED & INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES DITCHED CHANCES OF NDC.... 217

TABLE 5. 46 LOSS OF SEATS AND ORPHAN CONSTITUENCIES. 218

TABLE 5. 47 PARTY SPENT TIME & MONEY FOR REBUILDING 219

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYM

AAPAC- Arab American Political Committee

APC-All People's Congress

B.A- Bachelor of Arts

Bsc- Bachelor of Science

CDR- Committee for the Defense of the Revolution

CEPS- Customs, Excite and Preventive Service

CUD-Coalition for Unity and Democracy

CYO- Catholic Youth Organization

DA- District Assembly

DBI- Daffiama /Bussi /Issa

DCE- District Chief Executive

DFP- Democratic Freedom Party

EC- Electoral Commission

FASCOM- Farmers Service Company

GIMPA- Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration

GLS- Ghana School of Law

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IAE- Institute of Adult Education

KNUST- Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology

LLB- Barrister at Law

MCP-Malawi Congress Party

MOFA- Ministry of Food and Agriculture

MPhil- Master of Philosophy

Msc- Master of Science

NDC- National Democratic Congress

NFED- Non-Formal Education Division

NGO- Non-Governmental Organization

NPP- New Patriotic party

NRP- National Reform Party

NYA- National Youth Authority

PAWLA- People Action to Win Lite All-round

PDP-People Democraatic Party

Ph.D- Philosophy of Doctorate Degree

PNDC- Provisional Nation Defence Council

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RAAP- Rural Action Against Poverty

SHS- Senior High School

SSIG- Semi-Structured Interview Guide

UCC- University of Cape Coast

UEDF-United Ethiopian Democratic Forces

UEW- University of Education Winneba

UG- University of Ghana

UNDP- United Nations Development Programme

UWR- Upper West Region

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 BACKGROUND

In all Democracies all over the world, primary elections have been widely used as the most suitable means of Candidate Selections by Political Parties (Field & Savelis, 2008: Daddieh & Bob-Milliar, 2012;Ramiro, 2013).

Over the years, many Political Parties especially in emerging Democracies have reformed their mode of Candidate Selection to conform to modern democratic principles and to also enhance their electoral fortunes in upcoming general elections. (Daddieh & Bob-Milliar, 2016; Ichino & Nathan, 2017).

Ghana is one of the promising emerging democracies whose democratic credentials have been touted all over the place (Gafaru & Crawford, 2010; Arthur, 2010; Aggrey-Darko, 2013.) for being able to organize Seven Successful General Elections under the Fourth Republic (Ayee, 2017; Akuamoah, 2017).

The National Democratic Congress (NDC) is one of the major Political Parties in Ghana that has undertaken a number of reforms regarding the selection of their parliamentary candidates.

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From 1992 to somewhere 2000 the National Executive Leaders of the party imposed "Consensus" Candidates on the Constituencies, but the grassroots however complained that the process was discriminatory and undemocratic.

In response to the genuine concerns of the ordinary party members, the NDC from 2003 – 2011 adopted the delegates system where branch and constituency executives and other prominent members of the party decided on who becomes the party's parliamentary candidate in upcoming general elections. Interestingly, the widening of the selectorate recorded a lot of acrimonies, intimidations, bribery and vote buying (Debrah,2006)

To eliminate and minimize the ills of the delegate system and to also enhance their chances of retaining power in the upcoming 2016 general elections, the party in 2015 introduced the Expanded Biometric System that allows any NDC member who is interested in taking part in the selection of the party's parliamentary candidate to do so. However, this method became one of the major factors that led to the monumental defeat of the party in the 2016 geberal elections(Gyampo et al, 2017; Frempong, 2017.)

The question is, why should these reforms meant to improve the NDC's performance rather create problems for the party?, or further still why should the selection of a party's parliamentary candidate be so topical in Ghana ?.

The answer is because the position of a member of parliament (MP) is prestigious and comes with political power to operate and material resources or largesse to distribute and for that reason, contestants and their supporters would do all manner of things to get it especially in parties' strongholds of which the Upper West Region (UWR) which is one of the NDC's strongholds is not an exceptio

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1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

In Ghana, the two major political parties that have been alternating power; the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party(NPP) have widely used primary elections as the most suitable means of parliamentary candidates selection. Additionally, parliamentary primaries is one of the corner stones of modern democracy. Again, it is also seen as a harbinger for general elections and the path leading to the prestigious position of a member of parliament that comes with political power to operate and material resources to distribute.

For this reason the stakes are always high and the processes generate a lot of acrimonies, intense competition, and high stakeholder engagement most especially in parties' strongholds, where victory in the primaries always guarantees victory in parliamentary elections and hence entrance into parliament. Additionally, primaries in parties strongholds are the real elections simply because it is the major hurdle to becoming a member of parliament. Often, a lot of machinations with party leaders and favorite candidates come to play with its attendant consequences

Despite all these, there is no systematic, comprehensive and detailed study on the politics of primary election in the country. Though Ayee (2017) loudly admitted that a lot of ink has gone into electoral politics in Ghana, this is largely true for general election politics but not primary election politics.This is not to suggest that nothing at all has been published on primary elections.

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In the case of Ghana, pioneer scholars and authorities in Ghanaian politics such as Austin (1964) and Chazan (1983) and modern scholars such as Ayee(1998), Ayee(2006), Debrah(2006), Frempong(2017), Gyampo et al(2017) and many others focused on the politics of inter-party competition at general elections.

Even those who specifically wrote on primary elections in Ghana such as Bob-Milliar (2012), Ichino & Nathan (2012) Daddieh & Bob-Milliar (2016) Ichino & Nathan (2017) tended to concentrate their attention on the evolution, the general processes and procedures involved and the reasons for conducting primary elections by the two major parties – the NPP and the NDC without delving deep into the politics aspect of it, especially the activities of contestants and their supporters undertaken to outwit their opponents .

Indeed, the politics of primary elections has been widely discussed in the media, but same cannot be said about it in academic circles. This is an indicative of the fact that the story of the politics of primary elections in Ghana has not been told in details.

It is against this backdrop that this study examines the kind of politics that goes on in Parliamentary Primaries, and how it impact on party performance and the quality of democracy in Ghana using the NDC, one of the major political parties in Ghana, with the Upper West Region which is one of its strongholds as the grounds for the study.

1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The overall objective of the study is to examine the kind of politics that goes on in primary elections,and ite possibly effects on party performance and desmocratic

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development in Ghana. This has become necessary because largely, Ghana's democratic development is measured from the standpoint of national elections and governance much to the neglect of what happens at the political party level. Indeed, intra-party democratic development is sine qua non for national democratic consolidation. Party primaries are one of the major aspects fo assessing the democratic credentials of a political party, especially in so-called party strongholds

1.2.1 Specific Objectives

In order to achieve the overall objective, the research is guided by the following specific objectives:

1. To find out why parliamentary primaries were not popular in the NDC in the Upper West Region from 2003-2007.
2. To examine the calibre of candidates who contested the NDC Parliamentary Primaries in the Region.
3. To identify the stakeholders/interested parties and supporters and to discuss the role they played to influence the selection of candidates.
4. To examine the administrative processes and sources of funding for the organization of NDC parliamentary primaries in the Region and how fair these processes were applied.
5. To discuss the implications of the use of ethnicity, Chiefs and money on Ghana's Democracy.
6. To identify the fallouts from the 2011 and most especially the 2015 NDC parliamentary primaries elections and discuss their possible effects on the party.

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1.3 THE CENTRAL ARGUMENTS OR ASSUMPTIONS OF THE STUDY

The central arguments or assumptions of this study are in three parts.

First, that in primary elections a lot of supporters work behind the scene to ensure the success of the candidates we see on the ballot paper. These supporters play diverse roles overtly or covertly through approved or unapproved means, mostly expressed along religious, clan or ethnic lines to ensure that their preferred candidate is elected so that he/she can provide for or protect their interest.

Secondly, in the absence of a clearly acceptable and defined source of funding for the conduct of parliamentary primaries, the highest contributor or the one with the financial wherewithal among the contestants most often than not manipulate the entire system including the administrative processes to his/her advantage, thereby defeating the democratic principles of fairness, equity and transparency.This assumption snotwithstanding, there is a caveat.The caveat is that it also depends on the caliber or quality of contestants involved in the contest.

Thirdly, there is a great risk to the society in particular and the democracy of the nation in the instance where religion, clan or ethnicity, money and the influence of traditional leaders are major determinants of candidates' success in primary elections. These determinants have the ability to plunge the society into chaos, buy the conscience of people as well as influence the traditional leaders who are otherwise supposed to be neutral. These happenings are therefore dangerous to the growth and deepening of our emerging democracy.

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1.4 CONTRIBUTION OR SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This thesis is relevant for a number of reasons. First, it would throw light, expand and deepen the understanding of the general populace on internal party competition and politics. This is so because, despite the heavy reliance on the use of primary elections in recent times by the NDC and the NPP,in their quest to win or retain political power, to some extent, only thegeneral elections have been widely used to assess the success story of Ghana's democratic and electoral politics .This study therefore would expand and deepen the understanding of the general populace both within and outside Ghana on the nature of internal party competition especially the sort of politics that goes on in primary elections and its implication for party development and performance, as well as democratic growth in Ghana.

Previous studies have assessed and touted the democratic credentials of Ghana by the use of only general elections, though primaries are also pivotal in democratic dispensation.

This study has highlighted the nature and extent of politics in parliamentary primaries. It has uncovered that when it comes to primaries, especially in a party's stronghold, the politics in it is dirtier as a lot of the rules are broken in the full glare of party officials which undermines the tenets of democracy

. Additionally, we conduct elections to choose leaders but the processes and the politics about how parliamentary candidates are chosen at the constituency level to stand for the general elections has not been seriously examined. This is not good enough because it is parliament that grants representation to the people, and therefore ,how they are chosen to

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contest the general elections should be of utmost priority to every citizen of Ghana since they(parliamentarians) are the voice of their constituents

Secondly, it would serve as a lesson drawing material for politicians and political parties especially the NDC,as it is the focus. Through this study, politicians and political parties would get to know the good and bad practices and means of acquiring power, the real people who are in charge out of the many stakeholders, and the different kinds of interest that come into play when it comes to primary elections.

Thirdly, this thesis is of a great academic value as it would expand the already existing body of literature on primary elections in Ghana in particular and the world in general. Initially, people were not willing to go in for the position, but later the interest heightened and that led to acrimonious and competitive elctions leading to the deepening of democracy in Ghana.

Theoretically, it would provide additional information on internal party contest in the area of primary elections and show how voters make their choices during such internal contest like the NDC primaries. In highlighting the politics of the NDC primaries in the Upper West Region, it showed for example, the ease with which the elections could be manipulated by well-positioned party executives to favour certain candidates including the vulnerabilities of the process to corruption, bribery, and favouritism which are all antithetical to competitive elections.

Additionally, the arguments that are raised as well as the findings of this thesis would generate more fresh debates and interest into the study of primary elections. Finally yet importantly, it would serve as a reference material for academia in the area of primary elections.

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1.5 OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS AND CONCEPTS

This section looks at the operational definitions of terms and concepts employed in the research work. They include:

***Politics*:** Politics has several definitions. For example in Orzano (1977), David Easton defined politics as "the authoritative allocation of values for a society". To Eastern, all that politics is about is how those in power or authority distribute or share the scarce resources available to a society, which he terms as values. In another dimension, Laswell (1958) defined politics as who gets what, when and how. Laswell's definition captures the people, the position they seek, the manner in which they compete for the position, as well as the time they eventually get the political power.This method may be wrong or right or a combination of the two. For the purposes of this study, *politics* would refer to all activities, support or contributions of candidates and their supporters whether right or wrong, approved or unapproved , open or secret to outwit their fellow contestants in order to be elected.

***Primary Elections*:** Ballotpedia (n.d) defines a primary election as an election used to narrow down the field of candidates for a given elective office or to determine the nominees for political parties in upcoming general elections.

Second Edition of the Law Dictionary (n.d) defines primary election as an election by the voters of a ward or small districts belonging to a particular party, of representatives or delegates to a convention meant to nominate the candidates of their party to stand at upcoming general elections.

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In another dimension, primary elections refer to an election in which candidates for a subsequent election are chosen (Ware, 2002).

For the purposes of this study, *primary election* will refer to an election in which delegates of a party nominate their candidates for impending general elections.

1.6 BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF NDC PARLIAMENTARY PRIMARIES IN THE UPPER WEST REGION, FROM 1992 TO 2015

The history of the NDC parliament primaries in Upper West Region is a checkered one. It is considered a checkered one because it has changed form, method and processes over the years. However, for one to understand the NDC primaries in the Region, it is better to understand first the context within which the party operates nationally.

Admittedly,in the early years of the fourth Republic that is from 1992 to about 2000 selection to stand for the office of a Member of Parliament (MP) within the party was not seriously contested for (Daddieh& Bob-Milliar, 2016). In most cases,community leaders and National Party Executives cajoled peolple to stand as parliament candidates and such people were imposed on the constituencies as 'consensus' candidates. They were referred to as "consensus" candidate because, to the best of their proponents, these were the people who would be accepted by all or majority of the people at the grassroots. This method of candidate selection continued within the NDC until around the year 2000,after which there was a change.

To find out why things changed, we must first understand why the office of the MP was not attractive and therefore not keenly contested for within the NDC in the early years of the fourth Republic. The answers to this question are not farfetched.

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Primarily, the remuneration that went with the office was very poor. The salaries of MPs at the beginning of the fourth Republic was very low. The best accommodation they had were the Sakumono flats in Accra and they were given fifty million cedis (¢50,000000) to buy a car , an amount which could not even buy any better car.

The second reason that made the office of MP unattractive was the fact that during J.J Rawlings tenure as a president, he appointed majority of his substantive ministers outside Parliament, even though the 1992 constitution mandates him to appoint majority of his Ministers from Parliament. In this regard, all those who went to parliament with the aim of being appointed Ministers were disappointed. It is still unclear why Rawlings did so but a probable reason may be that the boycotting of the 1992 parliamentary elections by the NPP which offered the opportunity for ordinary members of the NDC to make it to parliament compromised the quality of the human resource at that time. This may explain why the then president was unwilling to appoint majority of his substantive Ministers from parliament.

Currently, the office of the MP is attractive and therefore draws more keen contests among the members of the NDC. The reasons that might have accounted for this change as well as the renewed interest of the office are discussed from various angles. Inone breath, Ichino& Nathan (2012) argued that the NDC National Executives relinquished the power of parliamentarycandidate selection to the grassroots because of the pressure from local party men to allow primaries to be conducted so that they will get the opportunity to gain material benefits from contestants. Ichiuo &Nathan (2017) further corroborate this

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as they assert that the first time defeat of the NDC in the 2000 elections necessitated this change. The imposition of 'consensus'candidates on the constituents was identified as a major reason for the defeat. This concern by the grassroot members brought about the inclusion policy of the selection of candidates. According to Ichino&Nathan (2017), this was the turning point for the party to allow competitive primaries to run after the year 2000.

In another dimension, Joseph Yielle Chireh, the first Upper West Regional Minister under Ghana's fourth Republic asserted the NPP actually indirectly compelled the NDC to begin to organize competitive primaries after the year 2000. He attributed this to the improved conditions of service under the tenure of President Kufuor.The general incentives of the office which include car loans, accommodation and salaries were reviewed and bettered and therefore the office of the MP became more attractive ascompared to the tenure of Rawlings from 1992 to 2000.

Secondly, unlike Rawlings, President Kufuor appointed majority of his ministers from parliament, further making the MPs office very lucrative.

In addition to the above, the year 2000 marked the end of Rawlings' era, opening the floodgates for other factions within the NDC to put forward their preferred candidates and therefore making it difficult to get a 'consensus' candidate. This therefore called for serious primaries. More importantly, the caliber of NPP's MPs in parliament was high in terms of quality and therefore, it was incumbent on the NDC to do a serious competition to get the best to represent the party in parliament. The above was the situation that the

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NDC was confronted with and as a result had to make some adjustments based on the exigencies of the time.

At thebeginning of the fourth Republic, the Upper Went Region had eight (8) constituencies namely:Wa Central, Wa East, Nadowli North, NadowliEast, Jirapa, Lambussie, Lawra and Sissala.Later on in 2004, under the NPP Regime, two (2) more constituencies were created. These were Wa West and Sissala West both of which were created out of the then WaCentral and Sissala Constituencies respectively. Later on in 2012, the NDC also created Nandom Constituency out of Lawra bringing the number of constituencies as of now to eleven (11) .

The following were individual NDC members who offered themselves andjostled for slots asparliamentary candidates on the ticket of the Party either as Consensus Candidates or through primaries in the various constituencies at different times.Without any prejudice, we will start with Wa the regional capital. In the Wa Central constituency as it is now called, fielded MumuniAbuduSeidu popularly called M.A Seidu, a retired Educationist was the candidate for NDC from 1992-2000. He contested unopposed. In 2003, Wa West from where M.A. Seidu hailed from was created out of Wa constituency. It wastherefore not possible for him to represent the people of Wa, so he stepped down for Rashid Pelpuo who also went unopposed in 2003. In 2007 and 2011, Alhaj HuduMogtari contested him. Similarly in 2015, Dr.Mushebu Alpha, Lawyer WaheedBangpuori, Dr. Iddrisu Mahama a retired educationist and MrJamaldeen Kokura, a lecturer at Tamale Technical University contested Rashid Pelpuobut at the end of it all he carried the day in the contest.In Wa West, Joseph YiellehChireh, the first Upper West Regional Minister under the fourth Republic, stood unopposed from 2003 when the

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constituencywas created up to 2007. This was after the party had prevailed upon M.A Seidunot to contest Joseph Yielleh Chireh, since he (M.A Seidu) had been an MP before.

In the run up to the 2012 elections, Mr. Patrick P. Bandanaa, who was then a law student, contested Joseph YiellehChireh.In 2015 , when the party embarked on the expanded Biometric Registration exercise to select candidates, Mr Patrick P. Bandanaa and SeiduTongbani, a former D.C.E contested the then sitting MP J. Y. Chireh but in both cases Joseph YiellehChireh won.

The story wasnot so much different in the Wa East constituency,as Alhaji IssakuSalia, stood unopposed from 1992 to 2008 when Aminu Salifu contested him and lost.In 2011, Alhaji Issahaku Salia stepped down for AminuSalifu who was then DCE for Wa East and Mohammed SaaniSeidu to compete, but Salifu Aminu won that contest. However, in 2015, Dr.SeiduDannaahwho was visually impaired and then Chieftaincy Minister under President John Mahama contested and beat Mr. Aminu Salifu who was the then sitting member of parliament. This was a very controversial primaries because Aminu, the then sitting MP accused the presidency of John Mahama of supporting Dr. Danaa against him and consequently he and his supporters withdrew their support, hence, Dr. Danaa lost the seat to the NPP candidate, GodfredBayongTangu.

Moreover, in the Nadowli North, LawyerKingsfordSumanaBagbin who has established himself as a pillar in parliament, spanning across different regimes and serving as both majority and minority leader was feared to be contested. He went unopposed from 1992 to 2003. When he was preparing to hand over to Dr. Bagaa, a lecturer at UDS, Wa campus but all of sudden he changed his mind and decided that he would go

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again.Thisbehaviour of Bagbin angered Dr. Baga who decided to contest the 2004 general elections as independent candidate but unfortunately lost it to Bagbin. Dr. Bagaaaimmediately defected to the NPP and became their parliamentary candidate in the 2008 general elections.

Similarly, Bagbin assured IssahakuDapila who was the then constituency chairman for Nadowli North that he was going to hand over to him in 2008. As a result of this, Dapilaresigned his job from the Obuasi mines and availed himself fully for the party, but when it was time to file contest for the 2008 general elections, Bagbin went and picked aform. At this moment, Dapila had no option than to also pick aform to contest as an independent candidate purposely to ruin the chances of Bagbin in the 2008 elections, but Bagbin still won that election.

In 2011, a young man called Roger Garlee from Takpo and a strong supporter of GoosieTanoh filed to contest him but the party disqualified him on the basis that he was an ex-convict. In 2015, Garlee was called to the bar as a Lawyer and in addition, the presidency gave him a ToyotaHilux Pickup and so in 2015, the same party cleared Roger Garlee to go into the contest. Lawyer Roger Garlee, Mr. David Jarawa, a BNI officer and Salifu Domba a retired CEPS officer finally filed to contest the Nadowli North ‘Mugabe’, but David Jawara finally withdrew and supported Bagbin. In all this, Bagbin did not have any problem winning.

In the Nadowli East, as this constituency was initially called, Mr. Emmanuel Samba Zumakpeh also went unopposed from 1992 up to the year 2003, then he stepped down for Mathias Puozaa. Mathias Puozaa also went unopposed until the year 2011 when Michael

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Kombor, a former Regional Organiser for the NDC contested him and lost by five (5) votes. Alarmed by this development,Puozaa stepped down in 2015 and allowed Dr. Sebastian Sandaare, the then Daffiama/Bussie/Issa District Director of Health, Hon. Abu KabiebataKasambata, a former DCE for Nadowli and Col. Walter Barure, a cadre of NDC to compete of whichDr. Sandaare won the contest.

In Jirapa, Lawyer Francis G. Korbieh went unopposed from 1992 to 1995 when he stepped down for Edward Kojo Salia, who alsowent unopposed until he passed away in 2009. Again, the party fielded FrancisBawaana for the by-election after he had beatened Paul Derigubaa and EvansSinkerein the primaries. In 2011, Raphael Bokmah and Mr. PaulDerigbubaa contested Francis Bawaanaa but could not beat him. The party was divided between BawaanaDakura and Paul Derigubaa. Some party executives pushed Derigubaa to stand as an independent candidate and truly, he beat BawaanaDakura in the 2012 general elections.In the 2015 primaries, it wasFrancis Bawaana Dakura, Charlespuozuing, Vivian Kuuku Nelly who contestedafresh amongst themselves because there was no NDC sitting MP, butFrancisBawaana won that primary election and the subsequent 2016 General Elections.

The Lambussie Constituency had Jacob Boon as its candidate without any primaries in 1992. In 1995, he stepped down for Luke Kor who won the 1996 general elections, hehowever passed away halfway through his tenure so Alice Teni Boon,the wife of the first MP of the Constituency was proposed and she went unopposed to stand for the by-elections in 1998. In the year 1999, she stood unopposed again but in2011, Edward K. Dery contested and defeated Alice Teni Boon. In 2015, Mr. Wilbert Daug contestedEdward. K. Dery butcould notbeat him.

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In the Lawra Constituency, Ken Kunfah and Anthony Bundong went unopposed in 1992 and 1995 respectively but in the run up to the 2000 elections, Anthony Bundong stepped down for Dr. Benjamin Kunbuor, who also went unopposed until the year 2012. After 2012, Nandoun, where Dr. Kunbuorcomes from was carved out of Lawra and as such paved the way for Sampson Abu, a former DCE and Paschal Dery, a development worker to contest the NDC Parliamentary primaries. Sampson Abu won the primaries and eventually became the MP ofthe area but Dery Pascal was made the DCE. In the 2015 primaries, Bede Ziedeng, a former deputy Upper West Regional Minister under Rawlings, contested Sampson Abu and beat him by threevotes, this created a lot of controversies within the party in the constituency, and so the NDC lost the seat to the NPP candidate, Anthony Karbo.The newly created Nandom Constituency had Dr. Benjamin Kunbuor in 2012 as a candidate after the party elders prevailed on Dr. Richard Kuuire not to contest Kunbuor.In the 2015primaries, Dr. Kunbuor stepped down for Dr. Richard Kunire, a retired Prison officer and CurtbertKuupiel, the then DCE for Nandom to contest the primaries. At the end of the day, Richard Kuuire won.

In the Sissala Constituency,the PNC occupied the seat until in 2007, when Alhassan Dubie Rafatu was presented as a consensus candidate and she won the seat for the NDC for the first time in the 2008 general elections. In 2011, she went for primaries with Alijata Sulemana, the then sitting DCE who lost to her. In 2015, Alijata Sulemana won against Johnson Sabor who was the sitting DCE and the main contender, but she however lost the 2016 general elections. In the Sissala West, AlhajAmiduSulemana went unopposed in the primaries from 2003 to 2011 until Braima Dauda, ateacher by profession contested him and lost. In the following year, 2012 Sulemana won the seat for

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the first time for the NDC since it was a PNC strong hold.It was in 2015 that Madam HagbanaAzantilow tried her luck against Alhaj Suleman but did not succeed.

From the above discussions, it is clear that many of the constituencies started recording serious primaries after the 2004 general elections. This goes a long way to support the assertion made by Ichino& Nathan, (2012) that the NDC as a party started considering serious primaries after they lost the 2000 general elections to the opposition NPP. Out of the eleven (11) constituencies, it was only in three, which are Wa East, Sissala East and Lawra Constituencies that the sitting MPs lost their primary bids to different people which resulted in a lot of controversies.

1.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

All stakeholders in the NDC parliamentary primaries in the Upper West Region should have been studied, but time, money and other resource constraints would not permit it. However, the samplesize of four hundred and twenty-six (426) was carefully and scientifically selected to reflect and mirror the views of all constituencies within the politics of parliamentary primaries in the Upper West Region.There was some amount of unwillingness on the part of some respondents to answer the questionnaire, but after educating them on the essence of the research, and assuring them it is for academic purposes and so their confidentiality and anonymity is intact, they willingly participated.

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1.8 CHAPTER ORGANIZATION OF THIS STUDY

CHAPTER ONE: This is the introductory chapter

CHAPTER TWO: Contains a detailed literature review

CHAPTER THREE: Theoretical framework and research questions

CHAPTER FOUR: Methodology, research instruments and methods of data analysis

CHAPTER FIVE: Analysis and interpretation of field data

CHAPTER SIX: Research Findings and Discussions

CHAPTER SEVEN: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines in deeper and greater proportions the already existing literatures that are relevant to this current study. It reviews the literature based on three categories: the concept of politics, primary elections in Democracies outside Africa, and primary elections in democracies within Africa.The chapter also discusses the gaps within the existing literature and shows how the current research will fill these gaps.

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW AND ITS PURPOSE

Literature review is an exploration or a survey of different scholarly materials such as articles, books and other sources on an issue or area of research. This exploration involves a description, summary, clarification and critical evaluation of key findings of previous works, including theories and methodologies (Cooper, 1985; USC libraries (n.d); Emerald Group Publishing (n.d).Apart from summarizing key findings of other scholarly works, the main purpose of literature review is to identify strengths, weaknesses and gaps of earlier researches and indicate how the current study willfill some or all of the weaknesses and gaps identified. Thus, when the review is done well provides reason(s) for conducting the current study. This is done to avoid duplication and to indicate that your work would add new knowledge to the existing literature (University of Toronto (n.d).

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In the nutshell, literature review is all about critically examining already existing literature related to your area of study by identifying their strengths, weaknesses and or gaps and indicating how your current study would address these gaps or weaknesses. It is also a clear demonstration of the level of knowledge a researcher has on area of study.

2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW ON THE CONCEPT OF POLITICS

The concept politics is a contested term (Heywood, 2002). This is because different political thinkers and traditions have varied understanding of the concept and for this reason it is not possible to provide a single definition on which everyoneagrees (Open learn (n.d).In the light of its contestable nature, may we now consider the different opinions expressed by different people on what constitute politics? In his book titled 'Politics' Andrew Heywood gave a number of definitions to explain what politics is all about. They include but not limited to the following.

First, Heywood Andrew defined politics as an activity through which people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live (Heywood, 2002). Although an academic subject, Andrew Heywood opined that politics deals with the making of collective decisions for the advancement of society. Again, inherent in this definition is the implicit reference to functions of government including traditional authorities, but the definition has elevated the law making arm above the Executive and the Judiciary. If the Executive and the Judiciary do not function properly, the laws made by the legislature would be useless and society would slip back into the state of nature.

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In addition to the above major definition, Andrew Heywood perceived politics in four different ways as follows, politics as an art of government. He perceived politics in this way because politics is mainly about the exercise of power and control in society through the making and enforcement of laws. Also in this definition, Heywood was thinking about state institutions, government machinery and the personnel that take care of these machinery and institutions.This definition is largely influenced by the perception of the Ancient Greeks, the place where politics as we have it emerged. To the Greeks what constitute politics is the affairs of the polis-city state. This means that politics is about the conduct and management of public affairs as opposed to private affair.Limiting the definition of politics to only to the state arena is too narrow. If we go by his definition, it will mean that politics does not take place in private institutions. In fact, Heywood's definition was looking at where politics takes place and not what politics aims at achieving.

Secondly, Heywood once again perceived politics as a public affair. Perceived this way, politics is associated with the management of the affairs of society instead of an individual life. It is on this basis that Aristotle asserted that man is by nature a political animal. By this, he meant that, it is only in the political community that man can realize his potential and live a good life (Heywood 2002). In this case, politics is an ethical activity purported at creating a just and fair society and it is on this basis that political thinkers like J.S. Mill and J.J Rousseau argued that politics is important since it aims at creating and promoting public good.

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Thirdly, Heywood (2013) perceives politics as compromises and consensus.In other words, politics is a peculiar means of resolving conflicts through compromises, negotiations and reconciliation. Conflict or disagreement is inevitable and very common in society. For example, people disagree on what objectives are to be set for society and how those objectives should be achieved.It is because of disagreements that politics exist, so that politicians would find solutions to these disagreements. Bernard Crick who argued that conflict is inevitable supports this view and thereforestated that any group that gets power in society must direct it to the resolution of problems rather than violence and coercion (Crick, 2002).Again, what was probably at the back of the mind of Heywoodwas the Hobbesian state of nature where society was orderless and conflictual and therefore there was the need to prescribe an antidote to solve this problem.

Lastly, Heywood (2013) perceived politics as power.This is the broadest and most radical of all the definitions of politics. This is because, this definition does not limit politics to a particular place but rather sees politics in all sphere of life, whether public or private. On equating politics with power, Heywood (2013) sees politics as the production, distribution and the use of resources in the course of social existence. Which means politics is about power, which stems from scarce distribution of resources and it is therefore not surprising that the struggle in the state had to do with how power is shared among individuals and groups.

This powerful definition of politics looks at the economic aspect of politics by creating a welfare state for society. It also perfectly fits into the thinking of modern politicians, who argue in their campaign messages that they are seeking for power to ensure and

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secure the welfare of the citizenry. In this regard, politics is seen as an activity through which people seek for power to better the lives of others.Apart from Heywood (2013), other scholars have looked at the definition of politics in relation to power share. The paragraphs below examine their work.

First, David Easternsees politics as the authoritative allocation of values or resources in society (Orzano, 1977). In his opinion, politics is about the various processes through which government responds to the needs of society by sharing benefits, rewards and penalties.But the most powerful and popular equation of politics to power definition is offered by Harold Lasswell. He defined politics as "who gets what, when, how (Lasswall, 1936). In the opinion of Lasswell, power is the most central issue in politics because it is power that enables one gets what one wants.

In sharing state resources, some get more, others get less and some do not even get at all. Some get it now while others get it later. Some too get it because of who they are, whom they know or what they have; all these balls down to the issue of power. It is important to note that, this definition is not limiting politics to only state level, but also in the private arena. It is therefore more generic, more encompassing and an improvement upon those who defined politics as an activity, which takes place at state or public arena only.More importantly, Bernard Crick sees politics as an activity by which differing interests within a unit are conciliated by giving them a share in power, which is proportional to the welfare and survival of the whole society (Crick, 1964).In his work, Bernard Crick asserted that politics whether at the state or private level, conflict or

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peaceful one are all politics and therefore should be studied.However, he emphasized that the politics at the state or public arena and the peaceful politics are more desirable.

From the above definitions, it is obvious that most people equate politics to power. It is in this regard that Open Learn (n.d) observes that politics is all about the exercise of power, when one has power, one can get or do whatever he/she wants. What therefore accounts for the reason politics is equated to power.

According to one of the political theorists, Robert Dahl, power is the capacity to influence the actions or behavior of others (Dahl; 1957). Indeed, the word power is from the Latin word 'potere', which means to be able. Therefore, power is the ability, to cause others to do what one desires using influence or coercion. (Magstadt&Schotten, 1996)

In the opinion of Heywood, (2002) power is the ability to achieve a desired goal through whatever means. In other words, it is the ability of influencing the behavior of others in a manner not of their choice. However, Lukes (1974) disagrees with the opinions of Dahl, (1957), Magstadt&Schotten(1996), Heywood(2002) because they have narrowly equated politics to a game where players influence each other by influencing others to do things they would not ordinarily have done. He therefore suggested that politics should be expanded to include less observable way of exercising power such as agenda setting.

He further argued that in parliament, for instance, agenda are set on what issues to discuss, who gets to speak on what issue and for how long. Here we do not directly see people influencing the action of others but exercise of power is implied.Based on all

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these varied shades of definitions on politics, Andrew Heywood had no choice but to observe that politics is about who should get what, how should resources in society be shared, and whether society should be based on conflict or consensus. He futher stated that politics is about how collective decision should be made or who should have a say and how much influence should one wield among others (Heywood, 2002).

In sum, politics is a game related to the state and its institutions and therefore considered a public affair, but it also includes the private. It aims at conflict resolution and consensus building but it can itself create conflicts. It is also about influencing the behavior of others and setting agenda for activities in all these. (It can be said that) Politics is everywhere and therefore ubiquitous (open Learn (n.d)). In the area of the NDC parliamentary primaries in the Upper West Region, this current study would look out for the various meanings and forms that politics takes and how it manifests itself during the primary competitions.Notwithstanding the above-varied definitions, the operationalized definition of politics in this study means all activities, support or contributions of candidates and their supporters whether right or wrong, approved or unapproved, open or secret to outwit their fellow contestants in order to be elected.

2.3 PRIMARY ELECTIONS IN DEMOCRACIES OUTSIDE AFRICA

In general, primary elections have not received the needed scholarly attention as compared to general elections (Ichino&Nathan, 2017). The few available scholarly works on primaries seem to concentrate on America, Europe and Asia (Sandri&Seddone, 2015) to the detriment of the rest of the World and even with this, presidential primaries

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had become the center of attraction compared to parliamentary ones.In addition to the above, the lenses within which these works are analyzed are within the American context (Ware, 2002; Sandri&Seddone, 2015) This is probably because primary elections started in America (Ware, 2015)

The following reviewed literature gives a clear testimony to the above assertions.

In assessing the effects of open, democratic and more inclusive methods of candidates' selection on electoral performance, Ramiro (2013) agreed that the use of one-man one vote in party primaries by the Spanish socialist party has a positive electoral effect in Europe. In the same vein, Scarro (2015) argued that though the rules of candidates' selection kept changing in the UK, it was tilted more towards open, democratic and inclusive mode of nomination and this openness enables political analyst to make predictions ahead of general elections.

More importantly, Cherry & Kroll (2003) asserted that although the type of primaries has an effect on voting behavior and candidate fortunes, their findings from experimental research suggested that a more opened primaries generate more strategic voting, though it does not lead to more moderate winners in the U.S. Fiber- Ostrow (2012) seems to agree with Cherry& Kroll (2003) when he noted that both Democrats and Republican female contestants enjoy more success when the rules of contest were changed from closed to a more open one in the California state primaries from 1992 - 2006. This view however, is opposed by Fiber-Ostrow (2007) who posited that apart from electoral laws that

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disadvantaged women in primary elections, the general perception of women as liberal is also affecting their chances of being nominated.

In a similar fashion, Barnes et al (2017) concord the views of Fiber-Oshow(2007) when he stated that in the U.S, when multiple quality candidates enter the primary race, more female candidates are at a greater disadvantage than their male counterparts. In addition to the above, Regalia (2017) and Karpowitz(2017) were unanimous in the fact that females do well in primary elections. They stated that inclusive primaries seem to promote a higher female representation in the Assembly, and a deliberate party leadership intervention increases the chances of females being nominated respectively.

However, Hennings&Urtbatsch(2016) and Kanthak et al (2012) are ambivalent about the chances of female candidates in primary elections. To Urtbatsch (2016) using party elites for nomination, Republicans would go in for female candidates but if nomination process is left to primary voters, Democrats are more likely to elect a female candidate. In the same view, Kanthak et al(2012) in trying to explain candidates' emergence stated that in a congressional election, States with semi-closed primaries generate more female candidates than States with semi-opened primaries, who favor male contestants.

Following the argument of the scholars from the preceding paragraphs above, it is clear that they were interested in showing how open, inclusive and transparent the nomination exercise in primary election were and for that matter, their focus was the procedures. This is good because election is about credibility and numbers. A method that involves more numbers would be more credible than one with smaller numbers.

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This current study would learn a lesson from this by examining how opened or closed the NDC primaries were in the Upper West Region. Despite this, it is important to note that, these earlier studies did not identify all the interested parties in these elections except the candidates. Even in instances where female candidates were chosen or preferred, no reasons were given for the preference for female candidates and so we are left in the dark as to why certain candidates were preferred over others. This current study would fill these gaps.

In another dimension, Van Slambrouck (1998), Alvarez & Sinclair (2012) and Cancela et al(2017) all supported the use of blanket-primaries otherwise referred to as non-partisan primaries where people vote for candidates irrespective of their political affiliation. The reason for Alvarez and Sinclair (2012) support for the blanket primaries is that, legislators elected through such processes are more likely to agree with other legislatorsThis is good because it would lead to a consensus building in parliament. On the other hand, Cancela et al(2017) posited that blanket primaries in the LIVRE Portuguese party was a novelty as it allowed members outside the party to vote and to be voted for. In their findings, they concluded that, candidates with higher number of endorsement and support by party officials would be more successful. The novelty of this study is well noted, as it would shed light on the prospects and determinants of candidates' success in primary elections.

Despite the good findings of both Alvarez & Sinclair (2012) and Cancela (2017), we must be quick to add that, these studies did not identify the sources of funding for such a

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non-partisan primary, the various interest groups in those primaries were not identified and in Van Slambrouck (1998), the reasons for running a non-partisan primaries were not clearly stated. This current study would fill in these gaps in the literature. In addition to the above, Rombi&Seddone (2017) assessed the impact of opened, closed or other methods of candidate selection adopted in the Italian 2012 parliamentary primaries and observed that, such selection criteria or methods affected the behavior of members of parliament (MP) marginally.

Rombi &Seddone's (2017) is good in that, it will enable us to assess the behavior of the NDC members of parliament based on how they were nominated at primaries but this is not the focus of this current study. The present research aims at understanding the sort of politics that goes into primary elections including the caliber of candidates, fairness of the process and sources of funding for such elections, which are all missing in the earlier studies.

In addition to the above, wealth and for that matter funds have an impact on primary elections. A number of scholars have examined this impact and they include but not limited to the following: First, in discussing the impact of wealth on primary elections and voting rights in the U.S, Berman(2015) argued that it was during the 1992 presidential primaries that George. H. Bush and Bill Clinton introduced wealthy campaign into the American politics. He concluded that, access to money was an obstacle to political candidacy for non-affluent Americans. Aside fromthis, Hube(2014) reported of how Republicans made moves to deny the conservative activist from getting the

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opportunity to contest future state primaries by cutting into their fundraising activities to diminish them as future force. The moves by the Republicans to diminish theconservative activists for posing as a future force is purely politics and therefore this current study would take some lessons from it. However, apart from learning lessons from the political competition between Republicans and Conservative activists, this study would go beyond that to examine the nature of politics within the same political party regarding members who are competing for their party's nomination.

Added to the above, Hogan(1999) has asserted that campaign spending on primary elections has not only increased but also has become an individual affair and that, this state of affairs has a dampening effect on who files for primary elections. No doubt, campaign must be supported by funds and the inability of one to raise funds means one would be eclipsed out of politics. This means that money is a major factor to consider in election. In the face of money playing such a crucial role in politics, Hogan(1999) did not tell us how campaign spending influences the electoral choices of primary voters.What do people look out for before supporting somebody's campaign fundraising. The answers to those questions are missing and this current study would answer them. Still with the issue of wealth, Jerome(2009) reported of how forty(40) out of fifty-one(51) wealthy congressional candidates lost either their primaries or the general elections simple because voters were of the view that many of them bought their way into office and that they did not have any good product to sell. In this case, money was not an inducement at all for people to vote.

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More importantly, in explaining the Republicans Party primary elections, Crowley(2012) argued that the independent fundraising activity together with the extended primary season would discourage voters and tarnish the image of the eventual Republican nominee. In this light, our current study would want to find out whether in a developing country like Ghana, money would tarnish the image of a contestant or rather boost his/her image.Moreover,whether it is possible for someone to win primaries based on his/her personal qualities other than money.In the face of the above discussions, Christian Science Menitor (1999) lamented the problems money was having on American election especially primaries and called for serious vigilance to curb the menace.

Candidates go into primary election to be nominated to represent their party in general elections. What are the strategies available to them? In response to this, Banda&Carsey (2015) and Brady &Han (2004) were unanimous with the strategies adopted by candidates to deal with both primaries and general elections. Banda &Carsey (2015) asserted that candidates involved in primary elections adopt mixed strategies to respond to both their primary election opponents and general election opponents during the primary competition phase.In addition, Brady & Han (2004) explored the conventional wisdom that, congressional candidates face a strategic choice between their primary and general election constituencies. They came to the realization that nominees who are ideologically closer to their general election constituency have a lower vote margin in the primaries and are more likely to lose and the losers are mostly young legislators who have not yet solidified their strong primary constituency base. Serra (2006) expressed similar views when she stated that candidates adopt different strategies to balance their

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odds of winning the primary election versus their odds of winning the ultimate general elections.In all, it is clear that Brady & Han (2004), Serra (2006) and Banda &Carsey (2015) have articulated the idea that a candidate must adopt different strategies to deal with both primaries and general election. The reason for this is that the two constituencies differ with different demands. This current study would learn some lesson from this and apply them to the study of NDC primaries to see whether such factors come into play.

In the game of primary elections where competition is within the same party, personal identity or qualities count a lot. It is in this regard that New York Times (2006) presented a list of various candidates who have been recommended to stand for primary elections in various positions based on their personal capabilities. On this basis, Barker et al (2006) wanted to know whether Democrats and Republican voters emphasize on different traits when choosing a candidate. Their findings showed that Democrats voters tend to place importance on perceived candidate compassion whereas Republicans look at perceived personal virtue. In a similar thought, Veenstra et al (2017) asserted that in contested primaries, candidate focused social identity bias takes precedence over party- focused identity bias.Following from the differing views of whether personal focused identity bias should take precedence over party focused identity bias, Wattier (2002) tested the effect of Clinton's factor on candidate choice in both 2000 presidential primaries and the general election and found that Clinton's negative image had significant effect on primary voters and on general election voters.From the discussions, it is clear that the New York Times (2006), Veenstra (2017) and Wattier (2002), all placed premium on

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personal qualities. This current study would take a cue from that since it is one of the objectives of the study that is to examine the caliber of candidates who contested the NDC parliamentary primaries in the Upper West Region. The current study admits that personal quality is good but seeks to ascertain whether it is enough to win an election in NDC primaries.

In addition to the above, Daddo (2014) reported of how AAPAC endorsed seven candidates for August 5 primary elections in America but we were told by Arab American News (2014) that Baydaun and Berry lost those primaries because of the endorsement from the Arab American Political Committee (AAPAC). In measuring U.S. citizen's support for Democrats primary Candidates to contest the 2016 presidential primaries, Shelley &Hitt (2016) observed that while many journalist and political observers had rated Clinton high above Sanders in the U.S presidential primaries, endorsement or support for Sanders was high among the youth. The reasons for the youths' endorsement of Sanders were not provided clearly in Shelley &Hitt (2016) and so when Thompson (2009) endorsed a number of candidates in America for primary election, it was on the basis of their unique perspectives and qualities which they think will inure to the benefit of society. Apart from Thompson who gave reasons for endorsement, Daddo (2014) and the Arab American News (2014) did not tell us why candidates were endorsed. Again, apart from Arab American News (2014) that told us that two candidates out of those endorsed lost their primary bids, the rest did not tell us the effect of the endorsement on the primary elections. This current study would cover up these gaps in the literature.

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In addition to the above, Serra (2007) in explaining why parties in Latin America adopted primaries in recent times asserted that, primaries were meant to democratize the parties and that led to the proliferation of primaries in Latin America. In the same way, Vassallo &Passarelli (2016) argued that though primaries were not popular in Italy, their occasional application helped strengthened the process of creating a democratic party as an open party whose leaders are chosen through transparent competitive primaries. Democratizing the party is good because it gives credibility to the party and the candidates nominated but should that one alone form the basis for running primary elections? What about the personal quality of candidates to win elections or what about the policy position of contestants? The reasons for primary elections are many and go beyond just democratizing the party especially in Africa where politics is woven around clientelism. Aside from this, the current study would consider the candidates in these primaries and who were these people or powers behind them since election is about numbers. This current study intends to address these issues raised. Based on the weaknesses of the works of Berra (2007) and Vassallo &Passarelli (2016). Hogan (2003) argued that primary election or competition varies and is affected by a number of factors such as the presence of incumbents, strong support from a party, urbanism and unified party control.

More importantly, Lawrence et al (2013) asserted that the U.S changed its nomination from conventions to direct primaries because party elites use primaries to protect their internal interest. Bruhn (2014) shared similar views when he argued that the reasons accounting for primary elections in Mexico are primaries are less costly and internal rivalry put pressure on the party. The issues of party elites using primaries to protect their

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interest especially when the party is under pressure to conduct free, fair and inclusive primaries is well noted. This current study would want to examine whether the NDC as a party ran primaries to protect elites' interest or primaries were meant to give equal chance to contestants to elect a winnable candidate.

More importantly, Robinson &Baun (1993) discussed the origin and relevance of primary elections in Taiwan and as in the U.S, primary elections are means of making the parties democratic. In addition, Kamarck (2016) gave a vivid account of the evolution of how America elected their presidential candidates to conform to the current democratic demands and changes. In this case, direct primary elections emerged in America because the caucus-convention was not working (Ware, 2002) and it was because of this that Thompson (2010) argued that, the purpose of presidential primaries in the U.S is to ensure that the process is more democratic in order to ensure the election of a more acceptable presidential candidate. In addition, Pasquino (2016)[a] and Pasquino (2016)[b] were unanimous about the criticism leveled against primary elections in Italy but they were quick to add that despite its criticism, primary elections have contributed to greater transparency of the procedures through which candidates are selected and therefore, primaries play and will continue to play an integral role in Italian politics. Riding on the back of the good things said about primaries in Italy by Pasquino (2016)[a] and Pasquino (2016)[b], Sandri and Venturino (2016) asserted that, local primaries in Italy are characterized by two main features: fairly institutionalized and competitiveacross parties. In a similar manner, Chandrasekhar (2014) stated that the use of primaries by the congress party of India to select the parliamentary candidates was unprecedented and

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therefore, it was seen as an importation of American way of organizing elections in India since the practice was alien to the State.

In all, it is clear that Robinson &Baun (1993), Ware (2002), Pasquino (2016)[a] and Chandrasekhar (2014) were interested in how democratic the primary process was or how the primaries deepens democracy and for that matter, they had focused on the processes. Processes are important because they indicate how well or bad a job is done but these scholars however, did not inform us of who the interested parties were in these primaries and what role they played. Despite these weaknesses in the literature, we cannot run away from the fact that a nomination process that diminishes the special role of party leaders and gives rather more power to ordinary party members to choose their parliament candidates is more desirable Card Baun (2018).

In addition to the above, Kousser et al (2015) set out to measure whether party endorsement favor endorsed candidates or parties endorsed those who are already destined to win elections. In their findings, they came to the realization that endorsement does indeed matter but the effects of endorsement is dependent on the type or caliber of candidates contesting. This current study would draw some lessons from this since we are going to examine the caliber of candidates who contested the NDC primaries in the Upper West Region. Notwithstanding the caveat provided by Kousser et al (2015), Hassel (2015) insisted in his argument that political parties greatly shape and influence the outcome and decisions of candidates in the U.S. In his opinion, candidates who rely heavily on party support in terms of competent and experienced campaign staff and

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resources rather than their own political ambition and fundraising activities would be more successful. Similarly, Hassel (2016) posited that, in a nomination process in the U.S, senate candidates who are less connected to the party are less likely to win their primary bid as candidates. Still in connection with party support for candidates, Pyeatt (2015) observed that incumbents receive benefits in primary elections from greater levels of partisanship.

Apart from Kousser et al (2015) that called for a balance between party support and personal qualities of a candidate to do well in primaries, Hassel (2016) and Pyeatt (2015) all emphasized party support or backing for a candidate to do well in primaries to the detriment of personal qualities. Certainly, we cannot run away from the important role personal qualities play in getting public office. This is the reason why some independent candidates win elections without party endorsement. This shows that party endorsement may be a necessary but not a sufficient condition to win elections. This current study will draw on the lessons of these earlier scholars by looking at whether party endorsement played a role in the NDC primaries in the Upper West Region.However, that would not be all; it will also examine the caliber or quality of candidates who contested to see whether they merit their performance in these primary elections of the NDC in the Upper West Region.

More importantly, Jacobson (2014) argued that open primaries allow for the selection of more moderate candidates and they stand a higher chance of doing better in the general elections. On the other hand, Rogowski and Langella (2015) think that, there is no

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relationship between restrictive primaries and the selection of extremist candidates. This is contrary to existing literature, which argues that restrictive primaries would certainly lead to the selection of extremist candidates. Based on opinions expressed by Jacobson (2014), and Rogowski&Langella (2015), Woon (2018) observed with keen interest that primary elections can cause greater extremism or moderation depending on the beliefs candidates and voters have about their opponents. Similarly, Shigeo et al (2015) stated that voters learn about the ideology of candidates during election campaigns and this informs their voting behavior. In addition, Serra (2009) argued that parties with extremist ideologies are more likely to adopt competitive primary than centrist parties. However, Winters and Frisboe (2009) added that, it is easier for an ideological extreme candidate to win primaries but faces difficulties in the general election. On the other hand, it is very difficult for a moderate candidate to win primaries but he/she performs better in general elections. Again, in the opinions of Bullock&Clinton (2011), it is blanket primaries that favor the election of more moderate candidates and that incumbents take more moderate positions in the U.S House of Representatives.

In the arguments of Jacobson (2014), Rogowski &Langella (2015), Woon (2018), Shigoe et al (2015), Serra (2009), Winters &Frisboe (2009) and Bullock & Clinton (2011), the main interest is how ideology manifest or plays a role in primary elections. While admitting the fact that ideology and policy positions of candidates count a lot in advanced democracies, the same cannot be said about emerging democracies. According to Ichino and Nathan (2012), ideology or policy position of candidates does not matter in emerging democracies because politics is clientalistic and that leads to the

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personalization of political activities. In the absence of ideology in emerging democracy, this current study would examine the other factors that propelled the NDC primaries from 2003-2015 in the Upper West Region.

In the field of primary elections, race or ethnicity sometimes plays a role. In this regard, Zelden (2009) noticed that since the beginning of the twentieth century, blacks were barred from voting in the democrats primaries in Texas. The reason for this all white primary affairs lays in the mixed of race hatred against blacks in Texas. However, this did not continue forever. Things changed along the line and so Tatum (2002) lauded the idea of the State Democrat nominating Carl McCann, a black person for the first time to represent the party in the primaries for governor and even with this, out of greed and racism, Andrew Goumo, an upset son of a failed governor challenged his candidature.A similar landmark is the victory of a socialist candidate and a Jew who won for the first time in history in the Democrats primary elections for New Hemisphere, which in fact shocked the whole nation at large.

From the above discussion, it is very clear that race is a considerable factor in primaries and based on this, Branton (2007) asserted that in primary elections at the District level, race and ethnicity play a role and are mostly associated with minority candidate emergence and this increase competition. In addition, Manzano (2009) opined that Latino voters in America showed much interest not only in primaries but also at the general election in the U.S 2008 elections simple because they had co-ethnic candidate. In addition to the above, Hicks (2013) hammered on the role of black candidates and voters

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in deciding an election winner in the U.S. He concluded that, black voters were very well discerning and for this reason, Walsh (2015) advised that for Hilary Clinton to be able to win the primaries and get to become a presidential candidate, then she needs the massive support of black women.

Lastly, on the issue of race, Swain (2018) noted that white American support for Trump among primary voters is partly because of negative racial stereotypes of black Americans and support for the use of force by the police in their dealing with people in some committees. From the above discussions on race or ethnicity, it is clear that race can work in favor or against a person or a particular group of people in elections depending on whether one comes from a minority or majority ethnic group or race. As a result of this, some candidates are forced to make overtures to other ethnic groups in order to succeed. This study would draw on these lessons.

More importantly, Disalvo&Copulsky (2009) and Penning (2009) were unanimous about the important role that religion played in the 2008 American elections while Disalvo&Copulsky (2009) contended that religion influenced Democrats and Republicans in the primaries, Penning (2009) thinks that religion influenced both parties at both primaries and general elections. In addition, Croni (2016) underscored the great impact religion has on the selection of candidates and party platforms for both the Democrats and the Republicans in the U.S. As a result, Bradbery (2016) decided to measure the relationship between religion and voting and realized that in the 2012 Republican primaries, voters preferred candidates who appealed to their religious

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emotions than those who did not. In the opinions of Disalvo &Copulsky (2009), Penning (2009), Croni (2016) and Bradbery (2016), it is clear that religion can work in favor or against a candidate depending on what type of religion it is especially in the U.S where they have negative idea about Islam. Because of this, Shimron (2018) lauded the nominations of Ilham Omar and Rashida Taib in primary elections. The reason for lauding this was that, they were the first Muslim women to be nominated to serve in leadership positions in the U.S. This became a major boost for women in the United States.These scholars admit that religion is partly a factor in determining the outcome of primary elections in the US. This current study shall draw on this to find out whether it is same in Ghana.

Moreover, campaign has a place in primary election and so Mezzei et al (2018) reported of the victory of Gillum Andrew elections for Florida because of his good launch of his campaign and general support received from voters. In a similar way, Hinck et al (2018) using the 2012 and 2016 U.S presidential primary debates asserted that Republican candidates relied on aggressive discussed strategies to appeal to partisan voters than their Democrat counterparts in primary debates and voters responded more positively to that.

In the above discussions, while a good launch campaign and massive support is good to win primaries.. Aside from that, presidential debate counts in the advanced democracies but in emerging democracies like that of Ghana, primary presidential debates has a little role to play. This current study would unearth the real factors that influence primary elections in Ghana especially in the NDC. In addition to the above, Simon (2000) indicated that despite George W. Bush's successive losses in presidential primaries in

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various states, he still has political campaign advantage over John McCain. Again, in analyzing the competitive primary elections between Hilary Clinton and Obama, Newsweek (2008) stated that Bill Clinton, husband of Hilary Clinton accused the mainstream media of favoring Obama, while Obama's former pastor, Jeremiah Wright was accused of sabotaging Obama on racial grounds. Adding to this, Nation (2016) reported of the leftist populist campaign tactics of Hilary and Sanders in Iowa State but in the end, we are told that Sanders was able to outdo Hilary. More importantly, Berker (1998) talked about the 1998 California primary campaign where contestants relegated the economy into the background and traded in personal attacks. In the opinions of New week (2008) and Berker (1998), it was realized that, during primary campaign, people do all manner of things to get nominated. In fact, this is purely politics where contestants are looking for who gets what, when and how. This current study would draw on the lessons made available. What these studies did not tell us is what the effects of such accusations on the performance of the parties in general elections. It must also be noted that it is not all the time that insulting campaign wins elections.

On this note, we are told of a moderate class teacher who beat all the contestants and emerged victorious out of his modest campaign from a minority ethnic background, his victory was shocking (Vehovek, 1996).

In addition to the above, Osburn (2009) indicated how contestants in the 2008 U.S presidential primaries and general elections used mass media to market themselves and pulled undecided voters into their camp and attacked their opponents. Similarly, too

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much mass media focus on Donald Trump's primary election activities totally blocked out the Democrat candidate in the 2016 presidential primaries. Indeed, in advanced democracies, mass media is key in an election campaign but in emerging democracies, where many of the constituencies are rural, what the electorate listen to more effectively are messages from friends, family members and party foot soldiers. Mass media therefore has very little role to play in an election that is just limited to a group of members in one party. In addition, Johnson (2017) attributed the good performance of De Blasio in primary elections to his promise to the electorate to build a fair city and his massive support from the labor unions; promising to build a fair city and getting support from labor unions are good factors to win election. This means your support base and your message to the electorate count a lot. This current study would take a cue from that. However, Johnson (2017) is very silent on the caliber of contestants and the administrative processes governing these primaries.

More importantly, Kenski et al (2018) in an attempt to measure the level of primaries found that, Republican candidates were more likely to make lying accusations more than Democrats and this was largely driven by the candidacy of Donald Trump. However, Savoy (2018) thought that, Trump used simple and direct communication style and according to Dodo (2016) the sudden rise of Donald Trump in American politics is as a result of his primary campaign messages which resonated well with the American people and it aimed at tackling their domestic and foreign political problems. Whether lying to the electorate as alleged by Kenski (2018) or giving those messages that resonated with

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their wishes, they are both political tools to win primary elections but these two effects of lying or giving good message to the electorate impacts on general election outcomes.

In addition to the above, Gaynor (2012) and Berker (2012) were in agreement when they reported that, voters in the 26th June U.S primaries would not receive mails concerning the impending primaries due to inadequate funding to do so. Similarly, Femandez (2010) in presenting the first public account problem during a primary election, admitted that the process was fraught with challenges because of inadequate funding. This means that funding is very important for an election process to be credible. Aside from this, Lau (2013) after examining the reasons on which primary election voters in the 2008 presidential primaries in the U.S based their choices on, asserted that indeed, primary election voters do worse than general election voters do. However, the study did not show how credible the election processes were and apart from that, the effects of such voter behavior at the primaries on general election outcomes were not discussed.

More importantly, Stewart (2009) gave us a report about a trip made by a presidential election class to South Carolina to witness the 2008 presidential primaries. The reason was to practicalize what they have been learning in the classroom. Indeed, practical experiencedeepens theoretical understanding but to visit a primary election to learn something out of it without reporting on how fair the elections were, and what was the results and so on is not good enough.

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In elections in general and in primaries in particular, candidates or parties win based on certain reasons or they also lose based on certain factors. In this regard, Tatum (2000) offered different reasons why certain congressional contestants performed the way they did during primary elections by saying that their performance reflected their social status. This means that, who you are in society in terms of your contribution or whether you are liked or not contribute greatly to electoral success. In this direction, Cancela et al (2017), Browne (1999),Tatum (2016) and Carter (2010) were all unanimous about getting support from a section of society or from someone for one to perform well in primary elections. For instance, Candela et al (2017) asserted that in a non-partisan blanket primaries, the most determining factor for candidate selection is based on the number of neutral endorsement received and for this reason, Browne (1999) reported of how Toussaint, a contestant in the U.S outer-borough primary elections blamed her defeat on the support offered by Rev.A. Sharpton to her opponent, Bernandette Bayne. In the same way, Carter (2010) talked about how conservative women won their elections because of the support they received as a queen maker.

Similarly, Soller (2008), Tumulty et al (2008) and Lizza (2016) all reported on how Hilary Clinton performed in her presidential primaries and the reasons for that performance. Soller (2008) argued that, Marianne Young played a major role for Hilary Clinton to win the New Hemisphere primaries by asking her of how she was going to make it as a woman in election. This question won Hilary Clinton sympathy votes in New Hemisphere. Contrary, in trying to explain why Hilary Clinton lost to Obama in the 2008 Democrats primaries, Tumulty (2008) after assessing the strategies of the two candidates

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concluded that Hilary lost the race because of her lack of focus on main issues, over confidence and overall her campaign was problematic as compared to Obama. Also, after examining the stance between Hilary Clinton and Bernie Sanders in the 2016 presidential primaries, Lizza (2016) concluded that Bill Clinton's policies haunted the wife, Hilary Clinton.

Furthermore, Ansolabehere et al (2007) after examining the primary elections from 1912 to 2005 came to the realization that a great deal of incumbency advantage existed when it comes to primary elections in the U.S but Bardwell (2007) disagreed. His disagreement stems from the fact that from 1950-2000, he noticed that spending by incumbent has no effect on vote share as compared to spending by a challenger, which indeed attracts voters. More importantly, Feldman (2010) argued that, an incumbent congressional candidate lost her primaries because of the anti-Washington and anti-insider sentiments amongst the voters. Similarly, Von Drehle et al (2010) asserted that, incumbent traditional candidates from both the Democrats and Republicans lost their primary elections in Kentucky, Arkansas, and Pennsylvania because of a general revolt against incumbents in Washington DC. In addition, Church & State (2006) posited that most incumbent Kanas Creationist candidates were defeated in their primaries because of their stand against evolution but contrary to popular expectation, Argentina president, Mauricio Macri won the 2017 presidential primaries with his harsh economic reforms and austerity campaign messages. Deducing from the discussion of the immediate paragraphs above, it is clear that incumbency can be an advantage or a penalty depending on how incumbency is used. This current study would draw on the lessons by taking into

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consideration how incumbent can interfere with the election processes. This current study would not only probe into why candidates won but whether the processes and administrative arrangements governing these elections were fair and conformed to current democratic demands.

Again,with the issue of incumbency being a penalty, Will (2015) posited that Kentucky House majority leader lost to a classroom teacher in primaries because of his superintend over a bill that went against teachers.However, Cohen (2002) exalted the good performance of Jennifer Granholm, candidate of the Democrats in Michigan because he serves as a spokesperson for the Democrats in Michigan.Additionally, Moser (2006) reported of how National figures in Christendom lost their primary elections to traditional conservative opponents suggesting that, conservative Christians do not have a stronghold on national politics.

Carson et al (2009) also argued that, legislators with a high degree of constituency congruency are more likely to emerge as candidates and fare better in the general elections. While Feldman (2010) explained, that Bill Haslam won the primary elections because he prevailed over the other party candidates andwas alsoself-financed. Indeed, money is very useful in primary and general election because of the cost implication. However, this alone may not be the reason for somebody's electability.Factors such as your relationship with party executives, the perception of society about the candidate in terms of support base and what you can do for them count.Nevertheless, Feldman (2010) argues that, theestablishment favorite of both the Republican and Democrats in the U.S

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survived their primary elections with great difficulties. In addition to the above literature, Johnson (2018) asserted that, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez won the primary election in congressional District because of the maximum support he had from individuals and well known organizations. Yes, it is clear that Ocasio-Cortez won his primaries based on massive support after all politics is about numbers but why would organizations and individuals support Ocasio-Cortez. Certainly, there would be some reasons why they threw their support behind him but Johnson (2018) did not make us know. While Tatum (2016) reported of voter apathy at primaries in the U.S, he asserted that it only takes those with huge sums of money to win primaries under such circumstances. In a situation when money defines who wins primaries, democracy would come under heavy threats. In this case, many unqualified and incompetent rich men can buy their way into official positions. Reporting on voter apathy and its consequences on who is elected is not enough.It would have been enlightening if Tatum (2016) had provided us with the reasons that led to voter apathy in the United States. What could be the cause of this voter apathy or decline in interest to participate in primary election? Indeed, Gertber et al (2017), Hill &Kousser (2016) and Ansolabehere (2005) all had similar views about the decline of interest for participation in primary elections. In the opinion of Gertber et al (2017), the real reasons for low turnout in primaries are compared to general elections are lower stakes and less social pressure to come out and participate in primary elections. Hill &Kousser (2016) however attributed the low interest in primaries to lower contacts between contestants and voters in primary elections as compared to general elections.Both Gertber et al (2017) and Hill&Kousser (2016) gave us cogent reasons why interest for primary has fallen in America but they did not tell us what the implication of

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this decline in interest for primaries could have on the type of people who would be nominated and ultimately the general elections. This current study would fill the gap in the literature by digging into the caliber of candidates who contested the NDC primaries andalso show the possible effects primaries may have on general election outcomes. Kaplan (2014) expressed the satisfaction of New York Governor Andrew Goumo for securing sixty (60) percent of vote cast in the 2014 primary elections and looked forward to the general elections.

In an attempt to explain the nature of the U.S 2018 midterm elections, Cantonese (2018) indicated that, the competition was very intense for both the Democrats and Republicans in their primaries in California. Certainly, politics is who gets what, when and how according to Harold Lasswell and for that matter, competition is expected in the primaries toward the Democrats and Republicans midterm elections in the U.S. Indeed, there is nothing wrong with intense competition if that would not lead to division in the party, but Dominguez (2005) asserted that for a party to be united or divided over primaries, it depends largely on the unity or division of party elites before the primaries. Hermson&Gimpel (1995) on the other hand, after a close study of both Democrats and Republicans explained that divisive primaries occurred because of population diversity, characteristics of the constituency and State level political opportunities. Dominguez (2005) and Hermson&Gimpel (1995) have offered the lessons on what causes divisive primaries for this current study to draw. In an attempt to explain whether primaries are disruptive,orredemptive, Indridason&Kristinsson (2015) posited that for the four decades of primary elections on Iceland, the political parties there remained strong, robust and

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cohesive institutions without suffering any of the ills prescribed by its critics. The reason for the parties' robust nature is the manner they adopted, primary elections.Similarly,Seddone and Venturino (2013) after having studied the 2007 and 2008 primaries organized by the Italian Democratic Party to select their leaders were also able to show that primaries do not damage the party since supporters of losers did not do anything untoward to ruin the chances of the selected nominees. Again, HortalaVallve& Mueller (2015) reported that, for those whose party leaders cannot connect to policy concession, primary election can have a unifying role forthem since it gives them the opportunity for the alignment of various preferred policies of different factions within a party and makes all feel counted.

From the positions of Indridason&Kristinsson (2015), Seddone&Venturino (2013) and Hortala-Vallve&Mueller (2015), different reasons or factors account for primaries uniting party members but it must be understood that, those factors are not applicable to every primary elections and that is why in some primaries, there are many divisions. This current study would take note of this by examining the NDC primaries in the Upper West Region spanning from 2003 to 2015 to see if the opinions expressed by those three earlier scholars are reflective of the NDC primaries in the region.

More importantly, Bruhn (2010) wanted to know whether primaries hurts or improve candidates in general elections by studying the 2006 Mexican elections and came to the this conclusion. The primaries failed to produce candidates with advantage because of organizational challenges, difficulties and low entry requirements of aspirants.

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Organizational challenges and low entry requirements refer to the administrative processes governing elections and the caliber of contestants respectively. The currentstudy would probe into the conclusion made by Bruhn (2010) and see how it reflects in the NDC primariesWhile Bruhn (2010) contended that, primaries in Mexico did not produce an advantageous candidate, Carey and Polga-Hecimovich (2006) after testing the strengths of candidates selected by primary methods and other mode of nomination argued otherwise. They concluded that, in Latin America, candidates selected by primaries are stronger than those selected through non-democratic and non-transparent ways.However, Gallo (2018) opined that primary reforms in Argentina and Uruguay did not produce the needed results of improving internal party life, instead, it led to the establishment of competition not based on party rules but rather personalization, which eventually made the essence of parties irrelevant.Administrative processes are very important because they give credibility to the election itself of which Polga-Hecimovich (2006) and Gallo (2018) have discussed .

In addition to the above, Parmelee (2002) critically looked at all the presidential aspirants in U.S 2000 presidential primaries and noticed that they all used the mass media to promote their campaign messages. In an enlightened environment like America, the mass media is very important in carrying across your campaign messages. However, Parmelee (2002) did not tell his readers what the campaign messages were, and it is on this basis that Cho & Benoit (2005) did a content analysis of six presidential aspirants' news releases and realized that the campaign messages in the 2004 U.S presidential primaries were direct attack on President Bush'splans, policy issues and personal qualities. In

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thisregard, Cho &Benoit (2005) improved on Parmelee's (2002) work.More importantly, Slider &Petrov (2016) after having studied many primaries in Italy towards the September Duma elections realized that many primaries exposed many intra-party conflicts and showed the ever-growing tendency of governors and other regional party elites to manipulate the system as to who should represent them at the Centre. Quite interestingly, it is understandable that those who are already in power would want to use it to protect their interest, hence governors and party elites in Italy manipulating the system.

In trying to explain why Republicans have an easier time selecting their presidential candidates as compared to the Democrats, Ryan (2018) asserted that, the Republican Party homogeneity and delegate rules that winnow candidates faster are the major factors that differentiate Republican presidential primaries from that of Democrats. On this basis, he concluded that, Republicans produced shorter and less divisive primaries because of the faster and more efficient winnowing process. More importantly, Johnson et al (2010) argued that, potential challenges estimate their electoral chances before standing against an incumbent. This means electoral prospects influence both primary divisiveness and general election performance. In their findings, they noted that divisive primaries waste precious campaign resources and tarnish the image of the primary winner.In addition, Oguray (2016) observed that candidates are not static with their strategies toward both primaries and general elections. The reason for varying the strategies is that voters who turn out for primary elections have different expectations than those who turn out for general election. It is good that Oguray (2016) has drawn our attention to the different

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strategies used at different levels of election. This would be a guide not only to would-be contestants but also to this current study. However,

In addition to the above, King et al (2016) tried to explain the role of ideology in primary congressional elections in the U.S by using social media for the assessment. They concluded that ideological extremity is advantageous in party primaries. Acknowledging without admitting that ideology extremism is advantageous to primary elections, King et al (2016) did not explore the impact of ideological extremism on general elections. In other words, would an ideological extreme party candidate appeal to the median voter in the general election? Altmon (2013) seems to provide information that answers the above question. In his opinion, candidates selected in Uruguay by the use of primaries for more than one candidate are the ones likely to be located closer to party constituents because party men want to select ideologically inclined contestants but such winners would be far away from the median voter.

Both King et al (2016) and Altman (2013) emphasized on ideology. This would hold for parties in advanced democracies who have clear-cut ideologies and people who vote based on that. However, ideology would not hold for parties in Africa especially Ghana were both NDC and NPP, the two major political parties overlap in their social and economic policies. On this basis, Ichino&Nathan (2012) dismissed the function of ideology in Ghana primaries. This study therefore would look for other factors other than ideology in primary contest.

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Asidefromideology, Delorenzo et al (1997) examined the racial composition of voters for black and white candidates in St. Louis primaries from 1992-1993. They found out that, the willingness on the part of both racial sub-populations to ignore the race of contestants, which means people were voted for based on their background abilities. However, Nilsen& Prokop (2018) argued that, the background of candidates alone is not enough to win elections but also the prevailing political conditions in each state. This current study would draw on the issues of ethnicity or race, background of candidates and prevailing political conditions to see how similar or different it is from the studies of Delorenzo et al (1997) and Nilsen & Prokop (2018.

Moreover,Noel (2018) argued that party activist played major role in deciding who becomes democrats' party nominee as compared to Republican in the 2016 U.S presidential primaries. Party activist are part of the major stakeholders in primary election and their actions are key since they serve as a link between the contestants and party on one hand and the electorate on the other. Their activities therefore cannot be ignored.More importantly, Murakami (2008) posited that, the way parties groom, select and promote their candidates determine the strength of party organization, the quality of elected policy makers and effectiveness of government. Indeed, a credible process leads to credible results and this has been affirmed by Noel (2018).

Most often than not, women are disadvantaged at primaries and on this basis Odercin&Welch (2009) argued that different factors determine the success of women in primaries and eventually in general elections? Parties prefer to field women in

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strongholds than in open seats in order to make things easier for them to win. This means gender has a role to play as to who to field where, but who takes that decision to field a women at strongholds, is it the women, party executives or some lobbyist group outside the party and even if any, the next issue is, do they have an interest to protect? Odercin&Welch (2009) did not consider these issues.

Aside from the issues of gender, the decency of campaign is also crucial in politics. In light of this, Bowman (2016) after hearing and following how nasty and terrible the campaign trail of Ted Cruz, Donald Trump,Marco Rubio and the way the media reported their campaigns, asserted that the U.S. 2016 presidential primaries was a politics without honor. How did this negative campaign reflect in both the primaries and general elections, what was the cause of these negative campaigns? In primary elections, events are dated to give the public the opportunity to follow what the candidates are doing so that they can make informed choices. On this basis, Capital Ideas (2012) presented a calendar of events relating to 2012 presidential primaries debates and conventions in various states in the U.S. This publication was just a calendar of events that did not give much information.

In the game of primary elections, Fertik (2016) argued that people in the Democratic Party in U.S. have different reasons why they vote for a particular candidate but Hirano et al (2015), Edgerty et al (2018) and Clausen (2009) have different opinions about how voters in primary elections make their choices. In the opinion of Hirano et al (2015), voters learnabout the ideology of candidates during statewide primary campaign and that

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this learning affectstheir voting decision.However, Edgerty et al (2016) think that in the midst of digital social media, people make up their minds or are informal about political activities through social media and this was particularly true about the U.S. 2016 presidential primaries. Nevertheless, Clausen (2009) thinks that it is not about the means of information that helps people to take a decision but how the candidates are selected. In his opinion, the process by which candidates are selected affects voters. Based on this,he submitted that the relative openness of the primary regulations in the U.S is responsible for the important voter behaviors'

Again, Kemahilogiu et al (2009) asserted that in the case where primaries are not mandated, parties in Lartin America only use primaries to select their presidential candidates only when there is division within the party. In this case, primaries are used for unification but there are also instances where primaries bring about divisions. This current study would find out whether the NDC primaries brought about divisions or unity

Kemahilogiu et al (2009) was only interested in why primaries were conducted in Latin America but how the primaries were conducted, who were the stakeholders involved and what role they played were not considered. All these have a great impact on primary elections and because of this, the current study shall pay attention to them.

More importantly, Many scholars think that primary election has some impact on general election depending on a number of factors. In light of this,Jewitt and Treul (2014) argued that the competitiveness of the U.S. 2010 congressional primaries of both the Republicans and the Democrats increased turnout during the general elections. On the

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part of De Luca and Venturino (2017), the level of turnout at a party's primaries has adirect impact on general election outcomes in France and Italy. In the same way, Hirano and Snyder (2009) and Norpoth (2004) both concurred that candidates who do well in primaries equally do well in the general elections.

Treul (2014), Deluca &Venturino (2007) and Hirano & Snyder (2009) took very simplistic views about the connection between performance at primaries and performance at general elections. We say so because the primary constituents are different from the general election constituents. Aside from that, a candidate probably did well at primaries becausethe process was manipulated in his favor. It is therefore pertinent to consider the processes as well as the status of an individual in the party, which may influence the outcome of the primaries.

More importantly, it must also be noted that, it is not inall situations that primary elections have positive effects on general elections. Cantillana et al (2015) after having studied the mayoral primaries of 2012 of the Chile's Centre-left party observed that though the primaries were more opened and participatory, it did not lead to increase in voter turnout at the general elections. In a situation where the primaries are problematic, the effects on general elections may not be good. For instance, Lazarus (2005) observed that divisive primaries hunt the candidates who emerged winners and prevent them from running at full strength at general elections. This is so because losing candidates and their supporters may not offer their assistance and even may attempt to sabotage the success of the winners in the general elections. In a similar manner, Gurlan et al (2016) stated that both National Party Division and Divisive State primaries have independent and

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significant impact on State level general election results with National Party Division having greater and more widespread effect on the national election outcomes.

From the discussions of Cantillana et al (2015), Kanthak& Morton (2003), Conference papers (n.a, 2013) and Lazarus (2005), they were interested in showing how primary elections impact on general election outcomes but primary elections alone cannot determine the performance of a candidate in general elections. The quality of candidates, their financial standingand the number of constituents behind his candidature equally counts. Lastly, concerning the relationship between primaries and general election outcomes, Norpoth and Bedarezuk (2012) using history as their guide predicted the re-election of Obama for a second term in office. The reason for this prediction was that since 1912, any candidate who gets massive support from New Hemisphere primaries wins the general elections and since Obama had massive support from New Hemisphere during his primaries coupled with the fact that he was unchallenged was certainly going to win.

In politics, it is good to look out for certain signs as directions when entering into a contest, which Norpoth&Bedarezuk (2012) have identified. This current study shall take note of this. However, Norpoth and Bedarezuk (2012) did not considerwhy the primary election of New Hemisphere is a decider in the American presidential elections and the manner and nature of competition in their primaries.

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In addition to the above, legal issues are bound to happen in a bid to get people nominated to represent their parties. In trying to settle the problem of who pays for primary election cost, the U.S Supreme Court (2017) ruled that, the procedure to get candidates nominated onto the ballot should be at the expense of the public and be regulated by law as the rights to choose representatives is guaranteed by the constitution. Also, theU.S Supreme Court (2017) ruled on the right of African-American to vote in primary elections under the auspices of the fifteenth (15^{th}) amendments. The ruling was that, it was illegal to deny any qualified voter the opportunity to vote in primaries based on race and therefore, any State law that bans Negroes from voting is a violation of their rights and the provision of the U.S constitution.

Both rulings were aimed at creating an equal playing field for all. In addition, in the midst of the 2008 U.S Democrats presidential schemes, Flanders (2011) proposed some legal reforms for three stakeholders in these primaries, the voter, the political party and the State. In his opinion, these legal reforms will create level playing field for all and make the results more acceptable and democratic. The interest on the part of law is to create a level field for all but practically, it is not possible to achieve that based on who the candidates are. Some candidates may be popular and therefore have a larger support base than the unpopular ones, some may be rich while others are poor, and some may have high entry requirements while others have low. So how do all these play out in primaries though the law assumes that all are equal? More importantly, Femandez (2011) reported of a federal court ruling that pushed back a primary election from 6^{th} March to 3^{rd} April

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to enable parties involved hold one single primaries to reduce administrative cost in San Antonio State.

Based on the reviewed literature on primary elections in democracies outside Africa, it is clear that over sixty percent (60%) of the published materials focused on America and even within America, over sixty percent (60%) of the said literature are on presidential primaries, leaving a little room for parliamentary primaries. In this regard, the current study is significant, as it would focus on parliamentary primaries, thus fill the gaps in the literature

2.4 PRIMARY ELECTIONS IN DEMOCRACIES IN AFRICA

Even though Africa is still grappling with Institutional Democracy, the continent is doing much more better when it comes to electoral Democracy especially in countries like Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, Botswana and a few more others. The steady increase in electoral democracy in Africa has witnessed a corresponding increase in publications concerning general elections. However, surprisingly, the same cannot be said about primary elections, which are generally seen as harbingers to general elections. The availability of published material on primary elections isscattered and scanty within the African continent. This state of affairs is probably due to the fact that primary election has not attracted the needed scholarly attention it deserve in the world in general and in Africa in particular (Ohman, 2004; Ichino&Nathan,2017). Notwithstanding the above assertion, this study has critically examined and reviewed the few available materials in the following paragraphs.

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First, Gardaworld (2017), Olewe (2017), Cheeseman (2017) and Wanyama &Elklit(2018) were all unanimous about how Kenyan primaries over the years have been characterized and marred by violence, confusion, complaints as well as irregularities. While Gardaworld (2017) merely stated that, the Kenyan primary elections were characterized by irregularities and violence, other scholars went ahead to adduce tangible reasons why Kenyan primaries have assumed a violent trend. For Olewe (2017) and Cheeseman (2017), the reason for the confusion, tension and irregularities is as a result of the high stakes involved considering certain positions such as member of parliament (MP), Governors and the Presidency which is believed topromote great wealth and influence and as such, people are prepared to fight for them at all cost. On the part of Wanyama &Elklit (2018) the reason accounting for the violent nature of Kenyan primaries especially since 1991 up to date is because of the failure of Kenyans to build parties around institutional organization. Instead, they built political parties around personalities and ethnic Regional interest groups. Olewe (2017), Cheeseman (2017) and Wanyama &Elklit (2018) have also given some lessons on why Kenyan primaries were problematic and their possible effects on the general elections. This current study would draw on these lessons.

In addition to the above, Ishiyama (2007) after having examined the nomination behavior of the two major opposition parties in Ethiopia asserted that two parties, Coalition for Unity and Democracy(CUD) and United Ethiopian Democratic Forces (UEDF) differed in their nomination behaviors. He statedthat the CUD more than the UEDF exhibited

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nomination patterns similar to party nomination behaviors in other emerging democracies.

Bisiani (2018), Khamula (2018)[a] and Khamula (2018)[b] all reported on the primary elections of the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) at different stages. Bisiani (2018) reported that the MCP was the first political party in Malawi that had planned to hold primaries to nominate candidates for the impending 2019 general elections. He however observed that, primaries are seen as cause of division as losers ditch their parties by contesting as independent candidates. From the discussion of Bisiani (2018), he is much interested in the election processes as it is seen that, dissatisfied losers ditched their parties by standing as independent candidates. However, Bisiani did not give much detail about the primaries' processes in his analysis for us to know whether the planning and processes leading to the primaries were free and fair.Khamula (2018)[a] and Khamula (2018)[b] improved upon Bisiani (2018) when they reported that, the main opposition, Malawi Congress Party (MCP) tried to manipulate the primaries for the impending parliamentary and local government elections by postponing it. When it was finally organized, party officials attempted to impose an incumbent MP on the people but this was resisted fiercely with destruction done to property and even party officials had to run for their lives.

This admittedly is a clear display of politics, in that, we could see how party officials tried to tilt the system in favor of someone against others.. In Uganda, The Guardian (2010) reported that the National Resistance Movement (NRM) primaries were

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characterized by intimidation, threats and irregularities, which seems to suggest that the problems that characterized the primaries could spill over into the general elections. On the contrary, Malinga (2010) reported that, the opposition Forum for Democratic Change has claimed the moral high grounds to win the upcoming 2011 general elections because their primaries were free and fair in Katina where the National Resistant Movement (NRM) had many irregularities linked to vote rigging.

The Guardian (2010) and Malinga (2010) were both interested in what happened on the day of the primaries but primary elections go beyond just the Election Day.Vokes (2017) went beyond the opinions of the Guardian (2010) and Malinga (2010) by explaining how contestants in the National Resistance Movement Party (NRMP) primaries in Uganda sought to secure votes by donating publicly to potential voters. Even though it was culturally right to do so, considering the context within which the gifts were offered, it was generally viewed as illegitimate and therefore tantamount to corruption.

In addition to the above, Abba & Babalola (2017) and Tenuche (n.d) were unanimous about how primary elections were manipulated in Nigeria. In their opinion, Abba & Babalola (2017) stated that during primary elections, party elites deploy so many means to influence the choices that are made leading to the collapse of party structures which also hinders the emergence of credible candidates. On the part of Tenuche (n.d), primary elections in Nigeria are highly flawed and manipulated. He was able to adduce evidence from a number of parties in Nigeria to show that winners of primary elections were really the losers and vice versa. In his opinion, all these manipulations are hidden from the

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public and this therefore undermine elections as the expression of popular will and a means to guarantee and defend democratic norms.

The observations of Abba and Babalola (2017) and Tenuche (n.d) are key to this current study since they focused on how party elites manipulate the system to their advantage. However, interested parties in primaries are many and go beyond only party elites. Still within Nigeria, Fayahum (2018) and Ojeifo (2018) both agreed that there is divided opinion with regard to how All Peoples' Congress (APC) wants to select their flag bearer for the 2019 general elections. While the National Executive Committee had proposed direct elections as a means of giving a sense of belonging to those at the grassroots, the proposal is creating tension and threatening internal peace and cohesion. This is so because State governors are not comfortable with the process since it will not work in their interest of deciding who gets what in their various states. On the other hand, the main opposition party in Nigeria, that is the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) had fixed twelve million Naira as filing fees for male candidates and two-million Naira for female candidates toward the primaries to select a flagbearer for the impending 2019 general elections(Nwachuku, 2018). In addition, aspirants were to swear an oath to abide by the decision of the party and that the decision of the National Executive Committee was final and binding. As a guide, Nwachuku (2018) sets the tone for the game and put all contestants on an equal playing field.

Furthermore, Ghana is one of the African countries whose democratic credentials have been touted all over the place. The paragraphs below review the literature on primary

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elections in Ghana.Even though no detailed and systematic publication exists on the politics of primary elections in Ghana, a handful of publication exist on various aspects of primary elections in Ghana. Notable among them are those published by Ichino Nahomi and Nathan Noah.

To begin with, in trying to explain the effects of primaries on the electoral performance of parties in Ghana, Ichino and Nathan (2013) found evidence of a primary bonus for opposition and primary penalty for ruling government in parliamentary elections. In a similar manner, Ichino and Nathan (2016) again argued that by democratizing candidate selection through the expansion of the primary electorate have two consequences. First, the voters would have diverse preference and vote buying would become a less effective strategy and secondly, the expansion would give chance to politicians that were excluded including women and minority tribes to take part in politics.

The concentration on the effects of primaries by Ichino and Nathan (2013) and Ichino and Nathan (2016) is good because it makes us understand the repercussion of every parliamentary primary conducted. However, in parliamentary primaries, we should also be interested in why primaries are conducted, who are the interested parties and how do they defend their interest during the primary processes? All these are missing in Ichino& Nathan (2013) and Ichino& Nathan (2016). And so, Ichino& Nathan (2012) and Ichino& Nathan (2017) improved on their work Ichino& Nathan (2013) and Ichino& Nathan (2016) by telling us why parliamentary primaries are conducted in emerging democracies. According to Ichino and Nathan (2012), in new Democracies where the

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legislature is weak, politics is clientalistic and therefore primary elections are conducted to satisfy party members seeking benefits from contestants. In addition, Ichino& Nathan (2017) argued that in emerging democracies where ideology is relegated to the background, the actual motivation factor for running primaries is to prevent elite defection and motivate grassroots and activists.

In Ichino& Nathan (2012) and Ichino& Nathan (2017), they only identified grassroots activists and party members as people who have a stake in parliamentary primaries. However, in earnest, the stakeholders in parliamentary primaries go beyond just party men or local party activists. For instance, a very rich contractor in the constituency who may not be a party member can decide the outcome of primaries. A tribal group that is not affiliated to a party but has an interest in the outcome of parliamentary primaries can decide how things should go or better still a chief who is supposed to be non-partisan can influence the outcome of parliamentary primaries depending on what the chief stands to benefit. Based on the above, it is too narrow for Ichino& Nathan (2012) and Ichino& Nathan (2017) to limit the interested stakeholders of parliamentary primaries to only party men This current study would identify all the possible stakeholders and indicate their interest and how they went about in trying to defend their interest. It is pertinent to note that, In Ichino Nahomi and Nathan L. Noah's publications, they relied heavily on secondary data especially from official documents and new papers for their analysis and discussions. This must be understood in a context because, they were merely interested in why parliamentary primaries are conducted and what the effect is and whether it is democratic. This can easily be found in documents. However, the politics of primary

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elections, which deals with, who gets what, when and how, is a very delicate one. Most of the activities under this are purely underground and undercover and therefore very difficult to get in documents. Instead, we will vary our methodology by collecting data directly from various stakeholders by using semi-structured interview guide and a questionnaire.

In addition to the above, Daddieh and Bob-Milliar (2012) have seriously interrogated the nature of parliamentary primaries, the procedures governing such primaries and the extent to which these primaries meet or deviate from the democratic standard in both the NPP and the NDC in Ghana. In their submission, they agreed that a monumental improvement has been made in terms of candidate selection processes. However, other teething problems and challenges need to be surmounted in order to give real democratic power to voters in the constituencies. As a comparative study, it gives a more detailed and holistic information about the process and procedures in primary elections.

In an attempt to explain why the NPP 2007 presidential primaries attracted a large number of 17 aspirants, unprecedented in the history of the fourth Republic, Bob-Milliar and Bob-Milliar (2010) argued that the marginal gain in macro-economic environment chalked by the Kuffuor administration and the discovery of oil occasioned the keen intra-party competition. This is contrary to popular expectations that the NPP is democratic and therefore attracts ambitious people. Aside from the NPP, Mintah (2018) also reported that, the campaign for the NDC flagbearer race for the 2020 general elections has commenced and factions within the party has started declaring their support for the

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various candidates. Declaration of support by fellow party men is very good but it is not sufficient to ensure victory. This declaration must be backed by action. However, Mintah (2018) has not told us the actions the various factions within the party are taking to ensure their preferred candidate wins. Again, Dekportor (2015) posited that, the 95% endorsement of Mahama across the country in the 2015 presidential primaries toward the 2016 general elections was an indication that, the NDC was better placed to handle the business of government as compared to the NPP. This is a mere declaration of election results, but the question is why did Mahama go unopposed?. . In sum, Mintah (2018) and Dekportor (2015) discussed presidential primaries that are national in character but this current study would narrow down on parliamentary primaries that are constituency based with specific local politics.

Moreover, Szilegyi (2017) summarized the amount of involvement of Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) in primary elections especially in African countries. He came to the realization that in Ghana the EMB involvement in primaries is only limited to organizing the vote and counting the ballot. This limited role of the EMB meant that, it cannot function properly as a referee to ensure an all-level playing field for all candidates and that leaves the whole process prone to manipulation by individuals. This observation constitutes the politics of primary elections, which is the subject matter of this current study.Additionally, Boateng (2009) argued that, the delegate system currently used by Ghana in selecting both parliamentary and presidential candidates is opened up for manipulation and as a result, he recommended the one man one vote since it has worked well for Ghana in general elections. These observations made by Boateng (2009) shall

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serve as a guide since the current study would examine the administrative processes guiding these primaries but will proceed further to interrogate the caliber of candidates involved and the sort of things that delegates look out for before voting. To add up, Ghana Live (2016) reported that, the opposition, NPP was holding primaries in Menhyia North to select a parliamentary candidate for the 2016 general elections. This primary election was initially postponed because of initial complaints of irregularities. In a similar way, Akwetey (2008) reported of the clashes between the supporters of Bryan and Akyeampong and Fredrick Opare Ansah in Suhum NPP primaries over the conduct of how the primaries were carried out. Still with the NPP, a polling station Chairman in Tema constituency called on the National Executive Committee to disqualify Irene Addo because she was not in good standing but another opposition NPP group backed Irene Addo (Attenkali, 2008). . In addition, Boadu (2008) reported that, Appiah Kubi was disqualified on security reasons by the vetting committee based on the allegation that, he had a hand in the death of Kwadwo Baah-Wiredu, former NPP Member of Parliament for Asante AkyimNorth. Based on this, the constituency executives could not support his candidature. In this publication, we are told of Appiah-Kubi and the reason for his disqualification but who at all is Appiah Kubi? Was he alone in the race and if there were others, who were they and who were their supporters. All these important questions remained unanswered by Boadu (2008). This is the reason why this current study must do detailed discussions of all contestants, their support base and the reason for their support.

In addition to the above, Asmah&Okyere (2015), Vinorkor (2015) and Aziz (2015) reported on how the NDC decided to use universal Adult Suffrage in all 275

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constituencies to select their flagbearer and parliamentary candidates and because of the preparation toward the primaries, the majority NDC side deserted parliamentary proceedings forcing the speaker to adjourn sitting. Meanwhile, all was set for the conduct of the primaries except Nkwatia South and Chiana/Paga constituencies where some outstanding issues were yet to be resolved. In all, 2,075,420 registered NDC members were to take part in the primaries.

Asmah&Okyere (2015), Vinorkor (2015) and Aziz (2015) are all Newspaper reporters that only talked about the preparations that have been towards the NDC 2015 presidential and parliamentary primaries. They did not give us who the candidates were, how did the candidates compete among themselves for selection, which individuals or groups supported which candidate, and better still, where did the candidates get the money to fund their political activities. These are the real political issues that have been ignored and this current study intends to address them.

Still with the NDC 2015 primaries, Graphic Reporters (2015) reported of how Sam George, a presidential staffer defeated and displaced E.T Mensah, a five time Member of Parliament for Ningo-Prampran and a political colossus of the Fourth Republic. Though this newspaper publication became the talk in town and created many political discussions, it did not provide us why a colossus like E.T Mensah lost and why Sam George won. The reason for the winning or loss of candidates makes the politics of primary elections and this constitutes the subject matter of this current study.

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Again, Debrah (2006) observed that, in the run up to the 2004 general elections, the NDC and NPP primaries were characterized by lobbying, intimidation, cajoling, bribery, and vote buying. These issues identified by Debrah (2006) would serve as a guide to this current study because we are also interested in finding out the sort of politics that characterized primary elections. However, we must be quick to note that, Debrah mentioned these issues in passing because he only wanted to show the effect of primaries on general elections outcome and therefore, he was not interested in discussing primary politics in details. In this regard, the study would consider the subject of bribery as it pertains to parliamentary primary elections and determine its influence on the outcomes of these elections.

Similar to the views of Debrah (2006), Frempong (2017) also observed that amongthe several reasons that led to the defeat of the NDC in the 2016 general elections, one of the factors that actually worked against the NDC party as compared to the NPP was the poor manner of handling its expanded primary electoral college. Because of this, several members of the NDC felt disgruntled and did not vote in the general elections. Indeed, Frempong (2017) stated the effect of the expanded primary Electoral College on general elections results, which is one of the objectives of this current study. However, Frempong (2017) has been silent on how the expanded primary Electoral College was organized. Who played what role and for what purpose? This current study intends to discuss all these in details in order to cover the gap in the literature.

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2.5 CONCLUSION

Deducing from the detailed and systematic literature review that has been carefully undertaken,it is clear that a greater proportion of the literature is coming from Democracies outside Africa, more dominantly from America. These literatures deal mostly with presidential primaries that were viewed through American lenses. The handful ofscholarly works on primaries that are related to African Democracies mostly discussed the evolution of parliamentary primaries, the reasons for carrying out primary elections and how wellAfrican primaries conform or do not conform to democratic principles. The discussions however, have been in bit and pieces and for that matter, none of them has done a detailed, systematic and comprehensive study on the politics of primary elections and that is the main reason for carrying out the current study.

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CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter looks at two issues; the first part examines the theories on which this study is anchored and the second portion looks at the research questions that give direction to the study.

3.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Indeed, any good academic study of this nature requires a theory or theories. Theories are actually more or less like lenses through which researchers look at complicated social issues (Reeves et al, 2008) and it is on this basis that Paul(2012) stated that any research without a theory is blind. To further underscore the important relationship between theory and research, Peter v. Paul advised all stakeholders in the knowledge production industry to as a matter of necessity ground their research on theory. The discussions below show the inevitable role and great significance of theory in research.

Primarily, scholars all over the years have developed theories to enable us explain why and how certain events occurred in the world (Akuamoah, 2012). Secondly, theories help humans prioritize information and enable them to pay much attention to the salient issues. Thirdly, theories are employed to explain, describe and predict what the future is about in

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order to prepare for upcoming events and on this basis therefore, a theory can be used to galvanize support for future events (Burchill et al; 2005, Kaufman; 2013)

In addition to the above, Jahn(2017) observed that theory plays a Janus-face role in research by providing the link between what is conjectural and what is reality on the ground. The use of theory in research therefore, although, often not acknowledged definitely shapes the way researchers gather and interpret their evidence (Alderson, 1998). This research therefore would rely on theories that would properly shape the statement of the research problem, and the gathering and interpretation of the data from the field.

The most appropriate theories that were used to describe and explain this research are (1) 'A theory of political parties: groups, policy demands and nominations in American politics' propounded by Bawn et al(2017), and (2) Alternative theory for the use of primary elections in New Democracies, by Ichino&Nathan (2012) and modified by Ichino&Nathan(2017). These two theories are explained in details below.

3.1.1 A theory of Political Parties: groups, policy demands and nominations in American politics

A theory of political parties: groups, policy demands and nominations in American politics is propounded by Bawn et al(2017), to explain how political parties operate when it comes to nomination of candidates for elections in America. For the purposes of this study, we shall mostly refer to this theory as a theory of political parties.

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This theory is a combination of theories synthesized into one single theory to explain how political parties operate and behave in order to capture political power. For the purposes of this study, we are going to concentrate on the aspects that deal with nomination and by implication, primary election. Among other things, this theory argues that political parties are coalition of interest groups and activists. These interest groups and activists constitute the main actors in the scheme of things within the party, but they conceded that party office holders also command same amount of control over the party.

These coalitions of interest groups and activists develop common agenda and screen candidates for party nominations on loyalty to their agenda. In other words, the main aim of these coalitions of interest groups and activists is to capture and use governmental power for their particular goals, which range from material self-interest to high-minded idealism.Based on attaining their particular goals, these groups would therefore insist on the nomination of candidates with a demonstrable commitment to their interest and work hard to elect these candidates to office. In furtherance of this, these interest groups and activists assist candidates who would work in their favor with money, manpower and expertise. This theory is in direct contrast with current dominant theories, which view parties as controlled by election-minded individual politicians.

Interestingly, in addition to the above, the theory further posits that voters are unable to ascertain or evaluate the policy positions and party performance and because of this limitation or voter blindness, parties capitalized on that to project their agenda and try to get the voters to go along with them. What this means is that,parties and not voters

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determine the issues on which voters based their choices. Again, these interest groups and activists mainly determine the agenda that parties execute,whichare then framed as party agenda. These groups do a lot of consultations, sacrifices and promises in order to arrive at a common ground to nominate a candidate to project their interest. The resulting coalitions encompass diverse concerns, some narrowly material and some broadly idealistic. Inenvitably, the party's or candidates'programmes are less than perfect matches for the concerns of most voters who respond with varying degree of trust, adaptation and confusion.

Lastly, the theory contended thatthere is the need for interest groups and individual candidates to rely on the local party men at the District or constituency levels in their quest to succeed.

3.1.2 Strength and Weaknesses ofA theory of Political Parties: groups, policy demands and nominations in American politics

The first strength of the theory is that, it is broad and covers a wide range of issues in politics such as nomination, lobbying, framing, policy issues and many others. It therefore offers a great opportunity to choose the aspects that apply to this study.Secondly, apart from being broad, it also reflects reality by presenting political parties as amalgamation of different people with diffident interests and in such a situation, competition, consultation, conflict, compromising, lobbying are inevitable on the way to who gets what, when and how. Notwithstanding the aforementioned strengths of the theory, it also has the following weaknesses.

First, the assumption that voters are totally blind and therefore cannot evaluate the policy positions and performance of parties is not entirely true. In reality, there are instances,

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where candidates or parties won elections based on what they have done or performed in the past. Aside from that,let us assumes without admitting that the voters are unable to evaluate policy positions of political parties, experience has shown that parties do not formulate policies out of a vacuum. In fact, parties and candidates look at the election environment and formulate policies, based on what is needed by community members and this makes it easier for voters to buy into candidates or party policy positions of contestants.

Secondly, the aspect of lobbyists and policy position or ideological inclination of candidates and parties perfectly apply to advanced Democracies, where nominations or primary elections are basically influenced by formalized institutions such as interest groups, Lobbyists and others that play a key role in policy formulation. It however woefully failed to cater for emerging democracies where elections are not based on policy position or ideological background of contestants (Stokes et al; 2013 Riedl 2014).Indeed, in new democracies especially in Africa, politics and for that matter, who gets what, when and how is woven around rent seeking and clienteles. More so Ichino and Nathan (2017), have further argued that in New Democracies, primary elections apart from nominating a winnable candidate is also meant to prevent elite defections and to motivate grass roots activists.

Based on the above weaknesses, especially, the failure of the theory to address how nomination through primary elections is carried out in New Democracies, where policy issues are not important and politics is woven around clientelism, Ichino &Nathan

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(2012)and Ichino& Nathan (2017)have propounded the alternative theory for the use of primary elections in New Democracies.

3.1.3 Alternative Theory for the use of ParliamentaryElection in New Democracies

Alternative theory for the use of primary elections in new democraciespropounded by Ichino& Nathan (2012) and modified by Ichino& Nathan (2017).This theory explains the reasons that call for the conduct of primary elections in New Democracies contrary to reasons adduced in existing literature.

According to the existing literature, primaries are held to select a candidate with a better policy position and a strong candidate with enough resources to win the general elections for the party. Again, it is further argued that primaries are held to boost up the image of the candidate who has won to stand for the general election, as he/she would be perceived to have been selected by his party people to contest. Apart from this, primaries would prevent dissent because the candidate selected would enjoy support of all or most party members.Ichino&Nathan (2012) and Ichino&Nathan (2017) rejected the above position in the existing literature. Their rejection is based on the following reasons.

First, the above explanation is true and perfectly applicable to primary elections in advanced Democracies but do not apply to emerging Democracies in Africa and elsewhere for the simple reason that the conditions are not the same.The existing literature therefore provided a very limited and misleading understanding of primary elections in New Democracies (Ichino&Nathan, 2012).

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Secondly, followingfrom the first point Ichino& Nathan (2012), Nahino&Nathan (2017) have argued that ideological or policy positions of parties or candidates are not relevant in New Democracies and therefore elections are not held based on policy positions. Their reason is that, the legislature in New Democracies is weak and is not been able to hold the executive accountable for policy position. Aside from that, the general voting Population does not hold candidates accountable on policy positions.

In addition to the above, the theory further argues that politics in emerging Democracies is clientelistic and because of the clientelistic nature it assumes, the primary election processes and procedures are prone to a lot of irregularities and vote buying. This may bring about disagreement over the validity of the outcome of the primary elections and may prevent the selection of a winnable candidate.Indeed, the real reasons that accounts for organizing primary elections in New Democracies are:

1 To prevent elite defection: In other words, primaries are supposed to make the process inclusive, transparent and democratic so that the process would be acceptable by all the rank and file of the party in order to prevent some from defecting.

2 To satisfy the needs of local party men or activists seeking for personal favors and benefits from aspirants:These local activists are necessary because, they link the party and for that matter the aspirants to the voters and delegates. On the basis of this, coupled with the fact that people do not consider policy positions, party men

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or delegates only look at the amount of resources that a candidate can offer them, his personal reputation and his promise to deliver community services. They most at times look out for co-ethnic relation before voting for a candidate. An aspirant would therefore do very well if he/she distributes many resources to local party activists and delegates.

The theory further posited that in the milieu of clientelistic politics, the distribution of resources to local party men or party activists is necessary for two reasons.The first reason is that, these local party men or activists are the people who serve as a connection between party candidates and party executives on one hand and the general voting population on the other. They are the ones who campaign for candidates during general elections and so the more resources you distribute to them,(to make them happy,) the better your chances in the general elections. Here, it is observed that party leaders and candidates depend on local party organizations and members to turn out voters or supporters during elections. The theory further posits that the link between parties and voters is clientelistic and not ideological. It is on this basis that parties and candidates must send resources to voters in order to do well in election and will require local party agents.

The second reason for the distribution of resources to local party men or activists is that, the amount of resources distributed to such people determines the amount of weight or say you have in the party.For this reason, candidates who spend a lot on such people but lose the elections are able to use that to lobby for other better positions in the party. Some

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too are able to use that after losing primary election, to get some reasonable followers to break away and stand as independent candidates.

Lastly, the theory also contends that with regards to the distribution of resources, it costs candidates or aspirants more to organize primaries in safe seats or party strongholds. It is also in strongholds that National party leaders' interventions are more frequent and visibleby either making substantial payment to induce aspirants to withdraw in favour of a preferred nominee or using administrative procedures to disqualify nominee in favour of a preferred one. In a party's stronghold, whoever wins the primaries stands a higher chance of winning the general elections and this has the potential to cause intense competition and acrimonies.

3.1.4 Applicability of the Theories to the Study

The two theories are applicable to the current study in the following ways:

First, in 'A theory of political parties', it is said that, parties are coalitions of different interest groups who teamed up to play different roles in terms of offering themselves as man power and also offering resources in order to get candidates who would protect their interest nominated. This study would also show how different supporters in the primary election business played different roles to get their men elected either by campaigning for them or offering them assistance either openly or secretly.

Secondly, the theory of political parties again argues that parties and not voters determine the issues on which voters based their choices on. In the same way, this study shall show

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that delegates make their choices on candidates' selection based on what has been offered or promised to be offered them or what the candidate stand for. Their choices are not based on the policy positions of candidates.

In addition, just like how Ichino and Nathan (2012) have argued that primary elections in New Democracies are conducted to prevent elite defections and satisfy the needs of local party activist, this reason has opened up the processes to a lot of irregularities and vote buying. We shall also demonstrate that from 2003 to 2015, the NDC primaries in Upper West was also prone to irregularities and vote buying.More importantly, Ichino&Nathan (2012) and Nathan &Noah (2017)asserted that primaries are more costly, keener and attracts a lot of party leaders' intervention and interference in parties strongholds, we shall also demonstrate that as an NDC stronghold, primaries in the Upper West Region experienced similar issues.

Lastly, both 'A theory of political parties and the Alternative theory for the use of primary elections in New Democracies, have stated that for a party or a candidate to succeed, one must rely on the efforts of the local party activists at the constituency level. In the same manner, we shall demonstrate that, those candidates who succeeded as victors orthose who succeeded in thwarting the efforts of others depended on some local party activists, otherwise they could not have succeeded alone. The practical applicability of these theories would be made clearer in our research findings.

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3.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

A critical examination of the theory of Political Parties brought out these arguments.First, political parties are coalition of interest groups and activists who constitute the main actors in the scheme of things. These interest groups and activists would back the nomination of candidates loyal to their agenda by offering them money, manpower and expertise, with the ultimate aim of capturing power for their peculiar goals. Second, this view is supported by the alternative theory for the use of primary elections in New Democracies, which said that primaries are conducted in emerging Democracies just to satisfy the need of local party activists, seeking for personal favors, and benefits from aspirants. Therefore, delegates only look out for the resources that a candidate can offer them, his personal reputation and promises to deliver community services before voting. Again, Ichino &Nathan (2012) and Nathan &Noah(2017) posited that in party's strongholds, party leaders interfere with either money or administrative procedures to get others out in favour of their preferred candidates.

Flowing naturally from the arguments of these two theories, and coupled with the overall objective of this study, whichis meant to examine the kind of politics and its ramification for political parties in primary elections, the following were the appropriate questions that were posed:

1. Why were parliamentary primaries not popular from 2003-2007 in the UWR?
2. What calibre of candidates contested the NDC parliamentary primaries in the Region?
3. Who were the stakeholders/interested parties, supporters and what role did they play to influence the selection of candidates?

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4. What were the administrative processes and sources of funding for the organization of these primaries and how fair were they applied?
5. What are the implications of the use of ethnicity, chiefs and money in parliamentary primaries on Ghana's Democracy?
6. What were the fallouts from 2011 and most especially 2015 NDC parliamentary primaries and how did these fallouts affect the NDC?

3.3 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter consists of the theories upon which this study is underpinned and the research questions that guide the study. These theories, a theory of political parties and alternative theory for the use of primary elections in New Democracies, enable us to not only understand but also explain the context, nature and purpose of primary elections in the NDC in the Upper West Region. For instance, these theories highlighted the various stakeholders and interested parties' role and purpose in primary elections and therefore deepened our understanding of primary elections.

With our better understanding and explanation of primaries based on these theories, we were able to ask the appropriate questions concerning the various roles played by different interest groups, the caliber of candidates who contested these primaries, the sources of funding primaries, the fairness of the administrative procedures and whether or not material resources or promises influenced delegates' choices.

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CHAPTER FOUR

METHODLOGY AND METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

In all academic disciplines, methodology is the gateway to every serious researchAccording to Hebsuf (1979). Research methodology refers to the strategies, techniques and tactics for investigating a social phenomenon and the clarification and justification for using these approaches.In another dimension, (Kothari, 1990) sees research methodology to mean all the techniques, strategies, behavior and instruments employed in finding answers to the research problem. It is the science of studying how research is done scientifically.In the nutshell, we can deduce from the above that, methodology simply refers to the scientific and systematic description, explanation, clarification and justification of all methods applied in collecting and analyzing the research data in order to provide solution to the research problem.

Methodology is important for a number of reasons. First, it is a guide to the researcher as to the direction to proceed with the research.Secondly, it enables others to follow the research imaginarily though they have not been to the field, and lastly, it enables others and the researcher to retrace their steps at any point in time (Arah, 2012).

This chapter outlines and explains in details all the procedures and processes employed in carrying out this study. The chapter comprises of the philosophies underpinning the methodology of the study, the justification for studying the NDC parliamentary primaries

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in Upper West Region from 2003-2015, the research design, population, sampling, research instruments, methods of data analysis and ethical considerations.

4.1 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE CHOICE OF NDC PARLIAMENTARY PRIMARIES IN UPPER WEST REGION FROM 2003 - 2015

The reason for the choice of NDC parliamentary primaries in Upper West is that, since the inception of the fourth Republic, the Upper West has been one of the four (4) strong holds of the party (Upper West, Upper East, Northern and Volta). From 1992 up to 2012, themain opposition (NPP) has never annexed parliamentary seats up to twenty percent (20%) in the NDC strongholds. In the Upper West, the highest was nine percent (9%) that is one (1) out of eleven (11) constituenciesthat is from 1992 to 2012.However, in 2016, the NDC lost five (5) of its seats to the opposition, which is about 45.4%. This raised a lot of concern in politicalcircles.

The NDC Party blamed it partly on the 2015 parliamentary primaries. Frempong (2017) also alluded to the fact that the poor handling of the expanded Electoral College for the 2015 primaries contributed tremendously to the downfall of the NDC in the 2016 general elections. Additionally, Gyampo et al (2017) further argued that the problems that charaterised the NDC 2015 parliamentary primaries partly contributed to the monumental defeat of the NDC in the 2016 general elctions. Although the research is not focusing on general elections, it is important to examine the sort of politics that has been going on in the NDC primaries in the Region, which led to the eventual defeat of the Party in the 2016 elections. It was such a shock when the NDC lost almost half of its parliamentary seats in the Upper West Regionto the NPP. Against this backdrop, the

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researcher sought to find out the different factors that could have led to this defeat as well as the abysmal performance of the Party in the general elections.

According to Ichino&Nathan (2012), the NDC started running serious competitive primaries after they lost the 2000 elections to the NPP. The last one was in 2015, which caused the party a lot in the region. The last one here refers to the fact that as of 2017, when this study began, the 2015 parliamentary primaries was the last one for the NDC. Again, Daddieh&Bob-Milliar (2016) also corroborated Ichino&Nathan (2012) when they asserted that the NDC National Executives stopped imposing candidates on the constituencies after the 2000 general elections to allow the constituencies select their own candidates through competitive primaries. More importantly is the fact that, in 2003 there was no single competitive primary in the region. In 2007, only two constituencies (Wa Central and Wa East) attempted competitive primaries but in 2011 and 2015, all eleven (11) constituencies had very competitive primary elections with the 2015 one creating many unmanageable problems for the party. There is the need to study this period to understand why parliamentary primaries were initially not popular in the region and all of sudden it has gathered a full momentum. These reasons among others informed the researcher to consider the period under discussion (2003-2015)

The second reason for the choice of that period is that the party has served in both capacity as an opposition and a ruling party. Studying that period would give us the sort of politics that goes on in primaries when a party is in opposition and when it is in power. This would give us a more holistic view of the politics of parliamentary primaries in the NDC.After having justified the choice of the NDC parliamentary primaries in the Upper

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West Region from 2003 – 2015, it is prudent to turn our attention on the strategies, methods and tactics that would be deployed for this study.

4.2 PHILOSOPHY UPON WHICH THE METHODOLOGY OF THIS STUDY IS ANCHORED

4.2.1 Introduction

The methodology of this studywas solidly anchored on the larger philosophical assumptions of Pragmatism. There has been the need to do this because, philosophical ideas or assumptions do greatly influence and guide the decision and conduct of social Science research (Greene&Hall, 2010). Based on this, Creswell (2013) suggested that, the larger philosophical assumptions a research intends to espouse should be clearly explained into details before the onset of a serious research.This according to him would enable the researcher explain the rationale for the choice of his/her research methods; quantitative, qualitative or mixed methods. The methodology therefore explains the philosophical underpining to your chosen research methods (Cothari, 1990).

4.2.2 Pragmatism

The philosophy underpinning the methodology of this study is pragmatism. Pragmatism is a reasonable and logical way of carrying out things or of thinking about problems that is based on dealing with specific situations rather than on theories (Merriam-Webster n.d). In another dimension, it is a philosophy, which studies the relationship between action and truth, practice and theory (Dewey, 1929; Peirce, 1992).Pragmatism can also be best described as a doctrine, which states that, reality possesses functional character and it views the world as a set of practical actions born out of thinking.In the view of a pragmatist therefore, there is no difference between what is and what ought to be,

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subjective and objective or theory and practice.In fact, these are all two sides of the same coin (Peters, 2007).

Pragmatism as a philosophy started at the beginning of the nineteenth century in America. The proponents of this philosophy are many but some of them include, Charles S. Peirce, William James,John Dewey, Richard Rory, Hilary Putman and many others (Hookway, 2016; Taatila &Raij,2012). Despite its several versions, the following are few of its common assumptions:

The test of truth is its utility. In other words, something is considered true if only it works. Something is real if only it is true.

Man is the measure of all things. What exists in the universe is a joint stock affair. This means that we participate and partake in the evolution of reality and therefore what is considered knowledge is a joint product of what exist out there and us. Our actions are real factor in the course of events. In the search for truth, we run the risk of error, thus lies are false only if they are found out, but a perfectly successful lie would be tantamount to absolute truth (Bawden, 1904: Peirce, 1992).

It can be deduced from the above that pragmatism is all about reality. Reality is considered knowledge if only it is true and the truthfulness of an activity or entity lies in the action taken. Thus, theory can become practice or what ought to be can become what it is if only action is taken practically.The above argumentsnotwithstanding, pragmatism has been employed in this study as it has beenidentified in the Mixed Method literature as the most appropriate philosophy underpinning mixed method research (Brierley, 2017; Johnson &Onwuegbuzie, 2004)

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Secondly, apart from being identified in the literature as the most appropriate philosophy to guide mixed method, pragmatism does not believe in the certainty of one research method and for this reason, flexibility is much emphasized in order to avoid overlooking vital factors that might be excluded by a perception that was fixed by pre-existing beliefs (Sweltzer –kelly, 2008) .

Thirdly, pragmatism is a combination of or a middle way between positivism which favors quantitative research methods and constructivism which throws its weight behind qualitative methods of research (Brierley, 2017). For this reason, it relies on abductive reasoning, which states that the world is full of complex and unlimited number of methods that can solicit for information from all the variables or actors (Taatila&Raij, 2012)

This study adopted a mixed method, which involves the collection and analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data and integrating the two at some point to obtain a single result (Johnson &Onwuegbuzie, 2004). It uses questionnaires to collect quantitative data from certain group of NDC members in the Upper West Region and also uses a Semi-Structured Interview Guide to collect qualitative information from another group of NDC members and brings the two together. This will bring together the advantagesof the depth and breadth associated with the two respective instruments (Teddie&Tashakkori, 2009; Brierley, 2017).

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4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

According to Kothari (1990), a research design refers to decisions in respect of what, where, when, how much and by what means regarding how a research should be carried out. In other words, it is the arrangement of steps and conditions for collection and analysis of data in order to arrive at logical findings.In another dimension, Harwell(2011), understood research design to mean the strategy or plan that is used to acquire participants and it also indicates how to collect what type of data from them in order to arrive at conclusions regarding the research problem. Insimplistic terms, it is the overall plan put in place to integrate the different components of the research in a coherent and logical manner to ensure that the researcher effectively addresses the research problems (De Vaus, 2001). The research design therefore constitutes the blue print for the collection, measurement, analysis and presentation of data (De vaus, 2001).

This research adapts a mixed method design. This type of design combines both qualitative and quantitative techniques of data collection and analysis and according to Burch&Carolyn(2016), it is applicable to research problems that require a serious examination of real life situation or multi-level perspective. Secondly, it is also a deliberate application of rigorous quantitative techniques to assess how wide spread or frequency of qualititative data or constructs in order to give more meaning to the constructs or qualitative data. Lastly, researchers also use it as a way of drawing on the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative techniques of data collection (Creswell, 2014).

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The main advantage of the mixed method is that qualitative data add more meaning to numeric data, while numeric data also add more precision to qualitative data (Creswell et al, 2010).Before we examine in detail the various components of the research design, below is a table presentation of what the design is made up of.

Table 4. 1 RESEARCH DESIGN

NO	METHOD INDICATOR	METHOD DESCRIPTION
1	Sources of data	Secondary and primary
2	Data collection methods	Mixed (qualitative and quantitative)
3	Study population	All NDC members in Ghana.
4	Target population	All NDC delegates in 2011&2015 parliamentary primaries in Upper West Region
5	Sampling techniques	Purposive (non- probability)& probability.
6	Sample size	28 respondents for elite interview 398 respondents for questionnaire Total is 426 .
7	Selection criteria	• Must be NDC member within the study area • Must be someone who has been a delegate in the 2011 and 2015 NDC parliamentary primaries • Must be someone with special knowledge in the NDC parliamentary primaries
8	Data collection Instrument (s)	• Semi-structured Interview guide • Questionnaire
9	Methods of Data Analysis	• Thematic Content Analysis (for qualitative data) • SPSS (for quantitative data) The two were analyzed side by side.

Source: Author's Work, 2019

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4.3.1 Sources of Data

The sources from which one collects data for his/her research is very important to safeguard the credibility of the research he/she is conducting. This research gathered data from two major sources: secondary and primary.

Secondarydata according to (Hox&Boejie, 2005) refers to information originally collected for a different purpose but has been reused for another research purpose. In other words, it is data collected by someone else other than the current user. Secondary data were collected from Books, Articles, Journals, Theses and other published and unpublished materials from public libraries especially the Department of Political Science library, the Balme library and also from internet sources.These sources constitute the desktop work from chapter one, which is the introductory capture to chapter four, which is methodology and methods of data analysis.

The second source of data for this research is primary sources. Primary data refers to data collected originally for a specific research objective (Hox&Boejie, 2005). This means that the information is collected specifically for the purpose it is intended from its original source.Considering the nature of the research, the researcher collected both quantitative and qualitative data from certain specific NDC members in the various constituencies, who were party activists, or had deeper knowledge or had taken part in parliamentary primaries as delegates.

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4.3.2 Data Collection Methods

The success and integrity of a research depends on not only the type of data collected but also the type of method applied in the data collection process.Data collection refers to the process of gathering and measuring data or information on variables of utmost interest that would enable one answer his research questions or evaluate outcomes (Burnham et al, 2004). This researchused two main methods of data collection, quantitative and qualitative.

Collecting data in numeric form that can be quantified and evaluated is referred to as quantitative method of data collection (Cresswell, 2009).In this research, the quantitative data was collected from delegates who participated in the 2011&2015 primary elections with the use of a designed questionnaire.

Qualitative method of data collection on the other hand is about collecting information that would help you gain more insight or understanding of complex issues. The issues involved here were so complex that it was not possible to quantify them in numeric form. The qualitative data was gathered by the use of semi-structured interview guide from NDC members who had special knowledge on the subject matter. It was in a form of face-to-face elite interview where the responses were written down.

4.3.3 Research Population

According to Exportable.com (2009), a research population is generally large collection of objects or individuals that is the focus of scientific inquiry. In other words, it is a

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collection of individuals that have common characteristics.Hungler & Polit (1999) see it as an aggregate of all objects, members or subjects that conform to certain specified characteristics. While Burns &Grove (1993) think that a research population is about all elements that meet the sample criteria to be included in a study.The research population of this study consists of all NDC members in Ghana. All members of NDC in Ghana fall under a common characteristics and can therefore be included in the sample.

4.3.4 Target Population

Target population according toFrankel&Wallen(2003), refers to a group of individuals or objects, which a researcher would like the results of his research to be generalizable and applicable. In the same vein, Explorable.com(2009) referred to it as the entire group of individuals or objects which researchers are interested in generalizing the results.The target population of this study constitutes all NDC members in the Upper West Region of Ghana.Whatever finding we obtain from this research regarding the politics of NDC parliamentary primaries in Upper West Region would be applicable to the all NDC members in the Region.

4.3.5 Sampling Techniques

In research, sampling is very important in that if you get your sampling wrong, your results would be questionable.There are two major types of sampling techniques: Probability and non-probability.In a probability sampling, all members of the population have an equal chance of being selected (Osuala, 2007). This type of sampling is mostly suitable for survey research. In a non-probability sampling however, members of population do not have an equal chance of being selected. It involves a subjective

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selection of respondents who have special knowledge on the subject of study in order to get the right answers (Croach&Housden, 2003).

The research made use of both probability and non-probability sampling. The non-probability samplingwas used to select two (2) NDC members each from the eleven (11) constituencies. Mostof them were either present or past executives, party elders or ordinary party members. The determining factor here is the special knowledge on the subject matter. In other words, the person must have very good knowledge on the NDC parliamentary primaries in the constituency and must be prepared to share it for academic purposes.In every constituency, the researcher relied on informants to identify two (2) respondents who were well versed with the history and dynamics of the NDC parliamentary primaries in the constituency. Additionally, five (5) other senior members of the NDC who by the positions they occupied had very extensive knowledge. After identifying such special respondents, an elite interview is done by posing questions to them from the semi-interview guide and some times too outside the guide and their answers were written down.Before the interview, the purpose of the interview and the sort of issues involved is explained to the respondents. Again, it was made clear to them that the information was for academic purpose and therefore their anonymity and confidentiality was assured.

Secondly, both probability and non-probability sampling were also used to select three hundred and ninety-eight (398) NDC delegates who took part in either 2011 or 2015 parliamentary primaries or both. This is made up of thirty-six (36) people per

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constituency except Wa Central that had thirty-eight (38) because it is the most populous constituency in the Region. These thirty-six (36) people were made up of sixteen (16) delegates who participated in 2011 and twenty (20) delegates who participated in the 2015 NDC parliamentary primaries, except Wa Central which is sixteen (16) for 2011 and twenty-two (22) for 2015. The reason why out of thirty-six (36), sixteen (16) delegates were assigned to 2011 and twenty (20) to 2015 is that in 2011, the delegate list was limited to only the polling station and constituency executives and other bigwigs in the party. This made the number smaller as compared to the 2015 where the list was expanded to include ordinary NDC members in the constituency. Additionally, the reason for limiting the quantitative respondents to only 2011 and 2015 was that these were the years that real competition took place in almost all the constituencies in the Upper West Region. From 2003 to 2007, except in only two (2) constituencies, the rest chose their candidates by consensus through popular acclamation.

This paragraph focuses on the method used in getting thirty-six (36) delegates from each constituency. First, each constituency was divided into four (4) zones, namely North, South, East and West. All the names of all the electoral areas under each zone were written on pieces of paper, put together in a container and shaken together. One person was called to randomly pick just one (1) out of the many electoral areas.This was done for all the four (4) zones and so four (4) electoral area in all were chosen for each constituency.In each electoral area, all the names of the polling stations under it were written on pieces of paper and folded into a container and shaken together. Two (2) people were called to pick one (1) each, randomly from the containerand so two (2)

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polling stations were chosen. This was done for all the four (4) electoral areas. In this case two (2) polling stations multiplied by four (4) electoral areas gave me eight (8) polling stations in all. Now, what was done next was that, the two (2) polling stations from each electoral area were arranged alphabetically, the one that came first was assigned to the 2011 delgates and the one that came second was also assigned to the 2015 delegates. This means that out of the eight (8) polling stations chosen for the constituency, four (4) were for those delegates who voted in 2011. In 2011, each polling station presented the Chairman, Secretary, Youth Organizer and Women's Organizer as delegates for the parliamentary primaries and so these four (4) people were purposively sampledand administered the questionnaires. In this case four (4) in each polling station times four (4), gave us a total of sixteen (16), which was initially stated above. The rest of the other four (4) polling stations were also for 2015 delegates. In the 2015 primaries, the delegate list at each polling station comprisedof all the NDC members who registered with the party and acquired the biometric card. In most cases, these polling stations had a minimum of fifty (50) members. In 2015, thefive (5) delegatesin each polling station were interviewed and so five (5) times four (4) poliing stations gave us twenty (20) delegates. Now, twenty (20) added to the sixteen that was earlier stated summed up to thirty-six (36) respondents per constituency except Wa Central that had two more extra respondents added making it thirty eight (38).

The above explanation makes it clear the method that used in selecting the four (4) respondents per polling station for the 2011 parliamentary primaries. In 2011, the polling station Chairman, Secretary, Youth Organizer and Women's Organizer were the delegates and so upon arriving at a polling station and with the assistance of either

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current executives or any reliable NDC member, these four (4) people were located and intervied. It was simple in getting the five (5) respondents in 2015. In 2011,there was mass registration of NDC members as delegates in each polling stationand since Upper West is predominantly NDC, there were more than enough delegates to select five (5) respondents from.On the average, each house had at least a delegateand so upon arriving at a selected polling station and with the assistance of either current polling station executives or any reliable NDC member, I started with the first house at that polling station and there after every fifth (5^{th}) house is considered. If upon entering a house no delegate is found, then the next house is considered. Again, if the last person interviewed was a male, then the next person must be a female. If the next person was not a female, then the next house was considered until I got afemale respondent. On the other hand, if the last interviewee was a female and the next too was a female, the questionnaire was administered. This went on until I got my five (5) respondents. I did this deliberately to involve more women because in Ghana, women are mostly discriminated against in the public sphere expecially politics (Shiraz, 2015) even though they are the majority in society

In the situation where a polling station was made up of about two (2) or three (3) communities, the five (5) respondents were shared proportionally.While administering the questionnaire to the delegates, I carried a jotter along and wrote down certain useful comments made by a few of the respondents, which I deemed necessary to enhance the qualitative data. All these were considered during the analysis.

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4.3.6 Sampling Size

The sampling size of this study is four hundred and twenty-six (426) for all the eleven (11) constituencies that make up the Upper West Region. The breakdown is as follows:

Three hundred and ninety eight (398) respondents answered a survey questionnaire that was administered face to face. I got this figure by the use of Yamane formula of determining appropriate sample size, using the Upper West NDC total delegate population for the 2015 parliamentary primaries, which is ninety-seven thousand, two hundred and forty (97,240) (Source: Aziz, 2015; Upper West Regional NDC Office, 2019).

The formula is:

$n = \frac{N}{1+N\,(e)2}$, where

n= correct sample size

N=target population size

e=5% (0.05)

Since our N=97,240, then

$n=97240/1+97240(0.05)^2$

n=97240/1+97240(0.0025)

n=97240/244.1

n=398

The reason for using the 2015 delegate population was that, it was the most expanded Electoral College so far since the NDC started running parliamentary primaries under the fourth Republic. Unlike previous ones that were made of only party executives, the 2015

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one was made up of constituency and polling station executives, and ordinary grassroot NDC members who registered with the party for the purposes of the 2015 primaries.

The rest of the twenty-seven (27) were respondents carefully and purposively selected based on their level of involvement and knowledge on the subject matter These participants responded to a Semi-Structured Interview Guide (SSIG) that was administered face-to-face in order to obtain indepth and detailed information with regards to the NDC parliamentary primaries.

The composition of the the specially selected twenty-seven (27) respondents was as follows:

1. Twenty-two (22) respondents with indepth and special knowledge on the subject matter who were willing to share it for academic purposes, two (2) each for all the eleven (11) constituencies were spoken to with the guide of the Semi-Structured ininterview instrument. In some cases, aside from the questions on the guide, follow up questions were asked for clarity and for more information. I got these two (2) people with the help of informants in each constituency. These twenty-two (22) people were mostly present and past Party officials such as executives, Party elders,Party communicators, Ex-DCEs or ordinary Party activists with deep knowledge and coinsidentally all were delegates before.
2. Fife (5) carefully selected NDC bigwigs, who have unquestionable and deep understanding of the subject matter beyond the constituencies.

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Table 4. 2CONSTITUENCY BREAK DOWN OF SAMPLE SIZE

NO	NAME OF CONSTITUENCY.	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS. (SSIG)	NO OF RESPONDENTS.(QUESTIONNAIRE)
1	Wa Central	2	38
2	Wa west	2	36
3	Wa East	2	36
4	Nadowli–Kaleo	2	36
5	Dafiama/-Busie /Issa (DBI)	2	36
6	Jirapa	2	36
7	Lambusie – Karni	2	36
8	Lawra	2	36
9	Sissala East	2	36
10	Sissala west	2	36
11	Nandom	2	36
12	NDC bigwigs	5	0
	Sub-total	27	398
	Grand total	425	

Source: Authors work, 2019

4.3.7 Selection Criteria and Justification

In this section, I shall explain how my research sample was arrived at.The research had a samplesize of of four hundred and twenty-five (425). This number is made up of twenty-seven (27) who responded to questions posed from a Semi-Structured Interview Guide (SSIG)and three hundred and ninety-eight (398) who answered a survey questionnaire.

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First, let us look at the twenty-seven (28) people who provided the qualitative data. This is made up of twenty-two (22) people who were selected based on their deep knowledge on the subject matter and they were mostly present andold party executives,party elders, party communicators, former DCEs and ordinary party activists. For all the eleven (11) constituencies, two (2) people each were selected for the interview. In fact, upon arriving at a constituency, it took tact and a lot of consultations from informants to identify such people. Most of them were identified during my earlier field visit to the eleven (11) constituencies to understand and identify the issues involved in the NDC parliamentary primaries at the constituency level, upon which my questions and questionnaire were based.

There were also fife (5) purposively selected people based on certain reasons. They were Joseph Y. Chireh, who served as Upper West Regional Ministers for two different terms and current sitting Member of Parliament for Wa West. The second person was Bede Ziedeng-Lawra, he was once Deputy Upper West Regional Minister during Rawlings first term as civilian President and current National Deputy Director for Elections for the NDC. As of 2015, when he was contesting parliamentary primaries, he was holding thisposition.The third person was Carlos Chireh, former NDC constituency secretary, a regional party communicator and a political Analyst. The fourfth and fifth persons were Alhaj Malik Issahaku and Mathew Song-Aabo, former NDC Regional Chairmen under whose regimes, serious and competitive elections took place.These six (6) people had deeper understanding of the dynamics of primary elections in almost all the constituencies in the Region.

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The three hundred and ninety-eight (398) were delegates in 2011 and 2015 when competitive primaries took place. The reason for the questionnaire is for the delegates to validate, confirm or otherwise, some of the issues that were raised in the qualitative data from the semi- structured interview guide and also to ascertain whether the politicking that goes on in primaries influence or mirror the choices of the delegates.

4.3.8 Data Collection Instruments

This research madeuse of two types of instruments, semi-structured interview guide and a questionnaire.A semi-structured interview guide combines both planned set of questions with opportunities to the interviewer to explore particular themes by posing additional or further questions (Kajam-boo, 2005). The reason why this research adopted the semi-structuraed interview guide was that, it allows for some level of flexibility and enables the researcher dig deeper into issues being studied even with the opportunity of getting additional information that was not originally envisaged(Chilisa, 2012). The semi-structural interview guide was administered to twenty-eight (28) people.

The second Research Instrument was a questionnaire. A questionnaire is a standardized set of questions purposely designed to collect information or data from individuals. It is either closed ended, opened ended or a combination of both.In a closed ended questionnaire, pre-determined answers are provided for the respondent to make a choice. In an opened ended questionnaire, the questions have no answers, so the respondents provide the answers. This study combined the two by asking more closed ended and a few opened ended questions. The reason for doing so was that, it is easier to analyze

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closed endend questions than opened ended ones and so the opened ended questions were only asked when and where necessary.

The reasons for adopting a questionnaire were that, it was time saving and covered a larger number of people. Secondly, the results from the questionnaire validated or confirmed most of the issues raised in the qualitative data. The questionnaire was administered to three hundred and ninety-eight (398) respondents.

4.3.9 Methods of Data Analysis

Data analysis refers to a systematic processing of information in order to generate some meaning that can be communicated to others (Hatch, 2002). Since the research collected two different types of information, the data were analyzed in the same manner.The qualitative data that was collected by the used of semi-structured interview guide was analyzed by the use of Thematic Content Analysis (TCA). This kind of data analysis involves organizing the data into manageable themes, synthesizing them, searching for patterns and meanings, discovering what is important and what is to belearntand deciding what to communicate to others (Togoe, 2009).

Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) enables the researcher to analyze large amount of data precisely and systematically (Burham et al, 2004) with his description, analysis and interpretation of the data at hand.In this research, after collecting the data and examinng it closely, the following themes emerged:

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(1) Why primaries were not popular in the NDC from 2003-2007 and there after became so competitive.

(2) The quality or caliber of Candidates who contested.

(3) The stakeholders and supporters and the various roles they played in the election process.

(4) The administrative processes and sources of funding for the organization of parliamentary primaries.

(5) The fallouts from these parliamentary primaries as a results of intense competition and the effects on the party in the region.

(6) The use of ethnicity, the reliance on traditional authorities and monetization of the primary election process and their overall effects on Ghana's Democracy.

These were the six (6) themes identified and the large body of data collected from the eleven (11) Constituencies wasanalyzed along these themes, by explaining and interpreting the content of the data in order to bring out a clear meaning that would be understood by others.

The quantitative data that was collected by the use of a questionnaire were analyzed by the use of the Statistical Package for Social sciences (SPSS). This is a common computer software progamme that is used to perform statistical calculations especially in the social sciences when analyzing data. Its usage has become common these days (Gravetter& Forzano, 2006). In this research, after collecting the quantitative data from the field, the first thing I did was to go through all the qustionnaires to ensure that all questions were

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properlyanswered and all mistakes corrected. Secondly, all the constituencies were arranged alphabetically and assigned numbers from one to eleven (11) and all the questionnaires were arranged in that order and were numbered from one to three hundred and ninety-eight (398). After this, the answers provided for the closed ended questions were assigned numbers, for eample Yes was assigned 1, No was assigned 2 and Don't know was assigned 3. Again, the answers that were provided for the opened ended questions were examined and grouped according to the issues that were raised therein. All the answers that talked about similar or the same issues were grouped together and assigned a number. This was done until all the answers were exhausted. After doing this and by the use of SPSS 16.0 version, the SPSS spreadsheet was prepared. The SPSS spreadsheet has two views; the variable view where the questions and the answers are entered or coded and the data view where the data in the form of numerals or numeric values are entered. All the questions and their answers were coded into the variable view and the numbers that were assigned to the answers of the questions were entered into the data view for all the three hundred and ninety-eight (398) qustionnaires

After the variables have been entered in to the software, a command is given for the software to generate statistics in the form of percentages, frequencies, bar chats etc.

When the entry process was completed, I had to go through the spreadsheet to correct all mistakes that had occurred. This was so easy because, any mistake on the sheet had a number which correspond to the number on the questionnaire and so it was easy to refer amd address the anomally. The next thing that was done was to give the necessary command to the computer and it generated tables that contained figures, frequencies and

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percentages. The researcher looked at the frequencies and valid percentages and added meaning to them by explaining and interpreting what those figures stood for in order to be understood by others.

The two data – qualitative and quantitive were integrated by examining the frequencies and percentages of respondents in the quantitative data that support what is outlined in the qualitative data.In other words, the two were analyzed side by side, starting with the qualitative data and supporting it with the quantitative. In this way, the use of Pragmatism as the philosophy underpinning this work is justified. This is because I have successfully combined both qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis and a very practical way of explaining issues, which are the hallmarks of pragmatism.

3.4.0. ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

Research offers the opportunity for people from different walks of life to directly interact and this makes it necessary to observe certain ethical rules (Babie, 2004).In a social research, it is good to avoid deception, see to confidentiality and anonymity of respondents, avoiding harm and getting the consent of respondents (Burnham etal, 2004;Burns and Grove, 1993).With the exception of the original ideas of the researcher, sources of all information that were used for this study were duly acknowledged. Acknowledging sources of your information show that you are scholar and that is why you have read other scholarly works.

In addition, the researcher sought the consent of the respondents or participants, assured them of anonymity and made them understand that any information provided shall be

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used for academic purpose only and nothing else. Again, respondents were told that it was their freewill to answer the questions or not. In other words, participation was not compulsory and that there was no immediate material rewards for answering the questions.

4.4 LIMITATION AND CHALLENGES

Limitation and challenges refers to the barriers that would prevent the researcher from generalizing his/her findings or things that would make the outcome of the research not valid (Osuala, 2007).For this study, the first limitation is the number of stakeholders included in the sample. In other words, the sample did not cover all the stakeholders in the politics of primary elections because of time and resource constraints, but this would not invalidate the outcome of the research since the people captured in the sample were knowledgeable ones and provided complete and authentic information on the politics of primary elections. The second limitation was that the study was confined to only one region of the NDC strongholds and therefore it may be difficult to generalize. Yes, though the generalization may not apply to other regions, it is applicable to the whole of Upper West Region since it covers all the eleven constituencies in the Region.

Secondly, the outcome of this study can still be generalized in a way because it spans over twelve (12) years (2003 – 2015) covering the period when the NDC served as both opposition and ruling government. Therefore, the findings are balanced ones reflecting the nature of politics in parliamentary primaries elections when a party is in government and when it is in opposition. Further still, though the determinants may vary from one

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region to the other, the nature of the parliamentary primary competition is the same for all the NDC strongholds and therefore the results can be generalized

4.5 FIELD WORK

The researcher had made earlier informal visits to all the eleven (11) Constituencies in the Upper West Region to interact with past and present executives, delegates and some party activists and Ex-contestants.The essence for doing this was in two folds. Firstly, to understand the very core issues that constitute the politics of parliamentary primaries, in order to construct meaningful research questions for the study. Secondly, to strike acquaintances with some of the key persons and also get people who served as liaison officers and assisted me identified people with special knowledge on the subject matter.In the light of this,when the researcher finally got clearance and introductory letter from the Department of political Science to go in to the field to collect data, things were already put in place and so the data collection went smoothly from April to May, 2019. The informal visits were made in October, 2017, when I was preparing to present my proposal to the Department in November 2017.

4.6 CONCLUSION

The chapter on methodology is a systematic explanation and justification about how this study was carried out. A good methodology would lead to reliable, trustworthy and credible findings and so would bad methodology lead to unreliable, fake and incredible outcome.This means that the reliability, credibility and integrity of this research hinges on a good methodology. This is the reason why the researcher has taken the time to explain in minute details, where and how the data was collected,

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which people provided the data, what instruments were used to collect that data and how was the data analyzed and interpreted in order to convey a meaningful message to others.

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CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents and analyses the data collected from the field. The research made use of both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collections in this regard. Elite interviews and questionnaire administration were employed in the data collection. Semi-structured interviews were administered to twenty-seven (27) people who were carefully selected based on certain qualities and their ability to provide the right information. The questionnaire was also administered to three hundred and ninety-eight (398) NDC delegates who took part in primary elections within the study period.

The qualitative data was analyzed using Thematic Content Analysis and so the entire analysis was put under the following themes;

1. Why there were no serious primaries in the Upper West Region from 2003-2007.
2. A brief social profile of the parliamentary contestants
3. Interested Stakeholders, support base and the role played by supporters to influence the selection of candidates.
4. The Administrative Processes: How wrong or right were they?
5. The use of money, ethnicity/ Religion / Clan, and Traditional Authorities in Primaries and itseffects on Ghana's Democracy

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6. The fallouts from the 2011 and 2015, most especially the 2015 parliamentary primaries and their effects on the NDC in the UWR

The quantitative data was analyzed by the use of SPSS to generate tables, frequencies and percentages and these were used to add more meaning to the qualitative data. In other words, both qualitative and quantitative data were analyzed side by side in order to get a better understanding of what we are interrogating. In some cases, I have paraphrased the original research questions on top of each table in order to introduce the specific subject matter for analysis. However, before anything else, it is better to understand the demographic characteristics and other issues of the respondents, within which context we can understand the entire analysis.

5.1 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTIC OF RESPONDENTS

Table 5.1 Sex of Respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	173	43.5	43.5	43.5
	Female	225	56.5	56.5	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

In this research, three hundred and ninety-eight (398) respondents answered the survey questionnaires. Out of this number, a greater proportion was females. The female population was 225 which represents 56.5% and the male population was 173,

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representing 43.5%. The researcher's bias towards the female gender was a deliberate attempt to involve more women in the study to get a well-balanced view on politics in general. Women are marginalized in the society and especially in the field of politics, and as such, there was a deliberate attempt to seek their views on parliamentary primaries in particular and politics in general.

Table 5.2 Age of Respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	18-24	24	6.0	6.0	6.0
	25-30	21	5.3	5.3	11.3
	31-35	44	11.1	11.1	22.4
	36-40	80	20.1	20.1	42.5
	41-45	46	11.6	11.6	54.0
	46-50	74	18.6	18.6	72.6
	51-55	47	11.8	11.8	84.4
	56-60	38	9.5	9.5	94.0
	Above 60	24	6.0	6.0	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

Table 5.2 above is a display of the age distribution of respondents. In this table, those between 18-24 years were 24 representing 6%. Those from 25-30 were 21, representing 5.39%. From 31-35 were 44, representing 11%. From 36-40 were 80, representing 20.1%. Those aged 41-45 were 46, representing 11.6%. From 46-50 were 74, representing 18.6% and from 51-55 was 47 representing 11.8% and those from 56-60

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were 38 representing 9.5% and from 60 and above were also 24, representing (6%) of total respondents. From the statistics, it is clear that majority of the respondents were within the late thirties and late fifties.

Table 5.3 Religions of Respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Christianity	212	53.3	53.3	53.3
	Islam	143	35.9	35.9	89.2
	Traditional Religion	43	10.8	10.8	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

The table above showsthe religious affiliation of respondents. From the table, more than half of the respondents, which is 212 representing 53.3%, were Christians. 143 of the respondents, representing 35.9% were Muslims and the rest of the 43 were traditional religious believers, representing 10.8%. This shows that with urbanization and modernization, the traditional religion is being taken over by foreign religions such as Christianity and Islam.

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Table 5.4 Level of Education of Respondent

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Basic	90	22.6	22.6	22.6
	Sec/Voc/Tech	91	22.9	22.9	45.5
	Post-secondary/Polytechnic	42	10.6	10.6	56.0
	First Degree and above	79	19.8	19.8	75.9
	No education	96	24.1	24.1	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

Table 5.4 shows the educational background of respondents. Ninety (90) of the respondents representing 22.6% had attained the basic education, which is from primary school up to Junior High school. Ninety-one (91) respondents, representing 22.9% had acquired secondary/ Technical or vocational education. Forty-two (42) respondents, representing 10.6% had attained post-secondary or polytechnic education, seventy-nine (79) respondents representing 19.8% had attained first degree and above. The majority of the respondents (96) people, which represents 24.1%, had no level of education at all. My interaction with delegates shows that most often than not, those without education (24.1%) those with basic education (22.6%) and those with secondary, vocational and technical education (22.9%) which represents 69.6%, respect and depend on the advice and opinion of those with first degree (19.8%) and post secondary / polytechnic (10.8%).

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Table 5. 5 Occupational Distribution of Respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Farmer	139	34.9	34.9	34.9
	Civil Servant	30	7.5	7.5	42.5
	Public Servant	86	21.6	21.6	64.1
	Politician	21	5.3	5.3	69.3
	Trader	57	14.3	14.3	83.7
	Student	27	6.8	6.8	90.5
	Unemployed	38	9.5	9.5	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

The above table is the occupational distribution of the respondents. From the responses in table 5.5 above, Farmers were one hundred and thirty-nine (139) representing 34.9% and they were the majority. Public servants who were mainly teachers followed were eighty-six people (86) representing 21.6%. Fifty-seven (57) people, representing 14.3% were traders, thirty-eight (38) people representing nine 9.5% were unemployed, thirty (30) people representing 7.5% were civil servants, and twenty-seven (27) of them were students representing 6.8% and lastly, twenty-one (21) people representing 5.3%.

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Table 5. 6 Income levels of Respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Below GHc500	177	44.5	44.5	44.5
	GHc501-1000	96	24.1	24.1	68.6
	GHc1001-2000	105	26.4	26.4	95.0
	GHc2001-3000	19	4.8	4.8	99.7
	GHc3000 and above	1	.3	.3	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

Table5.6 displays the income levels of respondents. From the table, it is clear that majority of the respondents earned incomes below five hundred Ghana cedis (GH¢500.00). People in this category were one hundred and seventy-seven (177) representing, 44.5%. The next group were those who earned between GH¢1001-2000. They were one hundred and five people (105) constituting 26.4%. This was followed by ninety-six people who earned between GH¢501 and GH¢1000 per month, constituting 24.1%. Nineteen people (19) representing 4.8% earned GH¢2001 and GH¢3000 and lastly, one (1) person earned from Gh¢3000 and above representing 0.3%.

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5.2 NAMES OF CONSTITUENCIES STUDIED

Table 5. 7 Names of constituencies

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Daffiama/Bussie/Issa	36	9.0	9.0	9.0
	Jirapa	36	9.0	9.0	18.1
	Lambussie-Kaprni	36	9.0	9.0	27.1
	Lawra	36	9.0	9.0	36.2
	Nadowli/Kaleo	36	9.0	9.0	45.2
	Nandom	36	9.0	9.0	54.3
	Sissala East	36	9.0	9.0	63.3
	Sissala West	36	9.0	9.0	72.4
	Wa Central	38	9.5	9.5	81.9
	Wa East	36	9.0	9.0	91.0
	Wa West	36	9.0	9.0	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

Table 5.7 displays all the names of the eleven (11) constituencies that were studied and the number of respondents that were interviewed from each constituency. It must be noted that the Upper West Region is made up of eleven (11) constituencies and this research covered all the eleven. Without any bias, the constituencies were arranged alphabetically, starting from Daffiama/Bussie /Issa, Jirapa, Lambussie-Karni, Lawra, Nadowli/Kaleo, Nandom, Sissala East, Sissala West, Wa Central, Wa East to Wa West.

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Each of these respondents, representing 9% except Wa constituencies had thirty-six Central that had thirty-eight (38) representing (9.5%). The reason why Wa Central had thirty-eight is because that is the most populous constituency in the Upper West Region

5.3 YEARS PARTICIPATED AS NDC DELEGATE

Table 5.8 years participated as delegate.

Valid	2012	91	22.9	22.9	22.9
	2015	161	40.5	40.5	63.3
	2012 and 2015	146	36.7	36.7	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

Which of the following years did you take part as a delegate for the NDC parliamentary primaries?

Table 5.8 represents the various years that serious and competitive parliamentary primaries were conducted throughout all the eleven (11) constituencies in the Upper West Region. The years 2011 and 2015 witnessed serious parliamentary primaries in almost all the eleven (11) Constituencies of the Upper West Region. The question that was posed was that, which of the following years did you take part as delegate for the NDC Parliamentary primaries? From the responses in table 5..8, in 2011, ninety one (91) people representing 22.9% took part as delegates to select their parliamentary candidates. In 2011, the delegate list was only limited to party executives and bigwigs of the party.

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However, in 2015, those who took part only in that year was one hundred and sixty-one (161) representing 40.5%. The reason why the number increased in 2015 is that, it was the year the party tried the expanded biometric register which allowed every member to register if he/she so desires to take part in the selection of the 2016 parliamentary candidate. This indeed allowed all manner of people onto the register including those who were not real party men.

For those who took part in both 2011 and 2015 were one hundred and forty-six (146) representing 36.7%. Those who voted in both 2011 and 2015 were party executives and party bigwigs who served as delegates in 2011 and also registered with the party in 2015 to take part in selecting the NDC parliamentary candidates in the various constituencies. After having analyzed the demographic and other related issues with regards to the respondents, it is fair to return to the various thematic areas within which the results were analyzed.

5.4 WHY THERE WERE NO SERIOUS PARLIAMENTARY PRIMARIES IN MOST CONSTITUENCIES OF THE UPPER WEST REGION FROM 2003-2007

In the course of the research, it was realized that in 2003 and 2007, there was no serious and competitive Parliamentary Primaries in the Upper West Region. Ichino &Nathan (2012) admitted that the NDC started running serious competitive parliamentary Primaries nationwide after they lost the 2000 general elections to the opposition NPP. In fact, it was in 2007 where there was some semblance of parliamentary primaries in Wa Central and Wa East, the rest of the constituencies presented consensus candidates.

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It is imperative to note that understanding why there was no serious parliamentary primaries in 2003 and 2007 in the Upper West Region would lay a solid foundation for us to understand why going forward in 2011 and most especially in 2015, primaries became widespread and seriously competitive in all eleven (11) constituencies of the Upper West Region.

Why were parliamentary primaries not popular, widespread and intense in most constituencies in Upper West in 2003 and 2007? The factors or reasons that accounted for this trend of events include but not limited to the following.

First, in the years 2003 and 2007, the NDC as a party was in opposition and as an opposition party, it was not attractive for NDC members to contest primaries. This is so because, in Ghana we practice 'the winner takes all' and so if your party is not in power, you cannot get contracts, jobs and other lucrative business activities from the government sector. For many NDC members, they did not have the needed resources to contest or challenge their sitting members of parliament (MPs) in primaries and even if they struggle to win the primaries, they cannot get the needed resources from the party to run the campaign for the general elections, hence, the low interest for parliamentary primaries in 2003 and 2007.

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Table 5.9 No attraction for primaries in 2003 & 2007 because party was in opposition

The party was in opposition so there was no support or attraction to contest in the 2003 and 2008 parliamentary primaries.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	369	92.7	92.7	92.7
	No	19	4.8	4.8	97.5
	Don't know	10	2.5	2.5	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

In the table 5.9 respondents were asked, whether the NDC party being in opposition in 2003 and 2007 was one of the reasons that accounted for no primaries in most constituencies in Upper West Region. From the responses in the table above three hundred and sixty nine (369) respondents, representing ninety 92.7% agreed that because the party was in opposition during those years, there was no support or attraction to contest parliamentary primaries. On the other hand, nineteen (19) people, representing 4.8% did not agree that the low interest in parliamentary primaries in most constituencies in the Upper West Region in 2003 and 2007 was as a result of the party being in opposition. Ten (10) people representing 2.5% did not know whether it is because the party was in opposition and unattractive or any other reason accounted for the low interest in primaries in 2003 and 2007.

The second reason that accounted for no serious and competitive primaries was the appeal from party bigwigs or sitting MPs to those who showed interest not to contest. A number of reasons explained this appeal. First, from the beginning party elders appealed

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that, for the sake of unity, Parliamentary candidates may be chosen by consensus but in the event that consensus fails competitive elections shall be held to choose a parliamentary candidate.

Many party men relied on the above appeal to prevail upon others not to contest. Aside from that, being in opposition, it was better to present a united candidate instead of of rivalry and waste of scarce resources. In some cases, those who were told not to contest were given assurances of getting something in future, in return for the current sacrifice. For example, according to the qualitative data in 2003, Bede Ziedeng wanted to contest Benjamin Kunbuor in Lawra constituency but the party elders prevailed on him not to do so. He was assured that in 2007 Benjamin Kunbuor would step down for him (Bede) but when 2007 came Kunbuor refused to step down and so Bede Ziedeng broke away from the NDC to join Obed Asamoah's party, the Democratic Freedom Party (DFP).

Similarly, in the Jirapa constituency, in the year 2007, Mr. Paul Derigubaa wanted to contest the sitting MP, Mr. Edward Salia but the party prevailed upon him to step down because in their estimation, Salia was doing well as an MP. In the same way, in Daffiama/Bussie/Issa, the party elders prevailed upon Michael Kombor, a former Constituency and Regional Youth organizer of the NDC,not to contest Mathias Puozaa in 2007. The understanding was that Puozaa would step down in 2011 but in 2011, it did not happen and so Kombor was forced to contest Puozaah, but Kombor was not lucky as Puozaah beat him by five (5) votes. Puozaa had eighty-five (85) votes while Kombor had eighty (80) votes.

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Table 5.10 Those interested were prevailed upon to step down.

Some who showed interest to contest were prevailed upon either by the sitting MP or the party to step down either for the future or for some material reward in the 2003 and 2007 parliamentary primaries.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	361	90.7	90.7	90.7
	No	28	7.0	7.0	97.7
	Don't know	9	2.3	2.3	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

In the table above, the researcher wanted to know from respondents whether those who showed interest to contest but were prevailed upon either by the party itself or the sitting MP not to do so accounted for no primaries in most constituency from 2003- 2007. A large number of three hundred and sixty-one (361) respondents, representing 90.7% agreed that it was so. However, only twenty-eight (28) respondents, representing 7% disagreed with the above assertion. Nine (9) respondents, representing 2.3% whose opinions were sought on this subject matter said they did not know.

The third reason that probably accounted for why there was no parliamentary primaries in most constituencies within the stated period were the intimidations from the sitting MPs and their supporters towards those who nursed the ambition to contest. This intimidation took different forms. In some cases, when it was getting to the time of primaries, sitting

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MPs would sponsor people to go round convincing people and touting their achievements as an outstanding MP within the constituency. Some also go round inaugurating projects and displaying their wealth. It therefore takes a daring candidate to challenge a sitting MP. In some cases, the intimidation is open and confrontational. For example, in Nadowli /Kaleo, Dr. Baga, a lecturer at Wa UDS Campus showed up with the view of contesting Alban Sumana Kingsford Bagbin. However, the intimidation in the form of display of wealth from Bagbin and personal confrontation was so much that Dr. Baga had no choice than to stand as independent candidates against Bagbin and in 2008 he (Baga) defected to the NPP.

Again, in 2007, the then Constituency Chairman for Nadowli/Kaleo Issahaku Dapila showed interest to contest A.S.K. Bagbin in the primaries but just like Dr. Baga, he too was intimidated by Bagbin to the level that he also stood as independent candidate in order to jeopardize the chances of Bagbin in the general elections. In 2012, Issahaku Dapila also defected to the NPP in Nadowli/Kaleo. In 2011, Bagbin influenced the Constituency Executive Committee to disqualify Roger Gartee who filed to contest him. The party disqualified him on the basis that he was a convicted criminal. This was because Garlee had entered the Mole National Park for hunting and was arrested and tried in Tamale.

Surprisingly in 2015, because the presidency was behind him, the same party cleared Roger Garlee to contest Bagbin. However, Bagbin sponsored David Jawara to file as a contestant and took Roger Garlee to court one week to the primaries, challenging that Garlee was a convicted criminal and therefore unfit to contest. But the court threw out the case, stating that entering into the Mole National Park to hunt is not one of the

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offences that barred people from holding public office. Aside from that, the court case was ill-timed indicating bad motive. Jawara was fined an amount of GH¢ 5000 and this was paid by Bagbin to prevent from going to jail. Aside from using wealth to buy his way or sponsoring others to destroy his opponents, it is aleged by the people that Bagbin has spirit powers, which he uses to deal with his opponents. This assumption stems from the following incidents. First, Dr. Banka who was so critical of Bagbin died in no time, Dr. Baga and Mr Issahaku Dapila who attempted contesting Bagbin finally defected to the NPP and Roger Garlee who was supported by the presidency to contest Bagbin in 2015 died in 2017. These events, whether purported or coincidence, worked in favour of Bagbin. As a result of this, no well meaning NDC member wants to challenge Bagbin in order not to run into troubles. The intimidation in NDC primaries knows no period. It has traversed through the seasons and would certainly go into the future.

Table 5. 11 Those interested were intimidated.

Some that showed interest were intimidated by the powers that be so they could not show up in the 2003 and 2007 parliamentary primaries.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	380	95.5	95.5	95.5
	No	15	3.8	3.8	99.2
	Don't know	3	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

On the issue of intimidation, the researcher wanted to know from respondents whether it is real or not. The response was emphatic as three hundred and eighty (380) people,

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representing 95.5% agreed that some of the party members who showed interest were intimidated by the powers that be, so such people could not come up to contest. Fifteen (15) respondents representing 3.8% did not think that intimidation is one of the factors responsible for primaries not being competitive in most constituencies in 2003 and 2007. In addition, three people (3) representing 0.8% said they did not know what the cause for the no primaries in most constituencies in 2003 and 2007.

Aside from the above reasons, the views of the respondents were further sought as to whether there were still other factors that accounted for primaries not being competitive in most constituencies in 2003 and 2007.

Table 5.12 Other reasons for no primaries in 2003-2007

Why was there no serious competition in 2003 and 2007 parliamentary primaries in the region? If any other reason, please specify.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	People were not politically enlightened enough to contest for the position of an MP.	11	2.8	2.8	2.8
	Many people were not aware that the position of an MP was so lucrative with ex-gratia and Common Fund.	7	1.8	1.8	4.5
	98	380	95.5	95.5	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

In table 5.12 three hundred and eighty (380) respondents representing 95.5% did not expressed any opinion on the subject matter. On the other hand, eleven (11) people

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representing 2.8% were of the view that, people were not politically enlightened enough to contest for the position of MP in 2003 and 2007. Alhaji Malik Issahaku amply confirmed this, the longest served Regional NDC Chairman from 1992- 2014. According to him, in the 1990s, they had to beg party men to come and stand as parliamentary candidates. For example, in 1992, the party begged Joseph Yielleh Chireh to stand for Wa Central but he declined and for that matter, they had to handpick M.A Seidu. In 1992, in the Nadowil /Kaleo constituency, which was then Nadowli North they wanted Mathew Song- Aabo, a businessman to contest but he refused and they begged A.S.K Bagbin (who was his one-time Junior at the university of Ghana) to come from Accra to stand as Parliamentary candidate for the party. In the year 1999, Dr. Benjamin Kunbuor was still outside pursuing his PhD when the party had settled on him to come home and contest.

According to Alhaji Malik Issahaku because of the lack of enlightenment, the other members accepted anybody that was proposed to stand as Parliamentary candidate. The above conditions pertained in almost all the constituencies in the Upper West.

Again, still relating to the issue of people not being enlightened enough to contest was the fact that many people were not aware that the position of the MP was so lucrative with ex-gratia and Common Fund that could change the life of anyone who occupied that position. In table 5.12 above seven (7) respondents representing 1.8% suggested that, many people did not know that the position of MP was lucrative and that it goes with huge ex-gratia and Common Fund at your disposal and that explained the low interest for parliamentary primaries in the period under consideration.

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The above discussion notwithstanding, the two election seasons that preceded 2008 general elections saw an upsurge in primary elections in all the eleven (11) constituencies in the Upper West Region. These years were 2011 and 2015.

The reasons that accounted for the upsurge interest in the primary elections in all eleven (11) constituencies have been discussed below.

First and foremost, the NDC as a party, was growing and therefore it was not possible for things to continue to remain as they were. All manner of people had joined the party with various expectations and therefore competition would be inevitable. Aside from the party's growth, the awareness of the prestigious and lucrative nature of the office of the MP also became evident. At this time, many people were aware of the in and out of an MP's job, pay and other benefits that go with it and for that matter they also wanted to enjoy such benefits.

Secondly, the failed promises of some MPs and party executives also led to the upsurge in the parliamentary primaries contest in the Upper West Region.

Before 2007, some MPs and party executives had promised other party members who were interested in the positions to exercise patience so that in the next term, they can also have the chance of standing as candidates for the position. Unfortunately, many of those who made such promises failed to honor them. For example, in the Daffiama /Bussie /Issa Constituency, Mathias Puozaa promised to step down in 2011 for Michael Kombor, but when the time came, he refused to do so and so Kombor had no option than to contest him.

In Lawra, Benjamin Kunbuor was to go for two terms and step down for Bede Ziedeng but Kunbuor refused to step down in 2007 and so Zeideng got angry and joined Obed

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Asamoah to form the Democratic Freedom Party (DEP) of which he became the parliamentary candidate in 2008 general elections for Lawra Constituency. Again, in Nadowli/Kaleo, Roger Garlee challenged A.S.K Bagbin in 2011 and in 2015 because Bagbin did not fulfilled his promise of stepping down for another person. In Wa West, Patrick P. Bandanaa contested Joseph Yielleh Chireh on the basis that Chireh who is a Brifor had promised to go for two terms and hand over to a Waala man but that did not happen.

In addition to the above, the years 2011 and 2015 fell within the period when the NDC was in power and for that reason all manner of NDC members had acquired wealth and resources to enable them challenge sitting members of parliament. For example, in Jirapa, Vivian Kuuku who was the DCE for Jirapa from 2012 -2014 had acquired wealth to contest Dr. Francis Bawanaa, who was the sitting MP. In Lawra, Bede Ziedeng, who was the National Deputy Director for election for the NDC and Paschal Dery, the then DCE for Lawra had acquired wealth and gathered support to contest the sitting MP, Hon Sampson Abu. In Nadowli / Kaleo, Roger Garlee had support from the presidency in the form of a Toyota Hilux pick-up and other resources to contest Hon. A.S.K. Bagbin in 2015.

The story was not different in Wa West, Wa East and Lambussei- Karni. In the Wa West constituency, Patrick P. Bandanaa had financial support from his maternal uncles, Mathew Song-Aabo, the then NDC Regional Chairman and Roger Antomwini, Secretary to President John Mahama's Cabinet to contest Joseph Yielleh Chireh who was then sitting MP in 2011 and 2015. In the Wa East constituency, Chieftaincy Minister under John Mahama had enough resources from office to contest the sitting MP, Salifu Aminu

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and lastly in the Lambussie- Karni constituency the sitting DCE, Hon Clement Benin had enough resources to challenge the then sitting MP Edward K. Dery in 2011 primaries.

The next section discusses the profile of candidates who stood to be elected in the parliamentary primary elections in all eleven (11) constituencies.

5.5 THE CANDIDATES: BRIEF SOCIAL PROFILE OF CONTESTANTS

The politics of primary elections starts with individuals declaring their intentions to contest before anything else can follow. It is therefore important for us to know these candidates, their social background, since politics deals with society and the Pedigree they brought on board as contestants. It is highly necessary to do this because, who you are in society determines what position or resources are entrusted in your care. The individual therefore is the starting point of the politics of primary elections in Ghana. The contestants were examined individually, starting from DBI and ending with Wa West in an alphabetical order.

5.5.1 Contestants in Daffiama/ Bussie/Issa (DBI)

Five people contested serious primaries in the Daffiama/Bussie/Issa Constituency in 2011 and 2015. They were the following.

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5.5.1.1 Mathias Puozaah

Puozaa Mathias was the MP for Nadowli East, which has now been renamed as Daffiama/Bussie/Issa constituency from 2004 to 2016 when he stepped down. He succeeded Hon. Emmanuel Zumakpa who was the first MP for Nadowli East from 1992 to 2004 when he stepped down for Puozaa Mathias. Before becoming a member of parliament, he was a teacher and had taught in several schools within and outside his constituency. He had also worked as a Chief Organizer for Institute of Adult Education (IAE) (Ghanamps.com, n.d) University of Ghana, Legon. Aside from his working experience, Puozaa had also acquired Master of Science (Msc) in Community Education from the University of Edinburg.

Puozaa is a Catholic and hails from Tuori, a village under the Daffiama section of the constituency. He was in parliament for three terms and was contested in the primaries by others in only 2011. However, in 2015, he did not contest. Puozaa was one of the founding fathers of NDC in the constituency.

5.5.1.2 Michael Kombor

Michael Kombor was one of the pioneer members of the NDC from 1992 to date. He was one time a Constituency Youth Organizer for the then Nadowli East of Which DBI later emerged. He later rose to become the Regional Youth Organizer for Upper West from 2005 to 2009. He attempted the position of the National Youth Organizer but the then sitting President Atta Mills prevailed on him to step down. Aside from his political career, Kombor worked with the Controller and Accountant General's department as an accountant. He later resigned to join the National Service Secretarial (NSS) from 2010 to

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2014 as the Deputy Executive Director. Michael Kombor is a native of Bussie and a Catholic. He has been a very strong member of the NDC and contested only the 2011 primaries but lost.

5.5.1.3 Dr. Sebastian Sandaare

Sebastian Sandaare is a medical Doctor and is in his late forties. After the medical school, he was first posted to the Nadowli District Hospital and later was transferred to Lawra, as the District Medical Director for Ghana Health Service. Prior to his intention to contest, Dr Sandaare visited the people of DBI to provide them with free medical care and this endeared him to the people. As far as the Party was concerned, Sandaare was new and never held any executive position except that he supported the party financially at all times. He contested the 2011 primaries but could not make it but in 2015 he was lucky to have been chosen. Dr. Sandaare is a Catholic and comes from Daffiama.

5.5.1.4 Col. Walter Bature.

Not much is known about Col Bature in the DBI constituency. All that they know about him is that he was a cadre in the eighties (1980) and an ex-military man who had lived almost all his life in the Southern part of Ghana and for that matter many constituents do not know him. Though he is a strong member of the NDC, he is not known within the constituency. He attempted both the 2011 and 2015 Parliamentary primaries and scored zero (0) and forty-two (42) votes respectively. Col Bature is a Christian and hails from Bussie in the Upper West Region (UWR).

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5.5.1.5 Kasanbata Kabiebata Abu (KK)

K.K Abu popularly known as KK is in his early fifties. He has been a member of the NDC Regional communication Team since the early 2000's and in 2009, the party rewarded him by appointing him as the DCE for Nadowli District. He remained a DCE from 2009 to 2012. During this period, he fought for a District for Nadowli East Constituency and it was granted as Daffiama/ Bussie/Issa District of which the constituency was renamed after. As a native of Issa, he used his DCE powers to send the capital of the district to Issa even though Bussie is more developed and central. In early 2013, he was promoted from DCE to Deputy Upper West Regional Minister, a position he held until early 2015 when he was reshuffled. K.K Abu is Muslim and hails from Issa.

5.5.2 Contestants in Jirapa

The Jirapa constituency presents a unique case in that they had their first competitive primaries in 2009 when their sitting MP Edward Salia died and so primaries were held to get a successor. Again, in 2011 and 2015, there were competitive primaries. The following were the contestants who took part in the primaries form 2009 to 2015 in the Jirapa constituency.

5.5.2.1 Francis Bawanaa Dakura

Francis Bawanaa Dakura is the current Member of Parliament for Jirapa. He became MP in 2009 when Edward Salia died. In 2011, Dakura contested the primaries with others and won but unfortunately, he lost the general elections to an independent candidate. Dakura

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holds a PhD in Social Anthropology from the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, Hovering College, Essex London (Ghanamps.com, n.d) He was also a social policy consultant. He also set up his own care home called Greenfield Care Home in the U.K of which he was the Director. While outside, Dakura kept in touch with home and supported the party with funding and that explains why it was easier receiving him when he came home. Dakura is a Christian and comes from Gbare in the Jirapa District. He contested the 2009, 2012 and 2015 primaries and emerged the winner in all.

5.5.2.2 Paul Derigubaa

Paul Derigubaa is a businessperson from Jirapa. Before joining active politics he had worked with Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MOFA) for a long time and later on joined the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Bolga and Accra (Ghanaweb.com, n.d; Ghanamps.com, n.d) until 2009 when he left to play active politics and to take care of his numerous businesses in Techiman. Derigubaa holds Bsc in Agricultural Economics from the University of Ghana and Msc in Agriculture from the University of Wageningen in the Netherlands. Because of his Agricultural background, he has a wide interaction with a lot of the local community members and opinion leaders. Derigubaa is a Catholic from Jirapa. He contested 2009 primaries and lost to Bawanna Dakura and in 2011, he contested Bawnaa Dakura again and lost the primaries but stood as independent candidate and won the general elections.

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5.5.2.3 Evans Sinkere

Evans Sinkere is a strong NDC party member. He was the Assemblyman for Han electoral area in the Jirapa District from 2007 to 2011. He also worked with an NGO called Rural Action Against Poverty (RAAP) that operated within the Jirapa District while he was an Assemblyman. Evans is a Catholic and hails from Han Township. He contested the 2009 primaries only.

5.5.2.4 Vivian Kuuku Nelly

Vivian Kuuku Nelly was the Gender officer for the NDC party in the Jirapa Constituency. She was a teacher at St. Francis Girls Senior High School in Jirapa. She later became the Deputy Regional women's organizer for the party. In 2012, she was made the DCE for Jirapa but unfortunately during her tenure she had a lot of problems with party Executives who brought her into the position and so when she stood for the primaries in 2015, it worked against her. Vivian is also a Catholic and comes from Jirapa.

5.5.2.5 Charles Puozuing

Charles Puozuing is a young Lawyer who was born and bred in Wa and for that reason he is not known within the Jirapa areas. His father, Puozuing was the DCE for Jirapa from 2009 to 2012 when Vivian Kuuku Nelly took over from him. Charles Puozuing is a legal practitioner based in Wa and he is a Catholic.

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5.5.2.6 Raphael Bokma

Raphael Bokma is a young man in his late forties. He grew up in Jirapa and went to the University of Ghana were he obtained a B.A in Social Science and later obtained his Mphil in Sociology from the same University. Before coming to contest the primaries in 2011, Bokma had worked with Plan Ghana since he left school. During his University days, he was the president of CYO in Legon. Bokma is a catholic and hails from Konkua, a suburb of Jirapa.

5.5.3 Contestants in Lambussie-Karni

In the Lambussia - Karni Five (5) people contested competitive primaries in 2011 and 2015. They are the following.

5.5.3.1 Edward K. Dery

Edward K. Dery is the current MP for Lambussie-Karni. He has been to parliament for two consecutive times. Before joining active politics, he was an Auditor with an audit firm called Top Consult in Accra. Edward K. Dery attended the Institute for Professional Studies, obtained his professional Diploma in Auditing, and was the manger of Top consult Auditing firm (Ghanaweb.com, n.d). He never held any executive position in the party but he always contributed financially to help the party. He contested the 2011 primaries and won and when he became MP he made sure that the Hamile Border road was worked on and he was also able to help thirty seven (37) young men and women to enter the security services. In 2015, the competition was easy for him because of what he

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had achieved on the ground. Edward is a Catholic and hails from Kpare. He secured a Community Day school for his people.

5.5.3.2 Alice Teni Boon

Teni Boon was the wife of Hon Jacob Boon, first Mp for Lambussie - Karni. In 1998, when Luke Kor, the sitting MP died, Hudu Yahaya, the then NDC general Secretary came to Upper West and suggest to Party executives to consider Alice Teni Boom, who was then women's organizer for Lambussie- Karni to be the parliamentary candidate for the area. Party executives considered this suggestion and Alice Teni Boon became the first female MP from the Upper West Region in 1998. Before joining politics, Alice Boon was a teacher by profession with a B.ed Psychology from the university of Cape Coast (UCC). She contested the 2011 Primaries but lost to Edward K. Dery. Alice is Catholic and hails from Lambussie.

5.5.3.3 Cletus Basing

Cletus Basing was the constituency Chairman from 1992 to 2011. He worked hard for the party in his constituency. He was also a teacher during his reign as a chair of the constituency. He taught in several schools in Lambussie- Karni. He obtained his B.ed degree from University of Education, Winneba (UEW). From 2004, Cletus nursed the ambition to contest but he did not get the opportunity. In 2008, he wanted the DCE position but the then constituency women's organizer Alice Teni Boon also was interested and that was where the rivalry started between Alice Boon and Cletus Basing. In 2011, he contested the position of MP but lost to Edward K. Dery. He later resigned as

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a teacher and became the Non-formal Education Division (NFED) District Director for Lambussie- Karni District. Cletus Basing is a Catholic from Karni.

5.5.3.4 Clement Benin

Clement Benin was a teacher in Lambussie- Karni. He was the Assemblyman for Suke electoral area. He was also the NDC Constituency Secretary from 1992 to 2008. He became the DCE from 2009 to 2012. During his tenure, he undertook a number of projects such as Borehole installation, electricity supply and many others. He also interacted with many party men at the constituency, Regional and National levels and that gave him the urge to contest in 2011. He holds a B.ed degree from the University of Cape Coast (UCC). Clement is a Christian and hails from Billaw.

5.5.3.5 Daug Marcelinus Wilbert

Marcelinus Wilbert was a Hospital Administrator. He holds a Master of Philosophy in Hospital Administration from University of Ghana. He worked at the Wa Regional Hospital and was later transferred to the Ridge Hospital in Accra. From there, he was transferred to the Tamale Teaching Hospital. Wilbert is also a lawyer but does not practice. He has never held any executive positive at the constituency level. He is so busy outside the constituency and as such is not popular among the party members. Marcelinus is a Christian and hails from Sentu.

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5.5.4 Contestants in Lawra

In the Lawra Constituency, three (3) men contested the parliamentary primaries in 2011 and 2015. They are:

5.5.4.1 Sampson Abu

Sampson Abu is a teacher by profession. He completed Nusrat Jahan Teacher Training College in Wa. He went to the University of Ghana to study Hospital Administration. After his completion, Ghana Health Service employed him as a Hospital administrator. He was posted to the Lawra Hospital. In 2008, he got the nod from the party to become the DCE for Lawra and in 2011 he contested primaries with Pascal Dery. Sampson Abu is a Christian who hails from Lawra Dikpe. He won the 2011 primaries and subsequently won the 2012 general elections as an Mp for Lawra. In 2015, he contested the primaries again but lost to Bede Ziedeng.

5.5.4.2 Pascal Dery

Pascal Dery is a Social Worker who worked with a number of NGOs. He attended the University of Ghana where he obtained B.A. in Social Work. After school, he worked with Techno Serve for some time and left to join Northern Grove, a value chain NGO. During President Kufuor's term of office, Pascal Dery contested for Council of State membership but lost. In 2011, he contested the primaries with the then sitting DCE Sampson Abu but he lost it to Sampson. When Sampson Abu became MP for Lawra, he ensured that Pascal Dery was made DCE for Lawra from 2013 to 2016. In 2015, Pascal could not contest due to ill health.

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5.5.4.3 Bede A. Ziedeng

Bede is a product of the University of Ghana where he obtained his law Degree. He is a practicing lawyer. He entered into Politics very early when he joined the Committee for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR). He became the Secretary to the Confiscated Asset Committee for the Northern Sector. When the PNDC metamorphosed in to NDC and won elections in 1992, he was made Deputy Upper West Regional Minister in 1993. Bede became the Deputy National Secretary to the NDC when they lost the 2000 elections to the NPP. He held this position until Josiah Ayea who was the then General Secretary had problem with the party and so Bede was elevated to the position of Acting General Secretary. In 2008, at the NDC National Congress at Kofridua, there were a number of fallouts and this compelled Bede to leave the NDC Party to join Obed Asamoah to form the Democratic Freedom Party (DFP) of which Bede became the parliamentary Candidate for Lawra. He lost that election and in 2010, Prof. Atta Mills prevailed upon him to rejoin the NDC of which he did. After the 2012 general elections, Bede was made Deputy National Election Director at the party's Head Quarters. He held this position until 2015, when he contested the parliamentary primaries with the sitting MP, Sampson Abu. Bede is a Catholic and hails from Eremon.

5.5.5 Contestantants in Nadowli/Kaleo

The Nadowli /Kaleo have had only one parliamentary primaries since the inception of the fourth Republic. This was the 2015 parliamentary primaries. The contestants were:

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5.5.5.1 Alban Sumana Kingsford Bagbin

Alban Sumana Kingsford Bagbin is the current Member of Parliament for Nadowli /Kaleo Constituency. He has served as a Minority Leader in the fourth (4th) parliament and Majority Leader in the fifth (5th) parliament (Ghanamps.com,n.d). He has been to parliament for the seventh (7th) time and he is the longest serving MP in the Ghanaian history. He also served as the Health Minister and Minister for Water Resources, Works and Housing under President Atta- Mills. He is a lawyer by profession and has served the NDC Party in many capacities. A.S.K Bagbin always makes sure that he goes unopposed in his constituency all the time except in 2015 when two young men contested him at the primaries. Bagbin is Christian and hails from Sombo in the Upper West Region. Bagbin is highly connected and can easily call on people to offer help to his constituents.

5.5.5.2 Roger Garlee

Roger was a lecturer at the Wa campus of UDS. Before becoming a lecturer, he was a Hospital Administrator at the Nadowli District Hospital and later he was transferred to the Wa Regional Hospital. From Wa, he was transferred to Ho as an administrator.

Roger holds an Mphil in Hospital Administration from the University of Ghana. He was called to the Bar in 2015. In politics, Roger started as a Cadre and supported the NDC in terms of funding. He was a strong supporter of Goosie Tanoh and became the constituency secretary when Goosie Tanoh formed the National Reform Party (NRP) in 1999. He later rejoined the NDC party. In 2011, he filed to contest but the party vetting committee disqualified him. However, in 2015, the same committee cleared him because

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he had presidential backing to contest the parliamentary primaries. Roger is a Catholic and hails from Takpo in the Upper West Region.

5.5.5.3 Salifu Dumba

Salifu Dumba started as a Cadre during the revolutionary years. He later got appointed into Custom, Excise and Preventive Service (CEPS) and later retired. Dumba is a great Financier to the party at the national level. He was among those who drafted the first manifesto of the NDC. He is very popular at the national level because he is always willing to take part in so many things. Dumba is a Muslim and hails from Loho in the Upper West Region. He contested in the 2015 primaries.

5.5.5.4 David Jawara

David Jawara joined the Veranda boys when he was a student. After school, he joined the Bureau for National Investigation (BNI) and supported the party with funding. In 2015, David filed to contest the primaries but along the line, he withdrew and threw his weight behind A.S.K. Bagbin. Jawara comes from Kaleo and he is a Christian.

5.5.6 Contestants in Nandom

In the Nandom constituency, three (3) people went for competitive primaries especially in 2015 primary season. They are the following:

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5.5.6.1 Benjamin Kunbuor

Benjamin Kunbuor was the former MP for Lawra from 2001 to 2008 when he lost the seat to the NPP candidate Ambrose Dery. He was also the former MP for Nandom, the constituency that was created out of Lawra in 2012. He was MP for Nadom from 2013 to 2016 when he stepped down. In 2009, he was the Minister for Health and in 2011, President Atta Mills reshuffled him to be the Minister for Interior. In early January 2012, he was moved to the Attorney General Ministry as the Minister in charge (Ghana web, n.d). In 2013, when John Mahama became President, he made Dr. Kunbuor his Defence Minister. He has also served as a majority leader before all these appointments. Before joining politics, he worked with the Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice and also lectured at the Ghana School of Law. He is a Catholic and hails from Nandom Basebelle. In 2012, he pleaded with the party to allow him go unopposed after which he stepped down in 2016.

5.5.6.2 Dr. Richard Kuuire

Dr. Richard Kuuire was the Parliamentary candidate for Nandom constituency in the 2016 general elections. He beat Curtbert Kuupiel, the then sitting DCE for Nandom in a competitive primary election. Before showing up to take up serious job in politics, Kuuire worked with the Ghana Prison Service, rose through the ranks to become the Director General of Ghana Prison Service, and retired with that position. Dr. Kuure never held any executive position in the party but he was one of the financiers. In 2012, he wanted to contest Benjamin Kunbuor but the party prevailed on him to wait for his turn in 2015. Before filing to contest, Kuuire had repaired and constructed a number of boreholes

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(Modern Ghana,n.d). He was the favorite of most party executives but Benjamin Kunbuor wanted Curtbert Kuupiel to succeed him instead of Dr. Richard Kuuire. Dr. Kuuire is Catholic and comes from NandomTokuu.

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5.5.6.3 Curtbert Kuupiel

Curtbert Kuupiel contested the 2015 primaries with Dr. Richard Kuuire but he lost. Before the contest, he was the sitting DCE for Nandom and a favourite of Benjamin Kunbuor. He had an MPhil Degree in Development Planning from KNUST. He was working with Care International before his appointment to the position of DCE for Nandom. He was also a Development Consultant. He is a Catholic from Nandom Guo.

5.5.7 Contestants in Sissala East

In the Sissala East constituency from 2011 to 2015, six people contested for the NDC parliamentary primaries. In 2011, the contest was among Alhassan Dubie Rafatu, sitting MP, Alijata Sulemana, sitting DCE and Nuhu Limann. In 2015, it was among Alija Sulemana, sitting MP, Johnson Sabor sitting DCE, Mohammed Batagtalia, Nuhu Limann and Ibrahim Jamila. The sub section below captures a brief profile of the contestants.

5.5.7.1 Alhassan Dubie Rafatu

Alhassan Dubie Rafatu was an unopposed candidate who snatched the Sisala East seat from the PNC MP, Moses Danibaa in the 2008 general elections and became the NDC Member of Parliament for the area. This was the first time the NDC had won that seat since the inception of the fourth Republic. Before joining politics at the higher level,

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Alhasan Dubie Rafatu was an appointed Assembly Member for the Sissla East District Assembly in 1994. From 2000 to 2001, she was the Presiding Member for the District Assembly (D. A). In 2006, she became the first Deputy Regional Women's Organizer for the party (Ghanamps.com ,n.d). In 2004, she attempted the seat but luck was not on her side until in 2008, when she won the seat. Before actively joining politics, Madam Alhassan Dubie Rafatu was a nurse, rose through the ranks to become Chief Deputy Medical assistant, and worked in various capacities at the Tumu Health Centre and Tumu District Hospital.

After becoming MP in 2009, President Atta Mills appointed her as Minister of State of the office of the President. She is a Muslim and hails from Kong in the Sissala East District of the Upper West Region. She contested only the 2011 primaries but lost.

5.5.7.2 Alijata Suleman

Alijata Sulemana was the Member of Parliament for Sissala East from 2013 to 2016 on the ticket of the NDC. Before becoming the MP for the area, she was made DCE for Sissala East from 2009 to 2013 by President John Atta Mills (ModernGhana, n.d). She contested the then siting MP at the primaries in 2011 and won it and subsequently won the general elections. However, in 2015 even though she won the primaries again, she lost the general elections in 2016 to the NPP candidate Hon Dauda Abass Ridwan. Before entering into active politics, she worked as a volunteer for an NGO called People Action to Win Life All-round (PAWLA). She was also a businesswoman and a Social Worker. She holds Diploma in Community Development. She is a Muslim and hails from Tumu.

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5.5.7.3 Nuhu Limann.

Nuhu Limann was one of the contestants for the 2011 and 2015 primaries. He has never held any position in the party and as such, is not known to many people. He holds an HND in Accounting from the Wa Polytechnic. He worked with Vodafone Ghana as Sales Executive but was later retrenched. He did not have enough resources and following. He is a Muslim from Kulfio in the Sissala East District. He contested 2011 and 2015 and lost both.

5.5.7.4 Johnson Sabor

Johnson Sabor was also a contestant at the 2015 NDC parliamentary primaries in Sissala East. Before declaring to contest, he was the sitting DCE for Sissala East from 2013 to 2016 and as such he had a lot of resources to influence others. Before joining active politics, he was a teacher by profession and rose through the ranks to become the Head Master of Kanton Senior High School. It was after his retirement that he was appointed DCE for Sissala East. Johnson is a Christian and comes from Tumu.

5.5.7.5 Mohammed Bataglia

Mohammed Bataglia was a Lecturer at Islamic University in Accra. He holds an MPhil in Religions from University of Ghana. In addition, he worked with Virtue Foundation, an Accra based NGO that is into provision of supplies to health centers and offer free surgeries to needy patients. Bataglia only contested the 2015 primaries. He is a Muslim and comes from Ping in the Sissala East District.

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5.5.7.6 Ibrahim Jamila

Jamila Ibrahim contested only in the 2015 primaries and lost. She was not known within the party. She holds an HND in Accounting, and she worked with the Controller and Accountant General as a public servant. She is a Muslim and comes from Nabulo in the Sissala East District.

5.5.8 Contestants in Sissala West

In the Sissala West, those who contested the 2012 and 2015 parliament primaries were as follows.

5.5.8.1 Alhaji Amidu Sulemana

Alhaji Amidu Sulemana was the Member of Parliament for Sissala west from 2012 to 2016, when he lost it to the NPP. From 2009 to 2011, he was Ghana's Ambassador to Egypt and was brought back home in 2011. President John Mahama made him a Minister for Roads. In the later part of 2013, he was sent to Upper West Region in a cabinet reshuffle to be the Regional minister, a post he held until the NDC lost the 2016 general elections. Alhaji Sulemana is an Engineer by profession and holds a BSc in Mechanical Engineering from KNUST and Mphil in Development studies from GIMPA (Ghanamps.com, n.d). As an Engineer, he was a consultant and contractor and also lectured at UDS, Wa campus from 2008-2009 (Ghana mps.com, n.d). Alhaji Sulemana contested the 2011 and 2015 primaries and won both. He is a Muslim and comes from Gyawia in the Sissale West District.

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5.5.8.2 Braima Daudah

Braima Daudah contested Hon. Amidu Sulemana in the 2011Parliamentary primaries. He is a teacher and holds a B.ed degree from UCC. He did not have enough resources and so could not have much impact in the primaries. He only registered his presence and that was all. It was a walk over for Amidu Sulemana in Sissala West. He is a Muslim and comes from Gwollu.

5.5.8.3 Hagbana Azantilow

Hagbana Azantilow contested Hon Amidu Sulemana in the 2015 NDC Parliamentary primaries. Hagbana is not know in the NDC circles and is not at home. Though she is from Sissala West, she got married to the Azantilow family in Sandema in the Builsa North District of Upper East. Azantilow holds Diploma in Community Development. She is into import and export business. She had many resources. Hagbana is a Christian and comes from Jeffisi.

5.5.9 Contestants in Wa Central

In the Wa Central constituency, six people competed to be the NDC parliamentary candidates from 2007 to 2015. They are the following:

5.5.9.1 Dr. Rashid Pelpuo

Dr. Rashid Pelpuo is the current Member of Parliament for Wa Central. He has been an MP from 2005 to date. He is currently serving his fourth term in office. He contested the 2007, 2011 and 2015 primaries and won all. In terms of qualification, Pelpuo holds B.ed from UCC, M.A in International Affairs from the University of Ghana (UG) and Ph.D in

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African Studies from the same university. Before joining active politics, Pelpuo had worked in so many areas. For example, from 1994 to 1998 he was the Director of National Youth Authority (NYA). From 1999 to 2002, he wasDeputy National Cooordinator of the National Youth Authority and from 2002-2003 he was a Community Development Specialist for Garbiba Development Association (Ghanamps.com, n.d) Pelpuo has been one of the financiers to the NDC party. He is from Wa Nayiri and belongs to the orthodox set of Muslims who form the majority in terms of number in the Wa Central Constituency.

5.5.9.2 Hudu Mogtari

Hudu Mogtari was an NDC parliamentary aspirant for 2007 and 2011, who contested Rashid Pelpuo but lost. Hudu Mogtari is one of the NDC financiers and therefore he is well known within the party. President John Dramani Mahama appointed his wife as a special Aide to the president. He worked with the Food and Drugs Authority for a very long time and rose through the ranks to become the Chief Executive Officer until 2017 when President Akufo Addo removed him from Office. Mogtari hails from Wa and belongs to the Ahmadist set of Muslims. The Ahmadists are few in number, but very influential in terms of resources and education.

5.5.9.3 Dr. Musheibu Alpha

Dr. Musheibu Alpha was one of the Wa Central Parliamentary aspirants who challenged Rashid Pelpuo in the 2015 primaries. He was the sitting Deputy Regional Minister for Upper West. Before becoming Regional Minister, he travelled to Russia to acquire his

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Doctor of Philosophy Degree (Ph.D), before returning to Accra. In Accra, he worked with the Food and Drugs Authority from there he was made the Deputy Regional Minister for UWR. He has also worked with the Ghana Atomic Energy Commission in Accra. As an Ahmadist, Dr. Alpha had a lot of support from very rich Ahmadist brothers to contest Raghid Pelpuo who is an Orthodox.

5.5.9.4 Dr. Iddrisu Mahama

Dr. Iddrisu Mahama was one of the aspirants who contested Rashid Pelpuo in 2015, but lost. He has never held any executive position in the party. Before becoming an aspirant, Iddrisu Mahama was a teacher. He was once the Assistant Head Master for Kanton Secondary School in Tumu. He was also the first Headmaster for Wa Islamic Secondary School. From there, he went for further studies and acquired a PhD. Upon his return, he was posted to Sissala West as the District Director of Education. He was later transferred to Wa and made Regional Director of Education until he went on retirement. He comes from Wa Mangu and is an Orthodox Muslim.

5.5.9.5 Lawyer Waha Bangpuori

Lawyer Wahidu Bangpuori was one of the parliamentary hopefuls who contested the 2015 NDC parliamentary primaries in the UWR. He is a practicing lawyer based in Accra and therefore he is not popular in Wa. He is a son of the director brother of Alhaji Iddrisu Mahama, former PNDC member and former Defence Minister under Jerry John Rawlings. Because he was not a resident in Wa he was not known in the constituency, his presence at the contest was a mere formality. Before the real Election Day, Lawyer Bangpuori had already left the constituency back to Accra. There was no serious

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campaign on his part. Not much is known about him. He is an Ahmadist and hails from Limann Paala Yiri.

5.5.9.6 Jamaldeen Kukura

Jamaldeen Kukura also competed in the 2015 parliamentary primaries in the Wa Central Constituency. He holds an MPhil degree in Agric and lectures at Tamale Technical University. Before becoming a lecturer, he was a Teaching Assistant. He has spent majority of his life in Tamale and therefore, he is not popular within the constituency. He is not known in Kumbiehi and Dobile, which are the father and mother's hometown respectively. He was the youngest contestant. He hails from Kumiehi and he is an Orthodox Muslim.

5.5.10 Contestants in Wa East

In the Wa East constituency, parliamentary primaries started as early as 2008. Four (4) people in all contestedfrom 2008 up to the last primaries, which was in 2015. In 2008, Aminu Salifu contested Ahaji Issahaku Salia who was the sitting MP. In 2011, Issahaku Salia stepped down and so the contest was between new contestants; Aminu Salifu who was the sitting DCE and Mohammed Saani but Aminu Salifu won that contest. In 2015, the contest was between sitting MP Aminu Salifu and Chieftaincy Minister under John Dramani Mahama, Dr Seidu Danaa. In this contest, Dr. Danaa unseated Aminu Salifu in the primaries but lost the general elections to the NPP candidate, Godfred Bayon Tangu.

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5.5.10.1 Alhaji Issahaku Salia

Alhaji Issaku Salia was the Member of Parliament for Wa East from 1992 to 2004. Before entering politics, he was the Managing Director of Upper Quarry in Bolgatanga to match with his profession as a quantity Surveyor. He was also the Chairman of the Hajj Committee from 1992 to 2000 when he was an MP. He was also one of the party's elders in the Wa East Constituency. He contested only the 2008 primaries and but lost and in 2010 President Atta Mills appointed him as Upper West Regional Minister. He comes from Manwe and is a Muslim.

5.5.10.2 Aminu Salifu

Aminu Salifu was the Member of Parliament for Wa East from 2013 to 2016. He contested the 2007 primaries and won it against Issahaku Salia but lost the general elections and in 2011. He was lucky again to win the primaries and subsequently won the general elections. Before becoming the MP in 2013, he was the DCE for Wa East from 2009 to 2012 as a compensation for his lost in the 2008 general elections. Aminu obtained his Msc in NGO management from the University of East London and another Msc in International Housing and Social change from the same university. He is a Chartered Building Surveyor and a Development worker (Ghanamps.com, n.d). He is an Ahmadist, who comes from Wa, but resides in Guripie in the Wa East Constituency. His settlement outside the constituency affected him negatively in the 2015 primaries.

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5.5.10.3 Dr. Henry Danaa

Dr. Henry Danaa was a parliamentary aspirant in the 2015 parliamentary primaries. President John Dramani Mahama appointed him as Chieftaincy and Traditional Affairs Minister in 2013. In Ghanaian history, he was the first visually impaired person to be made a minister. He has a first degree in Law from the University of Ghana. He went to the London School of Economics and Political Science where he obtained his Masters and Doctorate in Law. He was the first visually impaired person to become a lawyer in Ghana. He worked with the National House of Chiefs under the Ministry of Culture and Chieftaincy and rose through the ranks to become the Director for Research (Ghanaweb.com, n.d). Henry Danaa contested the 2015 primaries and defeated the then sitting MP, Hon. Aminu Salifu but unfortunately he lost the general elections to the NPP candidate Godfred Bayon Tangu. Danaa is a Christian and comes from Tuasa in the Wa East District of the Upper West Region.

5.5.10.4 Mohammed Saani

Mohammed Saani contested the 2011 parliamentary primaries in Wa East with Aminu Salifu who was the DCE by then. Saani lost that contest to Aminu Salifu. Before this contest, Saani had been the Assemblyman for Bulinga from 1988 to 2015. He works with the Lands Commission in Wa and holds an HND in Accounting. He has never held any executive position but he is well known in the party. He is a Muslim and hails from Bulinga.

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5.5.11 Contestants in Wa west

Parliamentary primary election in Wa West is an interesting one. From 2012 to 2015 three people contested the parliamentary primaries. In 2011, the contest was between incumbent MP Joseph Yeille Chireh and Patrick P. Bandana and SeiduTongbani.

5.5.11.1 Joseph Yielle Chireh

Joseph Yielle Chireh is the current MP for Wa West. He became MP for the area in 2004 when it was carved out of Wa constituency. He contested the 2011 and 2015 parliamentary primaries and won both. Before becoming a member of parliament, he had served in so many political positions. He was the first PNDC Secretary for Upper West Region when it was created in 1983. He held this position from 1983 to 1985, after which he was made PNDC Secretary for confiscated items from 1985 to1993. When PNDC metamorphosed into NDC and won the 1992 general elections, Joseph Yielle Chireh was made first the Upper West Regional Minister from 1993 to 1997. From 1997 to 2001, President Jerry John Rawlings made him Ghanaian Ambassador to Algeria (Ghanaweb.com, n.d)

Joseph Yielle Chireh is a Pharmacist and a product of KNUST. He did his National Service in Agogo Hospital in the Ashanti Region and has also worked in the Wa Regional Hospital as a Pharmacist. In 2006, he obtained his LLB degree from the Ghana school of Law (GSL). As a former Regional Minister, he has touched so many lives and for that matter, he is known in the party and in the Region. He is a Catholic and comes from Lassia-Tuolu a town under the Wechiau traditional area in the Wa West District.

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5.5.11.2 Seidu Tongbani

Seidu Tongbani was one of the parliamentary aspirants in the 2015 primaries in Wa West.

Before declaring his inentions to become an aspirant, he was the DCE for Wa West from 2009 to 2011. In 1992, he was a polling station secretary. In 2004, he became secretary to the Planning Committee for the establishment of the District/Constituency. In 2006, he was elected Assemblyman for Sigriyiri electoral area and in 2005, he became the constituency Vice Secretary of the NDC. Before joining serious politics, SeiduTongbani worked with FASCOM and was posted to Gushiegu in the 1990's. In 1992, he joined the NDC and was so active that the Gushiegu people wanted him to stand for member of Parliament for the area in 1992 but he declined. Togbani has a B.A Hons from the University of Ghana and a Post-graduate Diploma from UCC. He joined GES as a teacher and worked with Islamic Secondary School in Wa until he was appointed DCE for Wa West in 2009. Tongbani is a Muslim and hails from Sigriyiri in the Dorimon Traditional area of the Wa West District. He contested only in the 2015 primaries but lost.

5.5.11.3 Patrick P. Bandanaa

Bandanaa contested both 2011 and 2015 primaries against Joseph Yielle Chireh. He is a young man from Wechian Township and a royal. He completed UDS and obtained Bsc in Agric. He did his National Service with Lassia-Tuolu Senior High and after that got enrolled into the GIMPA Law School. He was still a student while contesting these

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primaries. He has never held any executive position in the party and does not belong to any branch. He is a Christian and come from Wechiau.

From the analysis of the social profile of candidates, it is clear that before anybody can declare his/her intentions to run for primaries, the person should be a person of substance in terms of contribution to social development, higher academic qualification or service to the NDC party. Based on the above assertion, the researcher decided to find out from respondents the caliber of candidates they think would be more successful as parliamentary candidates and parliamentarians.

From the profile analysis, out of the total forty-six (46) contestants, eight (8) of them had Doctoral Degrees, nine (9) had Masters, twenty-three (23) had first Degree and only seven (7) had Diplomas. This tells us that academic qualification is one of the things to consider when contesting for parliamentary primaries.

Table 5. 13 High academic qualification and success in parliament

People with high academic qualification would be more successful as members of Parliament.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	395	99.2	99.2	99.2
	No	2	.5	.5	99.7
	Don't know	1	.3	.3	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

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From table 5.13 above, respondents were asked whether people with high academic qualification would be more successful as parliamentarians. The responses were emphatic. In the table, three hundred and ninety-five (395) respondents, representing 99.21% agreed that high academic qualification would be one of things to look out for when voting for a parliamentary aspirant. Two people said no, while one person said he or she did not know whether high academic qualification is one of the things to consider.

Secondly, from the profile analysis, the following were observed. Out of the forty-six (46) contestants, eight (8) of them were professional teachers, four (4) were lecturers, eleven (11) of them were Public or Civil servants, one (1) person was a business tycoon and twenty-two of them were either Development or Social Workers.

These people in their various professions have contributed to the development of their organizational goals, or the development of society and that explains why they now offer themselves for the high position of a parliamentary candidate. Aside from this, seven (7) out of the forty-six (46) have acquired Law degrees as an additional qualification to enable than contribute to the success of parliament since the job there is about law making.

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Table 5. 14 Contribution to social development and success in parliament

People who have contributed or have the potential of contributing to societal development would be more successful as aspirants..

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	397	99.7	99.7	99.7
	No	1	.3	.3	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

Moreover, the views of respondents were sought on whether people who have contributed to societal development or have the potential of contributing to development would be more successful in Parliament. In Table 5.14 above , three hundred and ninety-seven (397), representing 99.7% thought that those who have contributed or have the potential of contributing to the development of society should be given the nod as candidates to contest, after all, politics is about improving people's lives.

Thirdly, it was also observed that out of the forty-six (46), thirty-three (33) contestants had worked for the NDC party as former Ministers, former DCEs, former Party executives or party financiers. On the other hand, only thirteen (13) people were just ordinary NDC members who have never served the party in any capacity. All the thirteen in this category failed to be elected as candidates for Members of Parliament when they stood for the contest. This shows that to some extent, party members measure loyalty based on how an individual have served the party. The table below shows the response of respondents on the relationship between service to party and candidates' success in primaries.

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Table 5. 15 Service to party and candidates' success in primaries.

People who have served the party in many capacities would be more successful as parliamentary aspirants.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	388	97.5	97.5	97.5
	No	10	2.5	2.5	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

According to table 5.15 above, three hundred and eighty-eight (388) respondents representing 97.5% thought that service to party is certainly a factor that propels one into success. After all, service to party is a sign of loyalty and therefore party men and women can trust you with more duties. Ten (10) people representing 2.5%, however, thought that otherwise. To them, service to party cannot be a factor that would propel one into success in parliamentary primaries.

Lastly, it was also noticed from the social profile analysis of candidates that none of them had a known criminal record. This is so because, it is a constitutional requirement that none aspiring to hold public office should be a convicted criminal. This explains why Michael Kumbor, a great financier of the party in DBI constituency could contest in 2011 primaries but could not contest in 2015. He was among the National service Directors who were standing trial for allegedly putting ghost names on the National Service Secretariat (NSS) payroll.

Again, when David Jawara, one of the parliamentary aspirants in Nadowli/Kaleo took Roger Garlee, another aspirant to court for being convicted and fined by the Tamale High

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court for entering into the Mole National Park to hunt, the court threw out the case, saying that, it does not fall under the crimes that prevent one from holding public office.

The above argument shows that both contestants and society, except people of high moral integrity to officer themselves for public service like the office of parliament. In the light of this, the researcher found out from respondents how true this assertion is.

Table 5. 16 Moral integrity and success as parliamentary aspirant

People who command and have moral integrity would be more successful as parliamentary aspirant.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	384	96.5	96.5	96.5
	No	14	3.5	3.5	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

From the table 5.16 above, three hundred and eighty-four(384) respondents representing 96.5% emphatically agreed that moral integrity is a requirement to be successful in a public office like parliament, but fourteen (14) people representing only 3.5% disagreed that moral integrity is a requirement for success in parliament.

From the above discussion, it is clear that the politics of primary elections starts with the caliber of individual candidates who declare their intention to contest. A candidate with high academic qualification, high moral integrity, and ability to contribute to the development of society or somebody who has served the party in earnest stands a better

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chance as a parliamentary aspirant than someone who does not possess the above-mentioned qualities.

5.6 STAKE HOLDERS/ INTERESTED PARTIES, SUPPORT BASE AND ROLES PLAYED BY SUPPORTERS TO INFLUENCE THE SELECTION OF CANDIDATES

Under this heading, the researcher tried to identify the stake holders or interested parties in parliamentary primaries, the support base of the contestants and how all these entities influence the selection of candidates by their various roles. Unanimously, it was agreed that the stakeholders or interested parties in parliamentary primaries are many and could be endless. However, prominent among them include but not limited to the following.

Aside from the contestants themselves, party executives were one of the entities identified as stakeholders or interested parties.

These party executives comprised of polling station executives, constituency executives, Regional and National executives. In actual sense, party elders and even the presidency are all interested in the outcome of the primary elections. When things go well at the primaries it is easier for the party to present a united candidate at the general elections and this will go a long way to ensure the success of the entire party in the general elections.

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Table 5. 17 Party Executives as Stakeholder in Primaries

Do you consider party executives as interested stakeholders in parliamentary primaries?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	397	99.7	99.7	99.7
	Don't know	1	.3	.3	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

Table 5.17 above shows the reponses that were given to the question posed. An overwhelming majority of three hundred and ninety-seven (397) people representing 99.7% accepted that party executives were crucial stakeholders. This is so because they take charge of the organization of these primaries. Only one person disagreed with the majority opinion.

Secondly, Religion /clan /ethnic / tribal groupings were also considered as stakeholders. These religious or ethnic groups would be happy to see one of their members elected as parliamentary candidate for a major party like the NDC or they would be interested in the selection of someone even if he is not a member but who would be sympathetic to their course.

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Table 5. 18 Religion/ clan/ethnic/tribe as stakeholders in primaries

Do you consider religious, clan, tribe or ethnic groupings as interested stakeholders in parliamentary primaries?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	383	96.2	96.2	96.2
	No	13	3.3	3.3	99.5
	Don't know	2	.5	.5	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

In table 5.18 above, Three hundred and eighty-three (383) respondents, representing 96.2% agreed that religion/ clan/ethnic and tribal groupings are interested stakeholders, when it comes to primary election. With two people saying that, they did not know whether religious or ethnic groupings were interested stakeholders in parliamentary primaries.

Thirdly, Traditional Authorities, most especially Chiefs were also identified as people who would be interested in the outcome of primary elections. Elections have its associated violence and division and any responsible Chief would want everything to go smoothly in his traditional area. Besides, he would be happy to see a son or daughter of his traditional area being selected as a candidate for parliamentary elections. For example, in Wa West, Wechiau Naa was interested in Patrick P. Bandanaa being selected in the 2015 primaries but DorimonNaa routed for SeiduTongbani simply because these

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two contestants came from their respective traditional areas. Aside from this fact, the two contestants run to their chiefs to ask them for support. Bandanaa went to Wechiau Naa to announce his intention to contest and to solicit for his support, Tongbani did same in Dorimon. Even Joseph Yielle Chireh equally went to the Wechiau and Dorimon paramouncies to also announce his re-election bid. This he did to solicit for backing from the two Chiefs but unfortunately, neither of them backed him. In Wa, WaNaa threw his support behind Rashid anytime he contested because Rashid Pelpuo is from the current royal house. In Nandom, NandomNaa was neutral towards Dr. Kuuire and Curtbert Kuupiel because the two were from his traditional area in the 2015 primaries, when the two of them came at separate occasions to announce their intentions to contest the primaries.

Additionally, in Lambussie –Karni, the Lambussie Koro wanted the selection of Clement Benin in 2012 and Daug Marcellinus Wilbert in 2015 as against the reigning MP, Edward K.Dery. The simple reason being that Clement Benin and Daug M. Wilbert come from Lambussie traditional area but the reigning MP, Edward K. Dery comes from Kpare which falls under Jirapa traditional area. Even though all the three contestants (Benin, Dery and Daug) went to the Lambussie Koro at the District capital to seek for support, the Chief preferred those from his Chiefdom to other areas. The mere fact that contestants run to Paramount Chiefs or Divisional Chiefs to announce their intentions is a clear manifestations of the great role traditional authorities play in selecting MPs.

Indeed, every Traditional Authority would be interested in the outcome of parliamentary primaries but because of the position they hold in society, many of them do not openly show it.

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Table 5. 19 Traditional Authorities as interested parties.

Do you consider Traditional Authorities as interested stakeholders in parliamentary primaries?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	369	92.7	92.7	92.7
	No	23	5.8	5.8	98.5
	Don't know	6	1.5	1.5	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

The reponses in table 5.19 above show that a convincing majority of three hundred and sixty –nine (369) respondents, which represents 92.7%, totally agreed that these traditional authorities were stakeholders or interested parties but 5.8% numbering twenty-three (23) respondents totally disagreed. Six respondents (6) representing 1.5% said they did not know if traditional authorities were part of the parliamentary primaries stakeholders.

In addition to the above, it was also realized from the qualitative data, that camps within the party emerged as a result of people declaring their support for a particular candidate and his/her ideas. For example, in the NDC, they have the Rawlings-John Evans Atta Mills camp, John Mahama's camp or Asiedu Nketia's camp at the National level. This also trickles down to the Regional, Constituency and Polling stations. At the constituency level, all those party men and women and even non-party people who support a particular candidate all belong to one camp. Camps within a party are not a bad idea. It is when the camps adopt unapproved means to outwit the other camps, which is considered bad. In

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the recent primaries in the Upper West Region, especially the 2015 primaries, camps within the NDC were at play. For example, Alban Bagbin, Joseph Yielle Chireh, Rashid Pelpuo and Amina Salifu who were sitting MPs did not belong to the John Mahama's camp and for that matter the Presidency wanted these MPs voted out, because they belong to Rawlings-Atta-Mills Camp during the primaries. On the other hand, Roger Garlee who contested Alban Bagbin in Nadawli/Kaleo, Dr. Alpha Musheibu who contested Rashid Relpuo in Wa Central and Patrick P. Bandanaa who contested Joseph Yielle Chireh in Wa West belonged to the John Mahama's camp. Chieftaincy Minister Dr. Henry Seidu Danaa was also in Mahama's camp and for that matter, all the Regional and Constituency executives threw their weight behind Dr. Henry Seidu Danaa against Aminu Salifu in Wa East.

At the constituency level, it was clear that camps were at work as seen from the qualitative data. In Nandom for instance, there were two camps, the Kunbuor- Kuupiel's camp and the Kuuire's camp. Many of the constituency executives including the Chairman belonged to the Kuuire's camp. In Lawra, all the executives were in Sampson Abu's camp. Sampson Abu was the then sitting MP for Lawra. Bede Ziedeng was the only candidate who filed to contest Sampson Abu the sitting MP. The case was not different in Sisala East and Wa West. In Sissala East Johnson Sabor who was the sitting DCE for the area got the constituency Executives into his camp, but the MP of the area, Alijata Sulemana had the polling station Chairmen to her side in the 2015 primaries. In Wa West, Mr. Salma who was the secretary and Mr.Alhassan I brahimwho was also the constituency Chairman belonged to Patrick P. Bandanaa's camp as against that of Joseph Yielle Chireh. At the Regional and National level, Mathew Song-Aabo who was the

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Upper West Regional Chairman and Roger Antomwini who was the secretary to Cabinet in John Mahama's regime preferred Patrick P. Bandanaa and not Joseph Yielle Chireh who was even the sitting MP for Wa West. The list of the evidence of camps and factions in the parliamentary primaries in the NDC is endless.

Table 5. 20 Camps as interested parties

Do you consider camps within the party as interested stakeholders in parliamentary primaries?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	388	97.5	97.5	97.5
	No	8	2.0	2.0	99.5
	Don't know	2	.5	.5	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

In table 5.20 above, the researcher questioned respondents to see if Camps within the NDC party were stakeholders and interested parties in the primaries? Two respondents said they did not know whether Camps are stakeholders, eight (8) people representing only 2% said they did not agree with the idea that camps are stakeholders but a huge number of three hundred and eighty-eight (388) respondents representing 97.5% fully endorsed the idea that camps within the NDC were indeed interested stakeholders.

More importantly and very interestingly, the main opposition party in each constituency is also interested in the outcome of parliamentary primaries. In other words, the opposition party is also a stakeholder in parliamentary primaries in the Upper West

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Region. The data collected from the interviews brought this to the fore with a lot of instances to buttress this point. For example, the NPP is the main opposition party in all the eleven (11) constituencies. The NPP always have an interest in seeing the NDC divided at primaries so that the NPP would capitalize on it, thereverse is also true.

In Nandom, Sissala West and East, Lawra and Wa East, the NPP was happy to see the NDC divided over which candidate to support in both primaries and general elections and the NPP capitalized on the NDC's division and confusion to snatch those five (5) seats in the 2016 general elections. Additionally, the NPP preferred Patrick P. Bandanaa to be elected the Parliamentary candidate for Wa West in both 2012 and 2015 primaries. The simple reason is that Mr. Bandanaa is not well known in the constituency and comes from a minority ethnic group, Walaa. In this instance, they stand a greater chance of winning the seat in the general elections. On the other hand, Joseph Yielle Chireh is solid member in a tribe, which is the major one in the constituency. In Nadowli /kaleo the NPP always look foward to seeing a different candidate being selected instead of Alban Sumana Bagbin who has never tasted defeat at primary or general elections in the constituency.

In addition, in Sissala East the NPP wanted Alijata Sulemana, the sitting MP to win the primaries. The reason is that she does not visit the constituency very often and so she was not in touch with the people. Therefore, it will be easier to beat such a person. They would simply tell the electorate that Alijata Sulemana was an absentee MP and therefore they should not vote for her. However, the NPP did not want Johnson Sabor, who was the then sitting DCE to win the 2015 primaries in Sissala East. This is so because Johnson Sabor was a real threat to the NPP. He had a lot of resources and had commissioned so many projects in the constituency. He has always been in touch with all communities in

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the constituency and is well known. True to their wish, the NPP got it and it worked perfectly for them as Johnson lost the primaries to Alijata Sulemana. Lastly, in Wa East the NPP was praying for the selection of Dr. Henry Seidu Danaa so that they would capitalize on his disability and it was so for them.

Table 5. 21 Opposition as interested stakeholders

Do you consider the opposition party as interested stakeholders in parliamentary primaries?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	382	96.0	96.0	96.0
	No	16	4.0	4.0	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

In table 5.21.5 above shows the response of participants when they were quizzed on whether the main oppositions always has interest in who is elected as candidate for its counterpart. Sixteen (16) people representing 4% said no, but a larger number of three hundred and eighty –two (382) respondents representing 96% agreed that the opposition is always interested as to who the NDC selects as a parliamentary candidate. This therefore confirms the above arguments.

Furthermore, family members of candidates, friends and well-wishers, ordinary party men, development partners or any person or group of persons or entity who stand to benefit directly or indirectly from the outcome of these primaries are stakeholders or interested parties. The list can be endless.

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After having identified the possible stakeholders or interested parties in the parliamentary primary business, it is pertinent to discuss the role played by supporters to have their preferred candidates elected. It is expedient to add that somebody or entity may be a stakeholder or interested party but may not necessarily play any role in support of his/her preferred candidate. Also, the roles played by supporters vary from constituency to constituency.

Among others, the following were interested parties or stakeholder who played diverse roles to get one candidate or the other elected. As soon as a stakeholder begins to assist a candidate, that person now is a supporter.

First, supporters who supported certain candidates against others were party executives, right from National, Regional, and Constituency to Polling station level. Indeed, party executives are the organizers of primaries and are expected to play a referee and neutral role. It is their duty to ensure free and fair primaries, however, some party executives manipulate the system in favour of some particular candidates who would be sympathetic towards their course. In many cases in the Upper West Region, many executive members were not neutral.

Knowing the role party executives can play to get a candidate selected, the politics of primary elections therefore start with the selection of constituency executives who superintend the conduct of parliamentary primaries. For example, prior to the 2015 parliamentary primaries, constituency executives were selected and those who were interested to contest had to back the elections of some particular people who would help them win eventually in the primaries. In Nandam, both Kuuire's Camp and Kunbuor - Kuupeil's camp sponsored some contestants for the constituency elections and at the end

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of the elections Kunbuor-Kuupiel's Camp only got the organizer and communications officers but all other positions were won by the Kuuire's Camp and this really worked in favour of Kuuire winning the 2015 primaries. In Lawra, all those who won belonged to Sampson Abu, the then sitting MP. In Wa West, the two strong positions were won by the people who were sponsored by Patrick P.Bandana while those supported by the incumbent MP, Joseph Yielle Chireh, won the rest. In Jirapa and Nadowli/Kaleo, Dr. Bawana Dakura and A.S.K. Bagbin sponsored people won all the positions in the constituencies. This practice was replicated in almost all the eleven (11) constituencies in the region.

In fact, party executives at all levels did a lot to get some candidates elected as against others. For example, in Sissala East, all the constituency executives were in favour of the then DCE Johnson Sabor who was contesting the then sitting MP in the 2015 primaries. The sitting MP also quickly formed an association of polling station chairpersons. Polling station Chairmen outnumbered constituency executives and they were found all over the constituencies to relay information faster and closer to the delegates and for that matter Alijata Sulemana who was the sitting MP beat the siting DCE Johnson Sabor. Indeed, it was deduced from the interviews that in the Wa East Constituency, the presidency, headed by John Dramani Mahama, the Regional executives and the Constituency executives were all in favor of the then Chieftaincy minister Dr. Henry Seidu Danaa. President John Mahama wanted Dr. Danaa to get elected for him to make the case that his government and the NDC party do not discriminate and that explains why he appointed Dr. Danaa who is visually impaired as Chieftaincy Minister and now wanted him elected as Member of Parliament. All the state and party machineries were deployed in favour of

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Dr. Danaa. This development angered Salifu Aminu and his supporters who felt that the party executives were unfair to them and for this reason, Salifu Aminu and his supporters refused to assist Danaa and his camp and as such, the NDC lost the Wa East seat in the 2016 general elections.

The story was not different in Nandom as the entire executive body except the organizer and communication officer were supporting Kuuire and they were openly against Curtbert Kuupiel who was the then sitting DCE. In fact, the DCE had more resources than Kuuire, but because the executives were against him as soon as he lost the primaries to Kuuire, he and his supporters withdrew their support for Kuuire in the 2016 general elections and so the party also lost that seat to the NPP candidate, Ambrose P. Dery.

The qualitative data showed that, in Wa West, Patrick P. Bandanaa was acclaimed as the Party's choice as against Joseph Yielle Chireh who was the sitting DCE. Indeed, Roger Antowini, Secretary to John Mahama's Cabinet, Mathew Song-Aabo, Upper West Regional Chairman Seidu Shaibu and Salma Alhassan Chairman and Secretary for Wa West Constituency respectively all threw their weight behind Patrick P. Bandanaa as against Joseph Yielle Chireh and Togbani Seidu, who were all contestants in the 2015 primaries.

In Lawra, while the national executives were in favour of Bede Ziedeng because he was at the National level as Deputy Director in charge of election. Almost, all the constituency executives, including Dr. Benjamin Kunbuor were all in favour of Sampson Abu, who was the sitting member of parliament. As such, when Sampson lost the primaries, the constituency executives did not support Bede Ziedeng wholeheartedly,

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instead, many of them including Dr. Kunbuor secretly supported Sampson Abu who stood as an independent candidate and for that matter, and they lost the seat to Anthony Karbo of the NPP. The reason why Dr. Kunbuor supported Sampson Abu against Ziedeng, was that in 2008, Ziedeng stood as parliamentary candidate for DFP and so caused the defeat of Kunbuor in that year and so he felt that it was pay back time to support Sampson Abu.

For that of Jirapa, the executives were all supporting Dr. Bawanaa Dakura as against other contestants and so when Bawaana won the primaries, it was easy to get the executives to help him prosecute his agenda and subsequently won the general election but the same cannot be said about the same constituency in the 2012 primaries. In 2012 primaries, the constituency executives were divided over Dr. Bawaanaa Dakura and Paul Derigubaa. In fact, those who supported Derigubaa were more than those who supported Bawaana Dakura who was the then sitting MP. For this reason, when Derigubaa lost the primaries he got the support from those executives who backed him to contest as an independent candidate and he eventually won the 2012 general elections. It was in 2016 general elections that the NDC got united again and regained the seat back.

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Table 5. 22 Party executives manipulate the system to select some candidates

Party executives sometimes manipulate the system in favour of a particular candidate whom they can easily control to protect their interest.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	371	93.2	93.5	93.5
	No	21	5.3	5.3	98.7
	Don't know	5	1.3	1.3	100.0
	Total	397	99.7	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.3		
Total		398	100.0		

Source: Survey Data, 2019

In table 5.22 above, the researcher wanted to know from respondents whether party executives who support certain candidates sometimes manipulate the system in favour of such candidates. While 5.3% said no, 1.3% of the respondents said they do not know whereas 93.5% agreed that the practice is real and widespread.

In addition to the above, religious/ethnic/clan played major roles in getting some candidates elected or otherwise. In most cases, they do this by appealing to their members to get one of their own selected in order to protect their interest and identity. In all cases, every tribe or clan or religions set would prefer the selections of one of its members as NDC parliamentary candidates but because tribe, ethnic, clan or religion are volatile issues in most cases people handle them secretly or at best watch on quietly.

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However, in the four (4) constituencies these factors determined who would be selected as parliamentary candidates.

These constituencies were Sissala East. The Sissala East is made up of predominantly Sissalas and majority of the constituencies are Muslims. However, clan plays a major role in their activies and therefore impact on politics. The clan system is very strong in Sissala and it impacts so much on their elections. For example, Johnson Sarbo who was the sitting DCE and the main contendant to Alija Sulemana who was the sitting MP run to NaaBugbelle, Bujan, Tafiasi, Nanchalla, which were all made up of one clan with the crocodile as their totem to support him. This clan saw Johnson Sabor as a grandson since Sabor's paternal grandmother belonged to that clan.

Aside from that, during his days as DCE, Sabor worked on improving a deplorable road that runs to the above-mentioned villages and for that matter, they thought they owe Sabor a duty to support him. For Alijata Sulemana, she had the support of the people of Nabulu, Ngmanduo, Ping and Vamboi who all together formed one clan of which she is a member, when she appealed to them. Additionally, Mohammed Bataglia had the backing of Bugbelle and Wellembelle people who are also one clan, from where Bataglia comes from.

In Wa East, ethnicity also played a major role. Aminu Salifu who was the sitting MP in 2015 when the primaries were conducted comes from Wa but settled in Manwe. Dr. Henry Seidu Danaa on the other hand is a native of Wa East and so people started agitating for the selection of an indigene and that worked against Aminu Salifu who is a settler. In the same way, ethnicity also affected the 2012 and 2015 primaries in the Wa West District. Joseph Yielle Chireh comes from the Brifor ethnic group, which is the

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largest ethnic group in the constituency. Until you catch the attention of this group, there is no way you can win election in Wa West. In this case, Joseph Yielle Chireh has the numbers behind him.

However, the Brifors are settlers who outnumber the Waala people who are indigenes. Again, the Brifors have more educated people than the native Waalas, but because the land is theirs, they try to look down on the Brifors and so there has been a long time mistrust and suspicion between the two ethnic groups. So, the 2011 and 2015 challenge from the Walaa Camp was not on the fact that Joseph Yielle was not performing as an MP but because they also wanted a Waale man to be an MP instead of a settler. On this note, in 2012 the Waala people fielded Patrick P. Bandanaa and all the delegates from the Wala areas such as Wechiau, Ga, Tokali, Varampare and Dorimon voted for Patrick P. Bandanaa. However, their places did not have the numbers to outnumber the Brifors who had thrown their weight behind their kinsman Joseph Yielle Chireh. In the 2015, the same happened but this time, the Waala Camp Fielded two candidates Patrick P. Bandanaa and Seidu Togbani and so they divided the Waala votes and Joseph Yielle Chireh got it easily.

For Wa Central, it is not ethnicity but rather religion in terms of Orthodox and Ahmadist Muslims. The Orthodox are many in terms of numbers but do not control much influence in Wa. For the Ahmadist, they are not many but very influential. They are well educated and rich and constitute a business hub in Wa Central. Almost all the NDC big men are Ahmadist. For example, Alhaji Mahama Iddrisu, the former Defence Minister under Rawlings and former Council of state member is an Ahmadist, Ahaji Malik Issahaku NDC Regional Chairman from 1992 to 2014 is an Ahmadist, Alhaji Kaleed, and

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Ghanaian former Ambassador to Mali is an Ahmadist and so on. All these people threw their weight behind Dr. Musheibu Alpha who is an Ahmadist as against Rashid Pelpuo is an Orthodox Muslim. The money worked for Dr. Alpha but the numbers worked for Dr Rashid Pelpuo so he won the primaries in the 2015.

Table 5. 23 Religious, ethnic & clan appeals

Religious, clan/ethnic/tribal groupings appeal to each other or their members to have their own elected so that he/she can protect their identity.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	322	80.9	80.9	80.9
	No	66	16.6	16.6	97.5
	Don't know	10	2.5	2.5	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

From table 5.23 above, I wanted to know from respondents whether religious groups, ethnic or clan groupings play a role in selecting a parliamentary candidate. From the responses, it is clear that practice is real as three hundred and twenty-two (322) representing 80.9% agreed to the above assertion. However, sixty-six (66) respondents think that religion, ethnicity or clan does not play any role in determining who is an NDC parliamentary candidate.

More importantly, traditional authorities sometimes and in some constituencies influence the selection of a parliamentary candidate by appealing to either their sub-chiefs or subjects to get a son or daughter of the area selected. By constitutional requirements,

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traditional authorities are supposed to be neutral and not to take part in partisan politics and for that matter, whatever assistance they offer to a candidate is purely underground but in three constituencies traditional authorities openly showed support for some candidates. For example, the Wa royal family of Pelpuo threw their weight behind the nomination of Dr. Rashid Pelpuo in 2015 primaries.

In both 2012 and 2015, WechiauNaa who is the paramount Chief of Wechian traditional area appealed to the Dorimon Paramouncy and all Waala Chiefs to speak to their subjects to support the candidature of Patrick P. Bandanaa who is from Wechiau. In the same way, in DBI constituency the Chiefs of Kojokperee and Issa supported the candidature of K.K Abu against Dr. Sabestian Sandaare. This is because K. K Abu comes from the Samuni Zone of the constituency of which Issa and Kojokpere are towns. However, Dr. Sabestian Sandaare comes from Daffiama, which falls under the Balo zone of the DBI constituency.

Since the inception of the fourth Repubic, all the MPs of the DBI constituency came from the Balo zone starting from Emmanuel Zomakpe, Mathias Puozaa to Dr Sebestian Sandaare. For this reason, the chiefs of Issa and Kojokpere also wanted a son of the Samuni to also go to parliament, but unfortunately, K.K. Abu could not make it at the primaries.

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Table 5. 24 Influence of traditional authorities on primaries

Traditional authorities appeal to either their subjects or sub chiefs to get a son or daughter of the area elected for their parochial interest and interest of his subjects.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	256	64.3	64.3	64.3
	No	83	20.9	20.9	85.2
	Don't know	59	14.8	14.8	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

From table 5.24 above, respondents were asked as to whether traditional authorities appeal to their subject or sub-chiefs to assist in selecting a son or daughter of the area as parliamentary aspirant, fifty-nine (59) respondents representing 14.8% said they did not know. While, Eighty-three (83) respondents representing 20.9% said no, while two hundred and fifty-six (256) people representing 64.3% agreed that indeed traditional authorities do interfere to influence the selection of candidates from their chiefdom.

Aside from the above, Businessmen are also stakeholders in primary elections and therefore openly or secretly sponsor certain candidates so that in the event that such candidates gets elected, then they (businessman) could be given some contracts to deliver.

Businessperson in this context refers to suppliers of general goods, road contractors and building contractors. Even though interviewees failed to give names of specific businessmen who sponsored certain candidates at primary elections, the idea is clear that

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indeed these people sometimes have a hand in choosing a parliamentary candidate by assisting such candidates with either funds or materials.

Table 5. 25 Influence of businessmen on primaries

Businessmen secretly or openly sponsor candidates so that they can get contracts when the person gets elected.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	314	78.9	78.9	78.9
	No	48	12.1	12.1	91.0
	Don't know	36	9.0	9.0	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

Notwithstanding the inability to get specific names of businessmen who sponsored candidates in the NDC primaries, the researcher decided to find out from respondents whether the practice is real or imaginary. The responses from Table 5.25 above show that the practice of businessmen sponsoring candidates is real as three hundred and fourteen (314) people representing 78.9% agreed that it was so. However, forty-eight (48) respondents representing 12.1% said no while 9% of respondents said they do not know whether businessmen sponsor candidates or not. Again, camps within the NDC party play diverse roles to get their preferred candidates selected. Camps within a party is not bad. It only becomes bad when they use unapproved means to outwit their opponents. These camps play several roles to get their prefer candidates selected for several reasons.

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In the Wa East Constituency, for example the Dr. Henry Seidu Danaa's Camp had the support of the Constituency, Regional and National executives because that was President John Mahama's choice. Supporting the president's choice will enable those supporters get appointments or material rewards and for that reason Regional and National executive offered financial and moral support to Dr. Henry Seidu Danaa. In the Constituency, the executives went with him to places to campaign as against Aminu Salifu who went out for campaign without Constituency executives. More so, National executives supplied more registration material to Dr. Henry Seidu Danaa to register more people he thinks would vote for him during the primaries.

In Wa West, most Brifor NDC bigwigs supported Joseph Yielle Chireh's camp by campaigning for him and appeal to their people to vote for Chireh. This was meant to allow Chireh to assist more Brifors to go to school and also find jobs for those who have completed school. On the part of Patrick P. Bandanaa, Roger Antomwini, Secretary to John Mahama's Cabinet and Mathew Song-Aabo, Upper west NDC Regional Chairman supported him because they all come from Kaleo, the home town of Patrick P. Bandanaa's mother and so Antowini and Song-Aabo are maternal uncles to Bandanaa and so they wanted their nephew elected as Member of Parliament so that they can control him and ask for whatever they want. Aside from that, Mathew Song-Aabo is a businessperson and therefore would get contracts from Wa West, if his nephew were the MP.

In Wa Central, the story is the same. Alhaji Iddrusu Mahama, one of the NDC founding fathers, a former Defence Minister under Rawlings and a former Council of State member and Alhaji Malik Issahaku, the longest served Regional Chairman from 1992 to

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2014 and the richest contractor in Wa town were all Ahmadist. These individuals supported the Camp of Dr. Musheibu Alpha with a lot of money and moral support.

Indeed, the Ahmadists are not as many as the Orthodox but they control a lot of influence in Wa. The reason for this support was that from 1992 up to date, the Ahmadist sponsor a greater part of the NDC activities in Wa Central but they have never had one of their own as MP. From M.A Seidu to Rashid Pelpuo were all Orthodox Muslims. Getting an Ahmandist elected would boost the image of the religion. In Nadowli/Kaleo most executives were on the side of A.S.K Bagbin's camp because he is rich and can provide for their personal needs. In fact, some constituency executives joined the enthusiastic crowd that accompanied Bagbin to the constituency office to pick nomination forms.

In Nandom, thirteen (13) out of fifteen (15) constituency executives supported and campaigned for Kuuire's camp against Kunbuor-Kuupiel's camp. The reason is that Kuuire listens more to people as compared to Kunbuor who was considered as a snob. They were afraid that he would influence Curtbert Kuupiel to also snob people in the same manner as he did when he was the MP for Nandom. In Lawra, also all the constituency executives belonged to the Sampson Abu's camp and worked hard for Sampson to get re-elected. The reason for doing so was that Sampson sponsored most of the party's activities in the constituency and was always prepared to help executives with their personal needs than Bede Ziedeng who was based in Accra and would not send them money to spend on the party. The examples are endless in this regard.

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Table 5. 26 Camps within the party support candidates.

Camps within the party throw their support behind candidates they think would be sympathetic towards their cause.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	381	95.7	95.7	95.7
	No	17	4.3	4.3	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

In table 5.26 above, respondents were questioned whether camps within the party have a hand in choosing parliamentary aspirants. From the responses, 4.3% of the respondents said no while the rest of the 95.7% accepted the fact that camps indeed do play a greater role in selecting Parliamentary aspirants. The main opposition party always would wish and play a role in the selection of candidates that would inure to its (opposition) benefit. Mostly the opposition would wish or pray for the selection of a weaker NDC parliamentary aspirant who can easily be defeated in the general elections. This is done either by moral encouragement or by offering financial assistance to the weaker candidates.

The Upper West Region in totality is the stronghold of the NDC and so during the 2015 NDC primaries many of the NPP members managed to get their names onto the NDC biometric register so that they can vote for weaker candidates to win the primaries to give their party (NPP) the chance to win the general elections. This practice was widespread in all the eleven (11) constituencies that made up the Upper West Region. Known NPP

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members had their names on the biometric register and by law such people could not be prevented from voting and so they voted. For example in Tongu, one of the electoral areas in Lawra, the polling station chairperson of NPP's name was on the NDC biometric list and he was allowed to vote.

In Wa West the NPP secretary for the constituency had his name on the NDC biometric register and he was also allowed to vote and after voting he openly declared that he voted for Patrick P. Bandanaa. Bandanaa is not known within both the NDC and the constituency and so it would be easier to beat such a candidate in the general elections.

In Lawra, it is alleged that Anthony Karbo sponsored Sampson Abu to stand as independent candidate against Bede Ziedeng in order to weaken the NDC front and that explains why the NPP won the Lawra seat.

Table 5. 27 Opposition influence on the selection of weaker candidates

Opposition is always interested in and will play a role that would lead to the selection of a weaker candidate so that they (opposition) can win the general elections.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	374	94.0	94.0	94.0
	No	14	3.5	3.5	97.5
	Don't know	10	2.5	2.5	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

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Table 5.27 displays the responses of delegates who were asked whether the opposition wished for or played any role in selecting a Candidate that would inure to their benefit. 3.5% and two point five percent 2.5% of the respondents said no and do not know respectively. On the other hand, 94% agreed that the assertion is true.

After having examined the various stakeholders and supporters and the various role's they played to get their preferred candidates elected. We now want to find out whether the activities of various candidates and their supporters influence the choices of the delegates during the 2012 and 2015 primaries. The first stakeholder in the primary election is the candidate himself or herself. What he brings on board would go a long way to help him win or lose. For this reason, each candidate touts his competence and what he brings on board the party's Card. Competence comprised of endless list of things including but not limited to academic qualification, previous service to society and party, high moral integrity, ability to mobilize and manage resources and the ability to do a lot in a short time. Candidates and supporters touted these things around when they were campaigning to convince delegates that they were the best to be considered. On this note, delegates were asked whether the competence of the candidates influenced their choice in the primary election.

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Table 5. 28 Competence influenced delegates choice

Competence and ability to deliver influenced your choice of candidates in the 2012 and 2015 parliamentary primaries.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	394	99.0	99.0	99.0
	No	4	1.0	1.0	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

In table 5.28 above, the answers provided show that 99% agreed that they were influenced by the competence of candidates with only 1% disagreeing. In addition to the above, there are certain instances where people vote for a particular candidate because he/she is the party's choice. This is very discriminatory because if he/she is the party's choice why then the completion? According to Mathew Song-Aabo and Bede Zedeng, the idea of a candidate being the party's choice is both real and imaginary. The reality is that there are some candidates the party would want to protect and send them to parliament. For example, a majority leader would need protection to go back to parliament or a candidate that is always on the air waves defending the party would need protection from the party to go to parliament. Therefore, for such candidates the executives at all levels would do well to protect them against others

However, the imaginary aspect is when people claimed to be preferred candidate of the presidential candidate when it is not so. Whether real or imaginary party's choice, the

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researcher wanted to know from delegates whether such an issue influenced their choices at the primary elections.

Table 5. 29Party's choice influenced delegates

Appeal from party executives to choose a particular candidate because he/she is the party's choice influenced your choice of candidates in the 2012 and 2015 parliamentary primaries.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	357	89.7	89.7	89.7
	No	36	9.0	9.0	98.7
	Don't know	5	1.3	1.3	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

From table 5.29 above, three hundred and fifty seven (357) people representing eighty nine point seven percent 89.7% agreed that such an issue influenced them but thirty-six (36) people representing 9% said no, they were not influenced by the issue of somebody being a party's choice. Five people (5) representing one point three percent 1.3% said they do not know whether the issue under discussion influenced them or not. Additionally, the activities of religion, tribal orclan or ethnic groupings do influence the choices that delegates make. It is same with the activities of traditional authorities before and during the primaries. On this note, this research wanted to know from delegates whether they were influenced by the roles played by the above-mentioned entities.

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Table 5. 30 Traditional Authorities appeal influenced delegates' choice

Appeal from traditional authorities and tribal or clan groups to select a particular candidate influenced your choice of candidates in the 2012 and 2015 parliamentary primaries.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	336	84.4	84.4	84.4
	No	44	11.1	11.1	95.5
	Don't know	18	4.5	4.5	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

2019Source: Survey Data,

In table 5.30, 84.4% accepted that they were influenced by the activities of tribal, traditional authority and so on. 11.1% said no, they were not influenced by that and 4.5% said they did not know as to whether the activities of tribal and traditional authorities influenced them.

Lastly, a very important issue of concern is the use of material rewards to influence voters. These are in the form of money, accommodation, food, transport jobs and many others. It is known fact that during primaries, contesting candidates try to either influence delegates with money, food or provide them with accommodation or transport them to voting centers. This practice is widespread and so I decided to find out from delegates whether they were influenced by those materials enticement.

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Table 5. 31Material rewards influenced delegates' choice

Material rewards in the form of money, food, accommodation and transport from contestants influenced your choice of candidates in the 2012 and 2015 parliamentary primaries.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	337	84.7	84.7	84.7
	No	49	12.3	12.3	97.0
	Don't know	12	3.0	3.0	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data,2019

In table 5.31 above, an overwhelming majority of three hundred and thirty-seven (337) people representing 84.7% agreed that material rewards do influence delegates.

Most delegates went further to argue that the ability to provide those material things shows that you are capable of taking care of many people and apart from that, politics is about improving people's lives and so if at primaries you can offer them something then they would give you the nod. Some also think that after voting for a candidate to win when they proceed to parliament, it is the end and you may not see them again, so it is in order to take certain rewards from them before they proceed to Parliament. In effect, primary season was pay time for delegates who are the kingmakers.

On the other hand, forty-nine (49) respondents representing 12.3% said that they were never influenced by those material enticements. However, twelve (12) people representing 3% said they do not know whether such material enticements influenced

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them or not. After having exhausted the issues of supporters and the various roles played to get their preferred candidates selected, may we now turn our attention to the Administrative processes that governed these primaries to see how right or wrong they were.

5.7 THE ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESSES: HOW RIGHT OR WRONG WERE THEY ?

Under this heading, we examine the administrative process that governed the 2011 and 2015 NDC parliamentary Primaries. This is to enable us find out whether the administrative processes were evenly and correctly applied and if it was so, then that means the executives or the system was fair to all parties. However, if the processes were wrongly applied then, the extent to which, the processes were breached would be examined so that we can better understand the politics involved there.

To begin with, what were the administrative processes? They were simple and included but not necessary limited to the following.

1. You must be a registered voter within the constituency and of sound mind.
2. You must be a card-bearing member of the NDC and should be member of good standing for at least four years immediately preceding your intention to contest. This includes payment of dues.
3. You must pick a nomination form and get people within the constituency to endorse it. After filling you are expected to return it with the filing fee which is paid into the party's Head Quarters account at the Bank. The contestant only show the pay in slip to Constituency Executives.
4. A date is fixed for vetting and as soon as one is cleared at the vetting then you can begin to campaign as aspirant.

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5. There is room for appeal in case you are disqualified wrongly.
6. The constituency executive will compile a delegate list for the primaries and maintain a neutral role

How fair were the above mentioned administrative processes? Yes, in all constituencies, contestants paid the same amount for picking a form, they all paid the same amount for filing fees. They all submitted the forms on or before the deadline. They all attended the same vetting on the same day and apart from Roger Garlee who was disqualified in the 2011 primaries because he had entered the Mole National Park to hunt and was convicted by a Tamale High court, all other contestants in both 2011 and 2015 were cleared to contest the primaries.

The above were the extent to which the administrative processes governing the NDC primaries were fair and based on the above qualitative assertion, the researcher wanted to know from delegates who were not party executive how true the above assertion was. Delegates were questioned whether the party executives were fair to all candidates with regards to the 2012 and 2015 NDC parliamentary primaries.

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Table 5. 32 How fair executives were to candidates.

Do you think the party executives were fair to all candidates with regards to the administrative processes governing the conduct of the 2011 and 2015 parliamentary primaries?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	23	5.8	5.8	5.8
	No	375	94.2	94.2	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

From table 5.32 the responses to the above posed question indicate that only twenty-three (23) respondents representing five point eight percent (5.8%) said that the executives were fair to all contestants in all constituencies. However, an overwhelming majority of three hundred and seventy-five (375) respondents representing ninety-four point two percent (94.2%) said that the party executives were not fair to all contestants.

The five point eight percent (5.8%) of respondents who said that the party executives were fair to all candidates were further asked to explain their answer for clarity.

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Table 5. 33 If executive were fair, kindly explain.

If yes, please kindly explain your answer.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	All were given equal opportunity to contest. There was no discrimination against anybody.	12	3.0	3.0	3.0
	Nobody was disqualified.	12	3.0	3.0	6.0
	98	374	94.0	94.0	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

In table 5.33 above, three percent (3%) of the twenty-three respondents who said the executives were fair to all candidates argued or explained that all the candidates were given equal opportunities to contest and that there was no discrimination against anybody. Another three percent (3%) also, argued that since nobody was wrongly disqualified and that the executives were fair to all. Indeed, it must be put on record that the breaches and infraction on the NDC primaries administrative processes especially the 2015 one were too much and very glaring.

To begin with, before the official declaration of intention to contest, some executives right from National to constituency had declared their support for some aspirants which did not augur well for party's unity and natural justice. For example, in Nadowli/kaleo, A.S.K Bagbin himself did not go to constituency office to pick the nomination instead some constituency party executives led a group of Bagbin's supporters to pick a form on his behalf. In Jirapa, except the chairman secretary and financial secretary almost all the executives joined Francis Bawanaa Dakura to match

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to the party's office to pick a form and same was done on the day of filing. For the Nandom constituency, Kunire matched to the NandomNaa's Palace first to tell him of his intention to contest and almost all the executives accompanied him there but when Curtbert Kuupiel was going to inform NandomNaa that he too wanted to contest, no executive member accompanied him there.

In the Sissala East, Constituency executives were all there when Johnson Sabor was picking his form and when he returned to file but same did not happen for Alijata Sulemana as the sitting MP.

In the Wa East Constituency, apart from Regional and constituency executives campaigning for Dr Henry Seidu Danaa, National executives sent him more registration materials to register more people from his strong holds as against Aminu Salifu. In the Wa West Constituency , Roger Antowini, President John Mahama's Secretary to cabinet and Mathew Song-Aabo, NDC Regional Chairman for Upper west supported Patrick P. Bandanaa with funds to erect giant bill boards and printed 'T' shirts. In fact, Patrick Bandanaa was more visible in the constituency even more then Joseph Yeille Chireh who was the incumbent MP and in the DBI constituency the then sitting D.C.E Fedelis Zumakpe made sure that all those to assist the EC officials to conduct the 2015 primaries came from the Balo Zone where Dr. Sebastian Sandaare comes from. This was to give Dr Sandaare an added advantage. The examples can go on endlessly.

On the basis of the above assertions I wanted to find out how wide spread the idea of party executives supporting some candidates against others was and so I questioned delegates whether they were aware that some executives supported other Candidates as against others

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Table 5. 34 Party executives supported some candidates against others.

If no, party executives openly supported some candidates against others.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	367	92.2	98.4	98.4
	No	5	1.3	1.3	99.7
	Don't know	1	.3	.3	100.0
	Total	373	93.7	100.0	
Missing	Not applicable	25	6.3		
Total		398	100.0		

Source: Survey Data,2019

From the Reponses in table 5.34 it is evident that three hundred and sixty seven (367) respondents representing ninety-eight point four percent (98.4%) said they were aware of the practice but one point three percent(1.3%) and zero point three percent (0.3%) said no and did not know respectively. In addition to the above, another area that the executives were not fair to all candidates was the fact that they watched on as some candidates especially sitting MPs transported, camped and fed delegates to the detriments of other candidates. This practice is known and wide spread in all constituencies and has even become the norm. In the 2012, primaries were the numbers were smaller, the sitting MPs enticed the delegates with money, accommodation, feeding and transport in the Upper West Region, A. S. K Bagbin is best known in these things than any other person. Other delegates from other constituencies envy those from Nadowli/Kaleo because of the fact that Hon. Bagbin pays them well and that explains partly why Bagbin has won all

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the parliamentary primaries so far conducted in the Constituency. In the 2015 primaries, because of the large numbers the material gifts were not so glaring but almost all candidates provided provision of transport to convey voters to voting centers to vote.

Almost all candidates sent means to areas they considered their strongholds to convey voters to centers to vote for them. All these things happened right in front of party executives but no one was reprimanded and so those who were more resourceful had an added advantage than those contestants who were less resourceful. In this direction some party executives argued that modern politics is about resources and so if you cannot take, care of delegates properly then you cannot properly take care of an entire constituency. Again, on this score I decided to ask delegates to confirm or not the existence of this practice.

Table 5. 35 Party executives watched contestants entice delegates with gifts.

If no, party executives look on as some candidates transport, camped and fed delegates to the detriment of other candidates.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	357	89.7	95.5	95.5
	No	17	4.3	4.5	100.0
	Total	374	94.0	100.0	
Missing	Not applicable	24	6.0		
Total		398	100.0		

Source: Survey Data,2019

The responses in table 5.35 above show that eighty-nine point seven (89.7%) were aware of the practice. But four point five percent (4.5 %) said they were not aware at all.

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Another thing that party executives or officials did which shows that they were not fair to all candidates was the fact that in the 2015 primaries party executives or some candidates sent more registration materials to certain areas, which were considered as the strongholds of their preferred contestants. This practice was wide spread. For example in Wa East, National executives supplied more registration booklets to Dr Henry Seidu Danaa straight to him to register more people in his strongholds. His counterpart, Aminu Salifu complained about it but nobody attended to his complain.

Additionally, in Wa West the same happened but with a slight difference. Here ,all the contestants involved accused the party executives of sending more registrations materials to their opponents strongholds and so all the three candidates Joseph Yielle Chireh, Patrick P. Bandanaa and SeiduTogbani managed on their own to secure more registration materials from the party's Headquarters for their strongholds to register more voters without recourse to the Constituency executives. In Jirapa, Charles Puozuing , one of the 2015 contestants who was challenging Francis Bawaana Dakura, siting MP managed to get additional registration booklets from Bede Ziedeng, Deputy Director in charge of Elections at the party's Headquarters. Puozuing is the direct nephew of Bede Ziedeng and so his uncle wanted to help him to have an advantage over others, but all the same, Puozuing still lost the election.

In the Lawra Constituency, Bede Ziedeng secured more registration booklets from National levels and registered additional people from Dowini, Eremon and Zambo which are part of his stronghold areas against Sampson Abu who only relied on what the executives sent to the polling stations. The list is endless. The interesting thing here

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was the fact that all these things happened in the full glare of executives at the constituency to National levels with those it affected complaining but nobody took corrective measures.

This means that the executives were either deliberately endorsing illegality or were helpless about the situation. On the strength of the above arguments, I wanted to find out from delegates how true it was that more registration materials were sent to certain areas more than others without the executives taking any action.

Table 5. 36More registration materials to some more than other areas.

If no, in the case of the 2015, party executives or officials sent more registration booklets to certain electoral areas from where their preferred candidate comes from more than other areas.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	371	93.2	99.2	99.2
	No	3	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	374	94.0	100.0	
Missing	Not applicable	24	6.0		
Total		398	100.0		

Source: Survey Data,2019

According to table 5.36 above, three hundred and seventy-one (371) respondents representing ninety- nine point two percent (99.2%) agreed that they were aware of the practice while only eight percent (8%) said they were not aware of what happened.

Still linked with the compilation of the biometric register for the 2015 primaries, the party executives did a haphazard job. They were to check for NDC members and register

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them but the executives rather joined the contestants and their supporters to do the registration anyhow. Instead of waiting for NDC members to come themselves to registration centers to register, with proof of membership to the party, supporters of contestants either went to people or sent for their voter's ID card. Some also went to the polling station EC register and extracted the people's biodata and used that to make the biometric voter cards for the people.

In this case, no much background check was done to ascertain membership to the NDC. This gave the opportunity for every person to get onto the biometric register especially NPP members who wanted the chance to vote for a weaker candidate to give their party(NPP) a better chance in the general elections.

This really happened in all the eleven (11) constituencies. Wa East Constituency decided to audit their biometric register after the primaries and realized that it contained one thousand nine hundred and fifty (1950) NPP members names but surprisingly, some NDC members who posed a threat to some favored candidates had their names missing from the final register, though they took part in the registration exercise. For example, accord to the qualitative data, in Lawra apart from Sampson Abu himself, all his family members names were missing from the register. Sampson Abu is the main contendant of Bede Ziedeng. Dissatisfied with this development, he petitioned the National Chairman Samuel Ofosu Ampofo but there was no remedy. Similar during the election itself some malpractices occurred in DBI and K.K Abu reported it to the Regional executives but no action was taken.

A lot of illegalities happened in 2015 primaries and many people were unhappy about them but no one took corrective measures and so it affected the NDC in the general

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elections. Again, the researcher decided to test how true the above issues were by asking delegates whether they had any knowledge

Table 5. 37 Non- party members names on the Register

If no, in some polling stations, people who are not party members had their names onto the 2015 expanded biometric register.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	369	92.7	98.9	98.9
	No	3	.8	.8	99.7
	Don't know	1	.3	.3	100.0
	Total	373	93.7	100.0	
Missing	Not applicable	24	6.0		
	System	1	.3		
	Total	25	6.3		
Total		398	100.0		

Source: Survey Data, 2019

According to table 5.37 about 98.9% said they were aware but 0.8% said no they were not aware, while 0.3% said they did not know whether these things occurred or not.

More importantly, another area of infraction by the party executives was sources of funding for the organization of parliamentary primaries. Indeed, in the NDC, there is no defined source(s) of funding. It is opened to the discretion of constituency executives.

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The constituency keeps all nomination fees for the purposes of primaries. A portion of the filing fees paid to Headquarters is sent back to the constituency for the primaries. These two sources are mostly inadequate leaving constituency executives no other option than to appeal to party members especially candidates who are the direct beneficiaries, to contribute to the process.

The following examples attest to the above assertion. To begin with, in Wa West, Joseph Yielle Chireh paid for the cost of organizing both the 2011 and 2015 primaries in his constituency since the amount sent to the constituency from the Headquarters was not enough. Constituency party executives appealed to contestants but it was only Joseph Yielle Chireh who responded positively. It may be because he was the sitting MP and therefore had more and enough resources to assist the process, but this process saw more party members lauding Joseph Yielle Chireh as being a more and true Party member than other contestants. In Nandom also, executives appealed to contestants and both Kuuire and Kuupiel responded but according to party executives, Kuuire gave more even though Kuupiel had more resources.

In Sissala East, executives appealed to leading members and two of the contestants. These two (2) contestants were Alijata Sulemanna who was the sitting MP and Johnson Sabor who was also the sitting DCE but the rest of the contestants were never contacted; clearly discrimination has started with riches. In this situation, the sitting DCE gave more than the sitting MP and for that reason the entire constituency executives threw their weight behind him but he still lost the primaries.

In Nadawli/Kaleo, A.S.K Bagbin will contribute money towards the organization of every primary without the constituency executives asking for it and so he is always ahead

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of all. For Lawra, in 2011 contestants were asked to contribute, Sampson Abu, who was then sitting DCE contributed more than others, and he won that primaries. However, in 2015 because of the antagonistic relationship between Bede Ziedeng and Sampson Abu who were the contestants the party executives ignored then and appealed to non-contesting party members. All the same, it still gave the opportunity for all those who supported either Zeideng or Abu to contribute. Similarly, in Wa East contestants were not told to contribute but other party members who were willing to do so and because Dr. Henry Seidu Danaa was the favorite of President John Mahama, many people from his camp contributed and at the end he won. In Lambussie-Karnni, during every primary season, the party appeals to both NDC members and contestants within the constituency to contribute, but a special appeal is always made to the sitting MP because he has the resources.

In the face of widespread appeal to contestants and others to contribute to the organizations of primaries, the researcher decided to test the awareness of delegates on this.

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Table 5. 38 Awareness of contestants contributing more to organize primaries.

Are you aware or have you heard that a greater portion of funds for the organization of parliamentary primaries come from the contestants?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	348	87.4	87.4	87.4
	No	36	9.0	9.0	96.5
	Don't know	14	3.5	3.5	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data,2019

In the table 5.38 above, three hundred and forty-eight (348) respondents representing 87.4% said they were aware of the practice but thirty-six (36) people representing 9% said they were not aware , while fourteen (14) people representing 3.5% said they did not know whether the contestants contribute to the organizations of primaries or not. In the event that the person answered yes, I further asked whether the practice will not lead to richer contestants or anybody who contributes more to manipulate the entire system to his advantage since money is the blood wire of every organization.

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Table 5. 39 Richer candidate manipulate system to their advantage.

If yes, don't you think that a richer candidate who contributes more than others will manipulate the system to his/her advantage?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	317	79.6	79.6	79.6
	No	19	4.8	4.8	84.4
	Don't know	62	15.6	15.6	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

From the responses in table 5.39 above, 79.6% agreed that the practice could lead to richer contestants or the highest bidder manipulating the process to his advantage. However, 4.8% said they did not think the practice will lead to richer contestants manipulating the system to their advantage and 15.6% did not know whether the practice would lead to some one manipulating the system to his advantage.

Judging from all the above discussions, it is clear that most of the administrative processes governing the NDC primaries were flawed and people got disgruntled especially in the 2015 primaries and that affected the NDC in the 2016 general elections.

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5.8 THE USE OF MONEY, ETHNICITY /RELIGION /CLAN AND TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES IN PRIMARIES AND THEIR EFFECTS ON GHANA'S DEMOCRACY

Money can buy the conscience of good people, ethnicity and religion are volatile issues that can plunge society into chaos and traditional authorities are embodiment of society, culture and tradition and therefore one expect them to be neutral in politics. However, all the above-mentioned issues found active presence in the NDC primaries This section therefore analyses the effect of the use of money ethnicity religion and the influence of traditional authorities in primary elections on Ghana's young Democracy.

The first effect of the above issues as determinants in choosing a parliamentary candidate on Ghana's young democracy is the fact that there would be uneven development in Ghana. This is so because if someone is elected because of the influence of his traditional leaders, or tribe or clan, then he would owe more allegiance to them more than to the others, when he finally gets the nod as MP for the area. Since he owes more allegiance to his people then he would send more developments to those areas than other places.

Secondly, the issue can also lead to tribalism and ethnicity. This is because if somebody is not from a tribe you belong to, it might be difficult to offer him/her assistance. This can also lead one tribe or some tribes looking down on others. In the event that one tribe or traditional area monopolizes some resources for some time and others do not have any democratic means of getting access, then this may lead to civil conflicts in Ghana.

In addition to the above, wrong and incompetent people are elected as MPs if people are elected on the basis or tribe or traditional area or through the use of money. Competence and the ability to perform should be the best determinants for the choice of parliamentary aspirant but if money is used or ethnicity then it is possible and most often,

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we elect the wrong people or incompetent representatives and later turn to complain that they are not performing.

Democracy is expected to bring freedom and relief to people but if people who cannot perform are elected, then the citizens cannot reap the full benefits of Democracy. On the issue of whether wrong or incompetent people are selected as MPs if money & ethnicity is used as determinants the researcher decided to ask the delegates whether they agree to it or not.

Table 5. 40 Use of money and ethnicity leads to incompetent MPs elected.

Do you agree that religion, clan/tribal grouping, traditional authorities and sometimes the use of money could lead to wrong and incompetent people being elected as MPs?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	351	88.2	88.2	88.2
	No	45	11.3	11.3	99.5
	Don't know	2	.5	.5	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

In table 5.40 above three hundred and fifty –one (351) respondents representing 88.2% agreed that indeed the practice leads to the selection of wrong people since those factors are not based on competence while 11.3% said no.

Apart from wrong and incompetent people being selected as MPs, the practice too leads to corruption. Corruption is about the use of public office for personal gains. When

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people use money to get positions then they will pay back that money when in position. In this regard, they are compelled to use the resources from the office to settle personal gains. Again, the delegates were asked to express their views whether money and the use of ethnicity could lead to corruption in Ghana.

Table 5. 41Use of money& ethnicity leads to corruption.

Do you agree that religion, clan/tribal grouping, traditional authorities and sometimes the use of money could lead to corruption?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	325	81.7	81.9	81.9
	No	68	17.1	17.1	99.0
	Don't know	4	1.0	1.0	100.0
	Total	397	99.7	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.3		
Total		398	100.0		

Source: Survey Data, 2019

In table 5.41, a large number of three hundred and twenty-five (325) respondents representing 81.9% agreed that it leads to corruption.

Lastly, it is also argued that the use of money, ethnicity or traditional authorities do not lead to the development and deepening of our young Democracy. Democracy is about free choices but if people's consciences are bought for them to make a certain decision

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then it is defeatist. Again, democracy means fairness but if tribalism is used or a traditional authority put pressure for someone to be elected as parliamentary aspirant instead of competence, then, there is no fairness because he did not get it on the basis of meritocracy. Aside from that, people would send resource or development to people who supported them whether they need it or not, hence, equity is defeated.

Table 5. 42Use of money& ethnicity does not lead to deepening of Democracy.

Do you agree that religion, clan/tribal grouping, traditional authorities and sometimes the use of money do not lead to the development and deepening of our young democracy since they defeat the democratic principles of fairness, equity and transparency?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	366	92.0	92.4	92.4
	No	25	6.3	6.3	98.7
	Don't know	5	1.3	1.3	100.0
	Total	396	99.5	100.0	
Missing	System	2	.5		
Total		398	100.0		

Source: Survey Data, 2019

In table 5.42 above, delegates were given this question to answer. Do you agree that religion or clan or traditional authorities and sometimes the use of money do not lead to the development and deepening of our young democracy? The responses to this question were clear. Only 1.3% said they did not know, 6.3% said no, the practice does not hinder the development and deepening of our young Democracy. However, an emphatic 92.4%

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clearly agreed that when money and ethnicity become the basis for selecting leaders, then Democracy becomes stunted.

5.9 FALL OUT FROM THE 2011 AND 2015, MOST ESPECIALLY THE 2015 PARLIAMENTRY PRIMAPIES AND THEIR EFFECTS ON THE NDC IN THE UWR

From previous discussions, it has emerged that the politics of primary elections in the NDC is competitive and antagonistic. This is so because a number of interested parties and supporters play diverse roles to get their preferred candidates elected. What increased the tempo of this antagonism in these primaries was the fact that the administrative rules and processes governing the primaries were highly flawed to the extent that referees who were supposed to regulate a match became players themselves and it is evident the level of confusion and lawlessness on the pitch of play.

Many party faithful were hurt and disgruntled during the process most especially in the 2015 primaries. This section therefore analyzed the effects of the fallouts from the 2011 and 2015, most especially the 2015 primaries on the NDC in the Upper West Region (UWR). However, before doing this we need to remind ourselves what the fallouts were.

First, let us look at the fallouts from the 2011 primaries. Here some contestants and their supporters were not happy because, some contestants most especially sitting MPs used money to manipulate the system to their advantage.

Secondly, most party executives instead of being neutral rather openly supported certain candidates especially those considered as party's choice and those who were affected by this and supporters were hurt. However, this development did not have any negative impact on the NDC in 2012. The reason is that, in the 2011 primaries, the party used the delegate system, which is made up of prominent NDC members in the constituency and

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party executives at both constituency and polling station level. This means that those who took part in the primaries were true and senior party members. Beside the numbers were manageable and not so large. This made it easier for the party to quickly reach out to such camps for reconciliation and at the end, those people were fully united with the winners to prosecute a common agenda. The only exception in the Region was Jirapa, where the differences between the winner, Francis Bawaana and one of the losers, Paul Derigubaa could not be resolved. Mr Derigubaa was a very rich businessperson who managed to get majority of Constituency executives to his side and so when he lost the 2011 primaries, he had the backing of those people plus the fact he had the resources and stood as independent candidate and won. This tells us that the extent to which a loser would accept or not accept the results of primary elections and possibly to stand as independent candidate partly depends on the number and quality of supporters and the the resources at the disposal of the loser.

The negative effect of the NDC 2011 primaries was minimal and unnoticeable. In fact, to some extent, the 2011 primaries rather served as an eye opener and emboldened many party men to contest and for this reason, many more contested in 2015 than in 2011. The 2011 primaries were the first competitive primaries that took place in almost all the eleven (11) constituencies of the UWR.On the other hand, the effects of the 2015 fallouts were great.

In summary, just like the 2011, again in 2015, some contestants used money and things were worked in their favor against others. Secondly, the executives who were the referees got involved in openly supporting some candidates against others. The affected candidates and their supporters were hurt but nobody reached out effectively to them to

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address their grievances.For example, when people detected that some prominent and card bearing NDC members names were missing from the so called biometric register and those who were not members rather had their names in the register, the NDC affected members complained but the problem was not remedied and so such people could not take part in the voting. On the voting day, certain malpractices were noticed and reported to party executives but not much was done. People deliberately registered non-NDC members to assist them win primaries and so the compilation of the biometric register created many problems that affected a larger number of people.

In 2011, the problems were limited to only few party men but in 2015, the problems spread across a very large number of people within the constituency. This included party executives, ordinary party men, non-party men and even NPP members who had their names on the NDC biometric register. Despite the wide spread of problems that affected a wider group of people, the party simply because they were in power and therefore attractive, decided to sweep these fallouts under the carpet or better still, they did not have enough time for reconciliation before going into the general elections. Unlike President Evans Atta-Mills who is a father for all and is always prepared to forgive his opponent and therefore seen as a unifier, President John Mahama did not possess those qualities and so as the leader of the party, he did not take any decisive measures for reconciliation.

Based on the above, many people were not happy and some had threatened to go independent while others threatened not to join the campaign team of the winners and their supporters. However, the party could not do much and hence people carried through their verbal threats. To begin with the analysis of the effects of the fallouts from 2011 and

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2015 primaries on the NDC, the researcher decided to find out from the respondents whether it was true that the fallouts from the NDC primaries affected the party.

Table 5. 43Awareness of effects of issues in 2011&2015 on NDC.

Did the issues that emerged after the 2011 and 2015 parliamentary competition affect the NDC party in anyway?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	395	99.2	99.2	99.2
	No	3	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

From the responses in table 5.43, three hundred and ninety-five (395) people representing 99.2% agreed that the fallout from the primaries affected the party, but three (3) people representing 0.8% did not agree. From table 5.10.1 above, 99.2% accepted that the fallouts had effects on the NDC party.

To begin with, there was general disunity among the NDC members as the expanded biometric register created unmanageable problems for the party. As stated elsewhere, the 2011 fallouts were only limited to a few party men and so the party could quickly work on the problems and move ahead.However, in the 2015, all manner of persons were involved and as such the party found it extremely difficult to manage such problems. For seasoned party men, they know that in democracy, the one challenging you is an opponent but at the local levels, especially among the ordinary people, the one challenging you is an enemy. This was the feeling down there at the grassroots.

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Since delegates were the ones who voted for the candidates, the researcher decided to ascertain from them whether it was true that the 2015 biometric register created so many unmanageable problems for the party and that led to disunity.

Table 5. 44 Disunity among NDC members due to biometric register

If yes, was there disunity among party members as the expanded biometric created unmanageable problems for the party?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	380	95.5	95.5	95.5
	No	12	3.0	3.0	98.5
	Don't know	6	1.5	1.5	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

The results displayed in table 5.44 above, show that a very small number of six (6) representing 1.5% said they did not know. Twelve people (12) representing 3% categorically stated that the problems that came out of the biometric register did not lead to any disunity among the NDC members. On the other hand, a huge figure of three hundred and eighty (380) representing 95.5% emphatically agreed to the fact that indeed the unmanageable problems from the biometric register led to disunity.

Secondly, another effect of the fall out especially the 2015 primaries on the NDC party was that some disgruntled candidates either stood as independent candidates or withdrew their support for those who won and by so doing ditched the chances of the parliamentary candidate in the constituency. For example in Lawra and Wa west, Sampson Abu and

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Patrick P. Bandanaa broke away with their supporters and stood as independent candidates which made the NDC lose the Lawra seat.

In Sissala East, Sissala West, Nandom and Wa East, the losing teams in the persons of Johnson Sabor, Hagbanana Azantilow, Curtbert Kuupiel and Aminu Salifu and their supporters respectively did not join the winners to campaign.They stayed away from the campaigning. Some of the disgruntled people voted 'skirt' and 'blouse' by voting for the NDC Presidential candidate and NPP parliamentary candidate. In the extreme cases some refused to come out to vote. In the end, the party lost the Sissala East, Sissala West, Wa East and Nandom seats to the opposition NPP.

Table 5. 45Disgrunled & independent candidates ditched chances of NDC.

If yes, did some disgruntled candidates either stand as independent candidates or withdrew their support for the elected candidate therefore ditching the chances of the parliamentary candidates in the constituency?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	389	97.7	97.7	97.7
	No	7	1.8	1.8	99.5
	Don't know	2	.5	.5	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data,2019

In the table 5.45 above, I decided to test the knowledge of the respondents to see if they were aware that the withdrawal of disgruntled people and their supporters or those who stood as independent candidates ditched the chances of the party. As many as three

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hundred and eighty-nine (389) respondents representing 97.7% said that they were aware. This shows that the issue was widespread and known to even ordinary NDC members.

More specifically, the behavior of disgruntled contestants and those who stood as independent candidates led to the loss of five (5) seats in the region. These seats were Nandom, Lawra, Wa East, Sissala East and Sissala West. In the Wa West, Patrick Bandanaa had support from the presidency, NDC Regional Chairman, the Weciau Paramount Chief and the Waala tribe to stand as independent against J.Y. Chireh. In Lawra, Sampson Abu was the sitting MP and therefore commanded resources and the fact that he had the backing of many Constituency executivies and Dr. Benjamin Kunbuor, he also stood as an independent candidate when he was not satisfied with the 2015 primaries. These two examples tell us that the strength of the support base of a disgruntled loser would determine whether to go independent or not.

Table 5. 46 Loss of seats and orphan constituencies.

If yes, did the party lose some seats in the region and as such making those constituencies' orphan constituencies?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	388	97.5	97.5	97.5
	No	10	2.5	2.5	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

In table 5.56 above three hundred and eight- eight (388) people representing 97.5% of the delegates interviewed indicated that the loss of the five (5) seats in the Region, which is unprecedented is attributed to those who lost the primary and either stood as independent or withdrew their support for the party.This caused the votes of the NDC members to

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split making it advantageous for the main opposition party. In fact, the loss of those seats has made those constituencies orphans. They are orphans because it is the sitting MP who bears the cost of running the party in his constituency and so now that those constituencies had no NDC MPs, then the party is considered orphans in those affected constituencies.

Finally yet importantly, an effect of the fallout in the 2015 primaries is the financial cost of rebuilding and uniting the party. After the party lost the general elections, they went back to the drawing board and noticed that there was the need to do reconciliation and for that matter, the party spent some time and money for rebuilding and reconciliation. This is an additional cost to the party. This money could have been used for something useful and progressive for the party as a whole.

Table 5. 47Party spent time & money for rebuilding

If yes, did the party spend some time and money for reconciliation and rebuilding the party at the grassroots?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	382	96.0	96.0	96.0
	No	10	2.5	2.5	98.5
	Don't know	6	1.5	1.5	100.0
	Total	398	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey Data, 2019

In table 5.47 above the research asked delegates if the party spent some time and money for rebuilding and reconciliation because of the fallouts from the 2015 primaries. Only

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ten (10) people said no because they do not think the party did so. Six (6) people said they did not know, while three hundred and eight-two (382) respondent representing ninety-six percent (96%) said that indeed the party really spent time and money for reconciliation and rebuilding.

5.10 CONCLUSION

In the politics of NDC parliamentary primaries in the Upper West Region, it was realized that primaries were not popular from 2003 to 2007 but thereafter, the tempo kept increasing because of political enlightenment.Those who offered themselves as parliamentary aspirants had a number of interested parties who threw their support behind them by playing various roles to get their preferred candidates elected. In the process, some contestants and their supporters got hurt because of a highly flawed administrative process that governed the primaries.

The very persons (executives) to clean the mess created by the flawed administrative processes were themselves part of those who caused it and for this reason, the situation could not be managed, hence the NDC was badly affected in the 2016 general elections.

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CHAPTER SIX

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

6.0 INTRODUCTION

This thesis set out to discuss the politics of primary elections in Ghana with specific reference to the NDC parliamentary primaries in the Upper West Region from 2003-2015.The discussions of the findings centred on these issues: why parliamentary primaries were not popular in the Upper West Region from 2003-2007, and the caliber of candidates who contested the NDC primaries in the Upper West. The study also focused on the various roles played by different interested parties and supporters to help the researcher ascertain whether these roles influenced the choices of the delegates.In addition, the administrative processes and sources of funding for the organization of the NDC primaries in UWR and finally the issues that emerged out of these primaries and their effects on the NDC were looked at extensively in the research.

This chapter discusses the findings of the research within the framework of "A theory of political parties: groups, policy and nominations" (Bawn et al, 2017) and the "Alternative theory for the use of primary elections in new democracies" (Ichino &Nathan, 2012). Again, the discussions of the research findings were done in the light of the already existing literature on primary elections. With this background, the discussion of the import of this thesis is considered in theparagraphs below.

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6.1WHY THERE WERE NO PARLIAMENTARY PRIMARIES IN MOST CONSITUENCIES IN THE UWR, FROM 2003-2007.

In the course of the research, it was found that the absence of parliamentary primaries in the UWR from 2003-2007 was due to the fact that certain natural conditions prevented people from contesting and also there was a deliberate collusion between party officials and sitting MPs to prevent new entrants in order to protect their interest. This assertion is explained in details below.

From 2003 to 2007, with the exception of Wa Central and Wa East that had some semblance of parliamentary primaries, the rest of the constituencies chose their parliamentary candidates purely on consensus building. In Wa Central, HuduMogtari contested Rashid Pelpuo and in Wa East, Aminu Salifu contested Alhaji Isshaku Salia, all in 2007. In the course of the research, it was found out that a number of factors accounted for the absence of competitive parliamentary primaries in most constituencies in the Upper West Region from 2003-2007.

First, many party members were not politically enlightened to contest. Indeed, many of the NDC members did not know what the work of members of parliament entails. Aside from that, they did not also know that electing one to the position of amember of parliament grants one access to a lot of material resources to distribute and political power to operate with (Ichino& Nathan, 2012). According to Alhaji Malik Issahaku, Upper West former Regional Chairman, from 1992 - 2014, the party used to beg individuals to contest in the various constituencies because of the lack of enlightenment.

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For example, in 1992, the party begged Joseph Yielleh Chireh, former PNDC Upper West Regional secretary to contest the Wa seat but he refused. In 2000, Dr Benjamin Kunbuor was still outside doing his Ph.D when the party appealed to him to come home to contest for Lawra constituency.Secondly, during the said period, party elders appealed to and prevailed upon those who nursed the interest of contesting their MPs. They prevailed on these people not to contest for these two reasons. First, the National Executive Committee of the NDC mostly wished and advised that parliamentary candidates should be chosen by consensus but when that fails, then elections could be held.Secondly, the NDC was in opposition from 2003-2007 and so resources were scarce. Party elders did not want members to waste resources on primaries that may even weaken their front. Based on these, party elders appealed to the few ones that nursed the ambition not to contest. For example according to the qualitative data, in Lawra, elders appealed to Bede Ziedeng not to contest Kunbuor who was the sitting MP in the year 2003, in Wa East, Aminu Salifu wanted to contest Alhaji IssahakuSalia but the party talked to him and he rescinded his decision.

The above discussions shows that resources are key factors in conducting primary elctions especially money and that explained why when the NDC was in opposition, members could not contest. This therefore confirms the idea expressed by Berman (2015) that in America, wealth has been an obstacle to political candidacy to non-afffluent Americans. Again, it is also clear that when a party is in power it members can easily mobilize resources than when in opposition. More importantly, some sitting MPs deliberately intimidated those who would have contested them in 2003 and 2007 and even beyond. Getting to the time to select parliamentary candidates, sitting MPs would

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come to the constituency to give largesse to people and sponsor others to go around touting how good and efficient they (MPs) are. This certainly puts fear in anybody interested in contesting.

Whether people were ignorant, intimdated, prevailed upon, or had no resources to contest, the bottom line is that all these conditions worked in favour of the sitting MPs and their supporters. In fact some of the conditions were deliberately created to give an upper hand to sitting MPs and their cohorts. This confirms the theory of political party that says that a political party is made up of different interest groups and that these interest groups are the main actors and therefore each group would insist on the nomination of a candidate that would serve their interest (Bawn et al, 2017).

Lastly, the period 2003 to 2007 was the period that the NDC was in opposition and so party men did not have enough resources to contest primaries. The NDC party at that period was not attractive. This is so because in Ghana we practice 'the winner takes all' and so if your party is not in power you cannot get contracts, jobs and other lucrative businesses from the government sector. Therefore, many did not have the needed resources to challengesitting MPs.

This shows that when a party is in opposition, it attracts fewer contestants than when it is in power. This is in conformity with the idea expressed by Ichino&Nathan(2013), that when the NDC or NPP is in power, they attract many parliamentary contestants.Judging from the above discussions, it is clear that from 2003-2007, the conditions of the NDC party were not conducive enough for widespread parliamentary primaries in almost all

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the constituencies within the Region. This is really in contrast with the idea expressed by Ichino & Nathan(2012) that the NDC started running competitive primaries nationwide after they lost the 2000 general elections to the NPP. In all therefore, the absence of parliamentary primaries in the UWR from 2003-2007 was due to the fact that certain natural conditions prevented people from contesting and also, there was a deliberate collusion between party officials and sitting MPs to cleverly prevent new entrants, in order to protect their interest.

Notwithstanding the above factors that accounted for low interest in NDC parliamentary primaries in the Region from 2003-2007, two election seasons that immediately preceded the 2003-2007 period witnessed an upsurge in parliamentary primaries in almost all the eleven (11) constituencies. According to the qualitative data, in 2011with the exception of Nandom, all other constituencies had competive primaries. In 2015, all the eleven (11) constituencies conducted serious and competitive primaries in the Region. The question to ask is what accounted for the sudden change from low interest to high interest in primaries within a short span of time? First, the NDC as a party was growing and so all manner of people later joined the party with different expectations coupled with the fact that this time the awareness of the prestigious and lucrative nature of the office of MP was growing and so it was not possible for things to remain as they were.Secondly, the failed promises of some MPs and party officials also led to the upsurge in parliamentary primaries after 2007 in the Region. Much earlier, some people had expressed interests to contest but party officials and sitting MPs appealed to them not to do so. The agreement was to wait for their turn in the next election season or such people were promised some

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material gains. Unfortunately, such promises were not fulfilled. For example, the qualitative data indicated that in Nadowli/Kaleo, A.S.K Bagbin promised to step down in 2003 but it did not happen. In Lawra, BenjaminKunbuor promised to step down for Bede Ziedeng in 2007, but that never was and in Wa West, it was alleged that Joseph Yielle Chireh who is a Brifor and sitting MP promised to step down in 2011 for a Waala man, but it did not happen. For these reasons, other people who were interested and their supporters felt cheated and deceived and so they mounted a strong spirited defense to contest, since the party is not for a single individual. This really confirms our theory of political parties, groups, policy demands and nominations, which states that a political party is a coalition of different interest groups and activists and that these different interest groups constitute the main actors in the scheme of things (Bawn etal, 2017).

More importantly, the years 2011 and 2015 were the period the NDC was in government and for that matter, all manner of people had acquired wealth and resources to enable them challenge sitting members of parliament. For example, the qualitative data showed that in Jirapa, Vivian Kuuku who was the DCE from 2012-2014 had acquired enough resources to contest Francis BawaanaDakura in 2015. In Lawra, Bede Ziedeng who is the current Deputy Director for elections at the party Headquarters had enough resources to contest sitting MP, Hon. Sampson Abu and ousted him. In Wa West, Patrick P Bandanaa had support from Mathew Song-Aabo former Upper West NDC Regional Chairman and Roger Antomwini Secretary to John Mahama's cabinet to contest Joseph Yielle Chireh, the list is endless. From the discussion in the above paragraph, it is clear that when the NDC was in power, it attracted many parliamentary contestants especially in its strong

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hold. This actually confirms my second theory, the alternative theory for the use of primary elections in new democracies, which states that, in Ghana a party in office, or government attracts a lot of parliamentary aspirants than when in opposition (Ichino& Nathan, 2012; Ichino& Nathan, 2017).

After having discussed why primaries in the NDC were not popular from 2003 to2007 and how it suddenly became so popular in recent years, it is good now to turn our attention on who contested these primaries, who were their supporters and what role did these supporters play to back their preferred contestants.

6.1 THE CALIBER/QUALITY OF CANDIDATES WHO CONTESTED THE NDC PRIMARIES FROM 2003-2015 IN THE UPPER WEST REGION

Regarding the caliber of contestants in the NDC parliamentary primaries, the study found that the politics of primary elections start with the individuals who nursed their intentions to contest. The intention to contest may be a self-initiated one or suggested by others. Whatever the situation may be, the bottom line is that the sort of person you are in terms of qualities, skills, knowledge, capabilities and integrity would determine the number of persons or entities or the quality of persons and bodies that would be prepared to support you.

This is amply supported by the idea expressed by Barker etal (2006) which states that in primary elections, Democrats tend to place emphasis onperceived candidate compassion but Republicans look at perceived personal virtue. Similarly, Veenstra et al (2017) agreed with Barker et al (2006) when they stated that in competitive primaries candidates focused social identities take precedence over anything else. The existing literature

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therefore points to the fact that the personality of the person contesting counts a lot. So, what personalities contested the NDC primaries in the Upper West Region?

First, according to the qualitative data, the people who offered themselves for primary elections were people who had high academic credentials. All the forty-six (46) contestants in the region had at least tertiary education, eight (8) had Doctoral degree, nine (9) had Masters, twenty-three (23) had first Degree and seven (7) had Diploma. This shows that academic qualification is one of the qualities to consider when planning to contest for parliamentary primaries. Therefore, before somebody would declare to stand, then that person must be somebody who has attained some average level of education since the work of parliament involves reading to understand so that you can contribute at the floor of parliament. In this regard, those with high academic qualifications intimidate those with low qualifications, but of course that is part of the politics.Secondly, primary contestants also use whatever they have done for society to make a case for society to trust them with more responsibilities and one of them is the office of a member of parliament. During the parliamentary primary period, many candidates touted on how well they have performed in their various professions and would do the same if given the chance as parliamentary aspirants. Out of the forty-six (46) contestants, twelve (12) of them were either teachers or lecturers. These people showed that they had imparted knowledge on society and therefore should be given the chance to continue in parliament. Twenty-two (22) were social or development workers who claimed that they had contributed enough to the development of society in many ways and as such they should be allowed to go to parliament. Eleven (11) of them were either civil or public servants who also argued that they had taken good care of public office and property and since the

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office of the member of parliament is public, then, they had enough experience to be there. One (1) person who was a businessperson also argued that she has served society with the services she provides from her business and so she wants to continue to serve society as a member of parliament. She was in the person of Madam Hagbana Azantilow who contested Alhaji Amidu in Sissala West but lost. In SIssala tradion as soon as a lady is married, she has no portion again in the father's House. Since Hagbana is married to Azantilow in Upper East, it might be difficult to win elections in Sissala West. These are some of societal odds that militate against women's participation in politics. Out of forty-six (46) contestants, only five (5) were women and out of these fives (5) only one woman could make it twice at the primaries, but succeeded once at the general elections.

Again, the study found that those who had served the NDC in any capacity are more successful aspirants than those who had never served the party. Those who served the party before are known and popular to many stakeholders in the party. Serving the party before also engendered trust and loyalty and so those who served the party used that as campaign message against those who had never served the party in any capacity. Those who served the party were more successful. This is because, thirty-three contestants (33) had served the party before while thirteen (13) had never served the party. All the thirteen aspirants could not make it at the primaries but those who made it came from the thirty-three (33) who served the party before. Serving the party is a sign of true membership and sacrifice and therefore delegates would be more willing to votr for such a person.

Last but more importantly, is the idea of moral integrity. The office of an MP is public and therefore those to be entrusted with it must be people of high moral integrity. For this

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reason, all those who contested the NDC primaries in the Upper West Region had no criminal records. This is a statutory demand by our national constitution and the NDC's constitution as well. However, of late the public does not trust politician because many of them use money to buy their way into office when they do not deserve it.

In sum, in the game of the NDC parliamentary primaries, people used their academic credentials, high moral integrity, and ability to contribute to the development of society and party as qualities to outwit their opponents. These personal credentials and pedigrees are packaged as campaign messages for supporters at the grassroots to disseminate to delegates. Following the discussions above, it is clear that candidates and their supporters packaged campaign message around the personality of the candidates and their offers. With this, the supporters tried to convince delegates to go along with them to vote for their preferred candidate. In this case, candidates and not delegates determine the issuses on which delegates based their choices on. This affirms the assertion made by the theory of political party that voters are unable to evaluate the policy position of parties and so parties capitalized on this blindness to project their agenda and get voters to go along with them (Bawn et al, 2017).

6.2 STAKEHOLDERS, SUPPORTERS AND ROLE PLAYED TO INFLUENCE THE SELECTION OF CANDIDATES.

Aside from the candidates themselves, it was found that the interested stakeholders in the NDC parliamentary primaries are many and the list could be endless. However, prominent amongst them include the following:

First, party officials right from National, Constituency to Polling station levels are key stakeholders. These party officials include party executives, party elders, NDC Ministers of state and the Presidency. These people are stakeholders because if things go well, they

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enjoy the benefit but if things go bad in the primaries, they will suffer the consequences. These people also serve as referees and guardians to the primary processes and therefore anything that goes wrong would be blamed on them and vice versa. Surprisingly, many of the conflicts that charaterise primaries emanate from the conduct of these party officials. In the course of performing their duties, they try to protect their personal interest instead of the party's interest. This however, could be understood in a context in that in Africa and by implication Ghana, people do not join politics just because of the want to offer service to the nation and to the party. In contrast, they want to better themselves and for this reason they would always do things at every material moment to protect their personal interest.

Religion, clan/ethnic/tribal groupings and traditional authorities are also interested stakeholders. The essence of religion in society is to help people to do well, ethnicity is there to pepertuate the continuous existence of a group of people and so are traditional authorities who are the embodiment and leaders of society. These entities would be happy to see one of their own elected as NDC parliamentary candidates. This is so because of the prestige that goes with the MP's office and the material gains such groups stand to get from the candidates.

Ordinary members of the NDC are equally interested stakeholders. This is because if their party does, well, then they would be in good business but if they party fails then they would be in bad business. In Ghana, our politics is about 'winner takes all' and so every party member would want his party to always be in power so that they can hae accesss to resources and good treatment from public officers.

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More importantly, it was also found out that camps within the party were also interested stakeholders. Camps within a party are not bad. They ensure competition and bring out efficiency but it only becomes bad if the camps adopt unacceptable practices to outwit their opponents. A camp is a group of people who subscribe to the ideas and ideals and support the activities of one or group of leading members within the party.The qualitative data showed that for example, in the NDC they have the Rawlings/Atta Mills camp. A.S.K Bagbin, E.T. Mensah, Spio-Garbra, Kofi Adams, Koku Anyidoho and many others belong to this camp. We also have the John Mahama's camp comprising of Hannah Tetteh, Omane Boamah, OkudzetoAblakwa, John Jinapor and the rest. The Ahowi's also have their camp. At the constituency level, all those following a particular candidate also become a camp. These camps are indeed a reflection of the fact that a political party is made up of different interest groupings.

Additionally, the opposition is also interested in the results of the NDC primaries. They would want to see the NDC electing a weaker candidate or they would be happy to see the NDC divided in the primaries. This will give the opposition the chance to win the general election.This interest from the opposition is to be expected because, in an NDC stronghold, the only way the opposition can win a seat is when there is division in their camp or when the party field a weak candidate.

More importantly family members, friends and well-wishers are also interested stakeholders. The candidate contesting has families, friends and those who wish them well in life. All these people are interested in the outcome of the NDC parliamentary primaries. If family mwmber contesting should run into trouble, it would disturb other

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family members. In addition, any person or entity that is interested, or would benefit from the outcome of these primaries and plays a neutral role is a stakeholder. Supporters on the other hand are people or entities that do not only benefit from the outcome of the primaries but also offer support or play a role to back their preferred candidate(s).

It must be noted that some stakeholders played neutral roles, some did not play any role at all but others too took sides to back certain candidates in the competition. Aside from that, roles played by supporters vary from constituency to constituency. With regards to supporters and the various roles they played to back their preferred candidates, it was found that contesting candidates relied on individuals and groups as supporters who played both acceptable and unacceptable roles. The acceptable ones include touting the personal achievements of their preferred candidate and showing what he/she intends to do when elected into office, his/her personal reputation and the rest. The unacceptable ones were appealing to and involving party officials and traditional authorities who were supposed to be neutral, false accusations of opponents, intimidation, the use of money and other material gifts for inducement, bribery and vote buying (Debrah, 2006).

Party officials who were supposed to be only stakeholders turned themselves into supporters of certain candidatesand thereby showing favoritism Right from the presidency to the grassroots, most party officials aligned themselves to certain particular candidates whom they thought would be sympathetic towards their course and manipulated the system in their favor. This confirms our theory, which states in part that a political party is made up of different interest groups who would insist on the

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nomination of a candidate that would be sympathetic towards their course, and work had to bring him/her into office (Bawn, et al, 2017)

Knowing very well those party officials who are referees in the game do support candidates at the constituency level, the real politics of primary election begins with the election of constituency executives, which is mostly done immediately before the primaries. At these elections, people who intend to contest the primaries support and sponsor candidates who would work towards their nomination at the primaries.In all the eleven constituencies, the idea of would- be -contestants sponsoring candidates during the constituency executive election happened. Acording to the qualitative data, For example, in Nandom, Kuuire and Kumbuor-Kuupiels camps sponsored people for all the positions but at the end of it, all thirteen (13) positions were won by Kuuire's camp, while Kunbuor-Kuupiel's camp won only two. In Lawra, all people who were assisted by Sampson Abu, the sitting MP, won as against Bede Ziedeg's people who all lost. In Wa West, Patrick P. Bandanaa's camp won the Chairman and Secretary positions but the rest were won by Joseph Yielle Chireh's camp. In Nadowli and Jirapa, Bagbin and Francis BawaamaDakura's people won all the positions respectively.

Again, both quantitative and qualitative data showed that when it came to the primary election itself, many party executivesoffered material assistance to some candidates and in most of the constituencies, party executives followed some candidates out for campaign or went with them to pick nomination forms. For example, in Wa West the Regional Chairman Mathew Song-Aabo assisted Patrick P. Bandaana who is a nephew with money to print 'T' shirts and made giant billboards. In Sissala East, while JonhsonSabor, the then sitting DCE went out to campaign with constituency executives,

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Alijata Sulemana, sitting MP went out with polling station Chairmen for campaign. In Wa East, from the presidency to the constituency all supported Dr Henry Seidu Danaa with resources, moral support and followed him out for campaign. This was too glaring as against Aminu Salifu, the then sitting MP who did not get such support. In Nandom, when Kuuire went to NandomNaa's palace to announce his intention to contest, almost all the constituency executives were there but when it came to the turn of Kuupiel Curtbert, no executive was present. From the above arguments, it is clear that party executive or officials who were referees and were expected to be neutral rather manipulated the system in favor of their favorite candidates. This indeed created many conflicts because the referee has turned into a player and therefore the game became chaotic. This goes a long way to confirm the argument made in the existing literature by Slider &Petrov (2016) that in Italy, primary elections exposed many intra-party conflicts, which shows the ever-growing tendency of regional party elites to manipulate the system to their benefit.

Again, the idea of contestants running to party executives for support in order to succeed also affirms our theory of Political party, which noted that though interest groups and activist constitute the main actors in a political party, party office holders also command some control in the party (Bown et al, 2017).

In addition to the above, it was also been discovered that religion, ethnicity or clan contributed in no small measure to the success of some candidates in some constituencies but not all. In most case religious groups, clan, or ethnic groupings appealled to their members to get one of their own elected in order to protect their own identity. In all

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cases, every tribe or religions group member would prefer the election of one of their own as NDC parliamentary aspirant but because tribe, ethnicity, clan and religion are volatile issues, in most cases people handle them secretly.However, in four (4) constituencies, ethnicity, religion and clan influenced the selection of candidates. For example, in Wa West ethnicity was the determining factor. The idea of Patrick Bandanaa contesting the sitting MP, Joseph Yielleh Chireh is not on performance. This challengewas on ethnicity. The Waala, an ethnic group from which Patrick Bandanaa comes from thought that Joseph Yieleh Chireh who is a Brifor has been in office for too long and he is favoring his tribe men against the Waalas, and as such he should step down for Bandanaa to come into power. Bandanaa, thus, was introduced to break the Brifor dominance but unfortunately the Brifors are the majority in Wa West and so they threw their weight massively behind Joseph Yielleh Chireh and he won the primaries despite the fact that Bandanaa was supposedly the party's candidate who had support from Regional and the Presidency. Prior to the 2015 primaries, the Waala caucus met to decide wether Patrick Bandanaa should stand or Seidu Tongbani. They howeer could not come to a consesnsus because the two Waala contestants came from two different paramouncies In Wa East, the constituents said they needed an indigene and so Aminu Salifu was in trouble in the 2015 primaries. Though he was the sitting MP, he hails from Wa but settled in Guripie in the Wa East district and so the natives ganged up against Aminu and voted for former Chieftaincy Minister Dr Henry SeiduDanaa who is an indigene.

In Sissala East, Johnson Sabor who was the then DCE had more clans declaring support for him than Alijata Suleman who was the sitting MP. However, Alijata Suleman had

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wider campaign team made up of all polling station chairpersons than Johnson Sarbo whose campaign team was made up of only constituency executives. Alijata's team did a door-to-door campaign as compared to Johnson Sabor's team and so even though more clan leaders declared support for him, Alijata still won the primaries, but unfortunately Alijata was not in the good books of the Constituency executives and so they went out to discredit her candidature. This brought division in the party and so they lost the seat to the NPP. In the Sissala land, they all belong to one tribe and so the only thing that differentiates them is their clan and during political seasons, people appeal to their clans for support. Unfortunately, this did not work to the advantage of Johnson Sabor who had more clan leaders declaring support for him. This means that declaration of support is necessary but not enough condition to win primaries

In the case of Wa Central, there is no way one can win NDC primaries without religion coming in. There is great rivalry between Orthodox Muslims who are dominant in terms of numerical strength and Ahmadist who control wealth and influence in Wa Central. The Ahmadist were the pioneers who brought NDC to Wa but currently the seat is being held by an Orthodox Muslims, Rashid Pelpou. And so during the 2007, 2011and 2015 primaries, people like Alhaji Iddrisu Mahama, former Defence Minister under Rawlings and Alhaji Issahaku Malik, former NDC Regional Chairman who are Ahmadist supported HuduMogtari and Dr Alpha Mohammed who were also Ahmdist as against Rashid Pelpuo who had the full backing of the Wa paramount Chief Naa Fuseini Pelpuo. This is because Rashid Pelpuo is a royal. The reality in Wa Central is that, though the Ahmadists were the founders of NDC and they control a lot of wealth, unfortunately, they are not

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many. Again, they tend to look down on the Orthodox majority Muslims as inpure. As a result of this discrimination, no Orthodox Muslim would want to vote for an Ahmadist and since Democracy is about numbers, Rashid Pelpuo made it in all the primaries because he is an Orthodox.

Similarly, in Wa West Wechiau paramouncy declared their open support for Patrick Bandanaa, while Dorimon paramouncy supported their son SeiduTogbani but Joseph YielleChrireh relied on the strength of the numbers of his Brifor tribe and won the primaries. Even though J.Y.Chireh also went to the Wechiau and Dorimon paramount Chiefs to ask for their suppot in the 2015 contest, they rather supported sons who were Waalas. The main reason was to unseat some one who was not from their tribe. There is a deep-seated rivalry between the Waalas who are minority but the traditional owners of the land, and the Brifors who are the majority but the settlers are more educated. The Waalas look down on the Brifor settlers and since the Waalas are the traditional authority, the Brifors have capitalized on their numbers and level of education to monopolize political power. This is making the Waalas uncomfortable because they think that settlers are now ruling them.

In the same manner in DBI constituency, the chiefs of Kojokperee and Issa supported the candidature of K.K. Abu one of the aspirant in the 2015 primaries against Dr.Sabastian Sandaare, K.K. Abu's main opponent. They did so because from 1992, all the MPs of the constituency came from Balo traditional area and so they were also fighting for the Samuni traditional areas under which Kojokperee and Issa fall. With the exception of Wa paramouncy, all theother chiefs who supported sons of their traditional areas did so

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because in their opinion, their traditional areas for far too long have not been given the chance to represent theirpeople (constituents) in parliament.Aside from the above, it was also found that individual business people sponsored candidates most especially with funding. These businesspersons comprised of those who supply general goods, and road and building contractors. Their main aim for doing so is to get contracts in the event that their preferred candidate is elected into parliament. Sometimes,one business man can sponsor somebody and his opponent at the same time if he is not sure who will win. This is purely business to make profit. This is done with the secrecy it deserves and for that matter, though the interviewees made the point that businesspersonssponsored candidates, they failed to provide the names. It is for this reason that some businesspersons get good business from the government sector when a particular party is in power and vice versa. Aside from the sponsorship, these businesspersons must give what they called 'kick back' or ten percent (10%) of the contract sum to whoever awarded that contract. This is to say thank you and to show their level of good standing for more future contacts. Theimpact of this on the economy is negative. This is because the actual sums of money voted for the execution of projects are not spent on those projects as part of it finds itself into private pockets. In view of the fact that those projects are not properly constructed, they easily deteriorate and in no time they have to be re-awarded for construction. Aside from retarding general development, the practice leads to cyclical poverty in Ghana.

Another thing that the researcher found was the intense competition among the various camps within the party. Competition from various camps within a party is good. It allows

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for efficiency, but when unapproved means is used by camps, then, it is very destructive. In most cases, these camps were not only supported by individuals but by ethnic groups. In Wa East, Dr Henry SeiduDanaa's camp was supported by the indigenes while the settlers backed Aminu Salifu's camp. In Wa West, Joseph Yielle Chireh's camp was made up of Brifors and Dagaabas while Patrick Bandanaa's camp was of Waalas. This confirms the opinion expressed that at the district level primaries, ethnicity has a great role to play (Branton, 2007). The glaring and strong support party bigwigs or officials gave to camps were easily noticed. In the Wa West for instance, the presidency, the then sitting NDC Regional Chairman, Mathew Song-Aabo all openly gave their backing to Patrick Bandanaa's camp as against Joseph Yielle Chireh's camp. In Wa Central Alhaji Iddrisu Mahama, NDC Regional founding father and Alhaji Malik Issahaku former NDC Regional Chairman both supported the camps of HuduMogtari and Dr Musheibu Alpha in the 2011 and 2015 respectively.In Nadowli and Jirapa, almost all the constituency executives were in the camps of A.S.K Bagbin and Francis BawaanaDakura respectively. These were sitting MPs and had a lot of resources. Besides, the MPs are the main financiers of almost all party activities in the constituency. As they sponsor party activities at the constituency, it makes the work of the executive easier and successful and that explains why most party executive at the constituency level declared support for incumbent MPs. This shows that there is great deal of incumbency advantage when it comes to primary election (Ansolabehere, 2007).

From the above discussion, it is clear that for one to be successful in primary elections it is important to get support from a section of society or group of people (Cancela et al, 2017; Brownel, 1999; Tatum, 2016 & Carter, 2010). Johnson (2018) totally agreed with

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the above scholars when he asserted that Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez won the primaries in congressional District because he got heavy support from well-known organizations and individuals in the US.

Lastly, it was also found that the opposition NPP had great interest in the NDC primaries, and to some extent influenced the selection of certain candidates. It may sound illogical how opposition would be interested in another party's primaries but this is real and the examples are many all over the Upper West Region. The main interest of the opposition is for the opponent to choose a weaker candidate that they can easily beat in the general elections. For instance, according to the qualitative data, the NPP wanted Patrick Bandanaa in Wa West because he is not popular and also hails from a minority ethnic group, the Waala . In Wa East, the opposition wanted Dr. Henry Seidu Danaa because he was a visually impaired candidate and they would use that as a campaign message and it really worked and in Sissala East they wanted Alijata Sulemana because she does not visit home often as a member of parliament. In fact, in every constituency the opposition NPP wished for the NDC to select a weaker candidate or somebody with a defect so that they (NPP) can capitalize on that to win the General Elections.

From the above discussions, it is obvious that each candidate's supporters belonging to a camp is made up of different people with similar needs and would assist the candidacy of a contestant who would be sympathetic toward their course. This confirms our theory that a political party is made up of different interest groups and would insist on the nomination of a candidate sympathetic towards their course by assisting them in the form of money, campaign and expertise (Bawn et al, 2017).

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After having discussed the support base of the candidate, it is good also to look at how the candidates and their supporters tried to influence the delegates in the 2011and 2015 primaries. The reason to do so is that delegates are the Kingmakers who decide who becomes a parliamentary aspirant and so they have and make the final decision.In an in-house contest like the NDC parliamentary primaries, the candidates are the center of anything. As a result of this, anybody desiring to contest primaries, must acquire good credentials and these credentials are used during campaign. The first credential that is considered is the academic background of the candidate. This is so because the work of parliament involves reading and understanding different complex issues and so some average level of education is needed to do so. All the contestants had at least a diploma certificate and at most a Ph.D certificate.

Secondly, the contribution of candidates to the advancement of society is also a key credential. Contestants boasted of their past working experiences in other organizations and used that as a basis for vying to be NDC parliamentary candidates, so that they can contribute better to the development of society. Similarly, service to the NDC party is also crucial. It shows your loyalty and how true a party man or woman you are. Service to the party also gives you the opportunity to be known by the party big wigs and therefore makes it easier to get their support. This is greatly true because out of the forty-six (46) contestants in the region within the study period thirteen (13) of them who have never served the party in any capacity all lost the primaries. All the winners came from the thirty-three (33) who have served the party in one way or the other before.

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In addition to the above, the MPs position is one of trust. This is because it is a public office that attracts a lot of wealth and influence and so people are willing to do anything to possess it (Olewe, 2017; Cheeseman, 2017). In this case, it would require people of high moral integrity to occupy such a position and that explains why all contestants are expected to be free of convicted criminality. What is paramount among all these qualities is the ability of the candidate to deliver on competence. Most contestants used their former work place to show case their competence to deliver as MPs. These personal credentials are one that supporters go round touting at the grass roots to convince people to vote for their preferred candidates. These supporters at the grassroots are mostly given means of transport, money and other logistics to go around to campaign for candidates. The grassroots supporters are the deciders in primary elections. This is because they served as the main link between the candidates and party executives on one hand and the voters at the polling station on the other (Ichino &Nathan, 2017). It is on this basis that in America, party activist plays a major role in deciding who becomes the Democrat party nominee (Noel, 2018). This confirms the alternative theory for the use of primary elections in emerging democracies (Ichino &Nathan, 2012; Ichino &Nathan, 2017) which states that the grassroot activist served as a link between the candidates and the voters and candidates can only succeed with the support of these grassroots or local party men (Ichino& Nathan, 2017).

Additionally, it was also discovered that in certain instances and in some constituencies, party executives endorsed or threw their weight behind a particular candidate as the party's choice of candidate. In other words, that candidate is the one the party would have preferred to be nominated. As soon as this happens, then it is very unfair and

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discriminatory against other contestants because the party officials would tilt the entire election machinery in favor of that party's choice candidate.According to Mathew Song-Aabo, former NDC Regional Chairman and Bede Ziedeng, the idea of a candidate being the party's choice is both real and imarginary. It is real when as a result of certain qualities, found in one candidate or the position he occupies in parliament such as majority leader or minority leader, disabled person or the only female candidate etc, then the party may want to protect such people. However, party endorsement becomes imaginary when aspirants on their own claimed to be the party or president's choice and go about their campaign as such. Whether real or imaginary, this research has discovered that most often than not party endorsement of candidates is not beneficial. There is a proof in the literature to show that party endorsement is not an end in itself. For example, American News (2014) reported of how Baydaun and Berry lost their primaries because of endorsement from the Arab American Political Committee. Again, Shelley &Hitz (2016) observed that during the 2008 Democrats presidential primaries, youth endorsement for Sanders was higher than Clinton and yet Clinton won the primaries. In the Upper West Region, among all the candidates, the party endorsed only three (3), Richard Kuuire of Nandom, Dr Danaa of Wa East and Bede Ziedeng of Lawra won their primaries but because of the real or perceived endorsement, it hurt a lot of people and so the three of them lost the general elections. This goes to affirm the assertion in the theory that in emerging democracies the primary processes and procedures are prone to irregularities. This brings about disagreement over the results validity and may prevent the selection of a winnable candidate (Ichino&Nathan, 2017). It is on this basis that Kausser et al (2015) asserted that party endorsement is good, its effect depends on the

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caliber of candidates contesting but Hassel (2015) rather thinks that party's endorsement is sufficient to win primaries.

Additionally, it was also found that religious, ethnic or tribal groups also support certain candidates. This is very unfortunate and dangerous because religion and tribalism are very volatile and can easily plunge the society into chaos. More so, traditional authorities who are supposed to be neutral also interfered with the politics of primary elections within their traditional areas. All these go along way to convince the delegates as to who to vote for. Last but very importantly, is the use of money and other material resources to influence people to vote for some candidates. In 2011, those who had the means and they were mostly incumbent MPs, transported, fed and accommodated delegates during the primaries. More oftern sitting MPs would camp the dlegates to prevent other new contestants from having access to the delegates. This is what the party wanted to avoid by embaeking on the expanded biometric register in 2015. In 2015, because the numbers that were involved were huge, candidates provided transport and in some cases lunch for people to go and vote for them in their strongholds and those who did not do this did not win. This means that if you do not have money, you cannot contest primaries. This is in line with the opinion expressed by Berman (2015) that in America money is the main obstacle to political candidacy for non-affluent Americans. Again, judging from the above, the use of ethnicity, religion and money or material enticement in the NDC primaries confirms the Alternative theory for the use of primary elections in emerging Democracy. It emphasises the point that, in Africa, people do not consider policy positions of candidates, delegates or party men only look at the amount of resources candidates offer, their personal reputation and most at times, they look out for ethnic

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relations before voting for a candidate (Ichino &Nathan, 2012). An aspirant would do well if he/she distributes many resources to party men and delegates. From the above discssions, it is clear that religion, ethnicity, chiefs and material rewards do greatly influence the choices of the delegates. This confirms my assumption three that states that in the case where religion, ethnicity, chiefs or monitory reward are used to select candidates is very dangerous because it does not lead to the growth and deepening of Democracy.

The number and quality of supporters that throw their weight behind a candidate would determine how well that candidate would perform. Again, the extent to which a loser would accept the results and, probably stand as an independent candidate or not also depends on the strength of his/her support base. This explains why in 2011, when Paul Derigubaa a rich Businessperson with many resources, who managed to get more constituency executives to his side, when he lost the primaries in the Jirapa Constituency, was confident enough to stand as an independent candidate and won the Jirapa seat. In the same vein, because Patrick Badanaa had the support of the presidency, Upper West NDC Regional Chairman, Wa West Constituency Chairman and Secretary, Wechiau paramount Chief and the Waala trbe behind him, he stood as independent against J.Y Chireh in the 2016 general elections when he was dissatisfied with the 2015 primaries, but J.Y Chireh still won the seat. In Lawra, Sampson Abu, then sitting MP lost the primaries to Bede Ziedeng, but because he had the support from many Constituency executives, and also from Dr. Benjamin Kunbuor, he also stood as independent candidate to affect the chances of Ziedeng and it really work because Ziedeng lost the Lawra seat.

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6.3 THE ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESSES – HOW RIGHT OR WRONG WERE THEY.

This research discovered that the administrative processes and sources of funding for the organization of NDC parliamentary primaries were deliberately and highly flawed by party officials to give advantage to certain candidates, who have protected or would protect their (party officials) personal interest. This practice is unfair, discriminatory and injustice of the highest order. This is so because all the contestants belong to the NDC or the Umbrella family and so why would party officials elected by that family show bias towards some of its members. However, this must be understood in the context of politics where people are concerned about who gets what when and how. To be able to appreciate the discussions on the administrative processes, we have to know what the processes were.

Admittedly, the administrative processes governing the 2011 and 2015 primaries were simple and straightforward. They include the following:

1. You must be a registered voter within the constituency and of sound mind.
2. You must be an NDC card-bearing member in four years good standing.
3. You must pick a nomination form and get people to support your candidacy and after filling, you return the form with the filing fees.
4. A date is fixed, vetting is done, and those cleared begin their campaign.
5. There is room for appeal in case one is wrongly disqualified.
6. The constituency executives supervised the compilation of delegates list to be used for the voting.

It was realized that in all the constituencies, contestants paid the same nomination and filing fees. They all submitted their forms on or before the deadline. They also attended

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vetting by the same committee. These processes were evenly applied to all. With the exception of Roger Garlee in Nadowi who was disqualified in 2011, all candidates were allowed to contest.

Notwithstanding the above points, the administrative breaches and infractions especially in the 2015 primaries were so serious and very glaring. To begin with, party executives or officials declared their support for certain candidates as against others and even went out with them to campaign against others. This did not augur well for party unity and the principles of fairness. This led to very divisive primaries which came back to haunt the NDC in the general elections because those who lost thought they were treated badly and therefore refused to help the winners in the general elections. The losers even sabotaged the chances of the winners in the general election (Lazarus, 2005)

Secondly, during the compilation of the biometric register to be used for the 2015 primaries, the executives either sent more registration materials to some areas more than others, in very often situation they watched on as some candidates acquired extra registration materials from NDC Head Office to register members in his stronghold without recourse to the executives.

Additionally, no due diligence was done as to who was an NDC member or not and so all manner of people were registered. What was so hurting was the deletion of some NDC members'names form the voters list if you were perceived troublesome to the agenda of the authorities. Therefore, some genuine NDC members did not have the opportunity to vote while some NPP members whose names appeared on the list voted. In Wa East alone, the NPP members on the register were one thousand nine hundred and fifty (1,950) after the list was audited. The use of the expanded biometric register for the 2015

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primaries created unmanageable problems for the party and is one of the factors that contributed to the monumental defeat of the NDC in 2016 general elections (Frimpong, 2017; Gyanpo, 2017) but the problems associated with the biometric register were not deliberate. It was part of the evolution process to make the party democratic as it pertains to America (Kamarck, 2016) after all the essence of primary elections is to make the party more democratic (Robinson &Banun; 1993; Thompson 2010; Kamarck, 2016). Administratively, it was discovered that funds sent to the constituencies for the organization of primaries is woefully inadequate. This forced many constituencies to appeal to contestants, party bigwigs and any other philanthropist to assist but this gave a great chance to those who contributed more to manipulate the system including the executives to their advantage. In this regard, the party seems to be helpless because money is always needed to run the activities of the party at the grassroots. Most often, party activities are funded at the constituency level by the sitting MP and so he always has an upper hand.

This confirms my second assumption that in the absence of a clearly defined source of funding for the conduct of parliamentary primaries, the highest contributor or the one with the financial wherewithal among the contestants, most often than not, manipulate the system including the administrator processes to his advantage. From the above, it is obvious that the processes governing the 2011 and 2015 primaries were flawed and many people got hurt and disgruntled and this divided the party at the general elections. This means in Ghana, primaries are source of disunity unlike in Latin America where it was used to unify party members (Kemahilogiu et al, 2009)

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6.4 THE EFFECTSOF MONEY ETHNICITY, RELIGION AND CHIEFTAINCY IN PRIMARIES ON GHANAS DEMOCRACY

Money, they say it is everything and it can buy the conscience of good people. Ethnicity, religion and chieftaincy all are very volatile issues that can plunge a peaceful society into chaos. Unfortunately, it was found that all the above mention factors found strong presence in the NDC primaries in the Upper West Region. This tendency could lead to a number of things.

First, it could lead to the election of incompetent leaders becausethe person was chosen either because he comes from a majority tribe or religion or he comes from a certain traditional area and not because of his competence. In this case, rich people buy their way into office when they do not have anything better to offer (Jerome, 2009)

Secondly, it leads to tribalism and uneven development in the constituency. The MP after assuming office would naturally attend to areas, tribes or those who voted for him or assisted him in one way or the other. The exercise also leads to corruption because you are forced to serve somebody because he is a tribe member, from a particular traditional area and not because he deserves that service. Apart from that, the money used during the campaign must be recouped when the person gets the chance to parliament. All these breed corruption in Ghana.

In the nutshell, the use of money, ethnicity and chieftaincy do not ensure the growth and deepening of Ghana's young Democracy. In a democracy, meritocracy is a key factor but in Ghana due to the above issues, clientelism has become the order of the day. This again affirms my third assumption that when money ethnicity and chiefs are used to select a parliamentary candidate, it is very dangerous to the growth of democracy.

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6.5 FALLOUTS FROM THE NDC 2011 AND 2015 PARLIAMENTARY PRIMARIES IN THE UPPER WEST REGION

Unlike previous years, this study found that the 2011 and 2015 primaries were very competitive especially the 2015, and because of the competitive nature of these primaries many people were hurt and the fallouts were many.First, the fallouts in the 2012 primaries were that the administrative processes were flawed and many people were hurt in the process. In Africa, notably in Kenya and Nigeria, most of their primaries have been flawed and characterised by irregularities and violence (Cheeseman,2017; Wanyama &Elklit,2015; Tenuche, n.d)

For example, party executives watched on as sitting MPs transported bribed and camped delegates. Other candidates were intimidated when they complained. This confirms the assertion by Debrah (2006) that intimidation, bribery and vote buying characterize primary elections. In the 2011, no sitting MP lost his primary bid in the Upper West. In the 2015 primaries out of ten (10) sitting MPs that contested, only two (2) lost. This shows that there is great deal of incumbency advantage when it comes to primary elections at the constituency (Ansolabehere, 2007).

Aside from this, many executives, openly supported (most especially) sitting MPs who sent envelopes of money to the delegates through the executives and so other contestants and their supporters who could not do this were hurt. However, it was found that the then sitting President John Evans Atta-Mills who was a unifier quickly instructed the party to reconcile the losers to the winners of the elections and it was worked on before the general election and so the fall out of the 2011 primaries did not affect the party. It was easier to have reconciliation because the party used the delegates system. The delegates were true party officials and big wigs and so they had maturity. Aside from that, their

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numbers were not huge and so it was easier to call them to talk through the differences. (around table to talk it over.) Based on these factors, the losers were able to patch up with the winners and they went into the election with a united front. In effect, the fallouts from the 2011 were properly handled and so it did not negatively affect the party, for if anything at all, this was the first most competitive primaries in the region that opened the eyes of many and therefore the 2015 was more competitive with a lot of contestants.

In the 2015 primaries, in a bid to curtail the problems associated with the delegates system, which included party elites using it to protect their interest, the selectorate was expanded to include many people in 2015 as it pertains in America (Lawrence, et al, 2013). All the same, many contestants especially sitting MPs, and those in political offices still used money to influence the processes by either donating to the constituency, its executives, or giving money to opinion leaders at the grassroots to influence people to vote for them or by transporting voters to polling centers to vote. Those who did not have the financial wherewithal to also do so were hurt very badly together with their supporters.

The idea to expand the selectorate could be view from two angles. First, incumbent MPs felt that they would spend less since there would not be the need to transport, camp and feed delegates. Secondly, ordinary contestants felt that it would inure to their advantage because sitting MPs cannot manipulate the systm any more due to the huge numbers involved. Unfortunately, the two sides were highly disappointed. Sitting MPs not sure of their fate in this new trial, rather spent a lot to reach out to polling station executives, opinion leaders, women's groups to convince their people to vote for them. On the

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Election Day, many of them provided transport and lunch. The amount of money spent in the 2015 primaries that used a larger selectorate was more than that of the 2012 that used only few delegates. Therefore, those who did not have the resources noticed that the expansion of the delegates list still did not help them. At worst, the expansion created many more problems for the party and contributed hugely to the monumental defeat in the 2016 general elections (Frimpong, 2017). Due to these problems, the Party is reverting to the delegate system.

Again, constituency executives openly supported some candidates against others, when they were expected to remain neutral. During the compilation of the expanded biometric register, some candidates got extra registration materials to register more people including even NPP members who were willing to vote for such candidates in the the primaries while some true NDC members names were allegedly missing from the register and so they could not take part in the exercise.

All these fallouts hurt contestants and their supporters. This time the delegates are no more limited to only party officials but rather ordinary NDC members all over the constituency. It was therefore difficult to get all those people onto a negotiation table for reconciliation. Even though those who were hurt by the numerous irregularities reported to Regional and National executives, no meaningful action was taken and so all those who were hurt together with their supporters decided to keep their distance from the winners and the effect it had on the NDC was evident to all.

The first effect that was realized was general disunity among the NDC rank and file resulting from the spillover from the biometric register and its usage for the primaries.

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The NDC as a party was quite aware of this but refused to take action either because they thought they were in power and whatever members do, it would not affect the party. President John Mahama who was the leader of the party at that time did not see the need to intervene and so things were left as they were.

The second effect from the fall out was that some disgruntled candidates went independent or withdrew their support for the candidates who won the primaries. For example, in Wa West, Patrick P. Bandanaa went independent and so was Sampson Abu in Lawra constituency. Again, most losers and their supporters deliberately abstained from the campaign of the party in the general election. This ditched the chances of the party in the general elections (Bisisni, 2018). The party lost the presidency and the Region lost five (5) seats to the NPP.

The loss of five (5) seats also further led to the creation of orphan and struggling constituencies. The constituency party activities are mostly funded by the MPs and so for five (5) out of eleven (11) constituencies were without financiers and it is affecting party activities very negatively.

Again, another effect was that the party had to spend time and money for reconciliation and rebuilding. They started by setting up the Professor Kwasi Botchwey Committee to find out why the party suffered that humiliating defeat in 2016 and the way forward. From the recommendation from that report, it was necessary for the party to go to the grassroots to rebrand, rebuild and reconcile. This was so necessary because of the coverage of the problem. It has wider implication for the party since it covers almost all NDC members. What is worse of is the fact that those of the grassroots see their

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opponents in politics as enemies and it can have a very damaging effect on the party if is not solved immediately.

6.6 CONCLUSION

In parliamentary primaries, a candidate depends on a variety of supporters to assist him win but this is dependent on the quality of candidate and the possession of resources. Without resources, it is not possible to make any impact in elections. In Ghana, money, ethnicity and chieftaincy interference influenced greatly our primary election activities. Though this may be beneficial to the individual candidate in the short term, it is very dangerous to the growth and development of our young Democracy. Lastly, the 2011 and 2015 primaries presented some teething problems for the NDC, however, they were able to resolve those of the 2012 but could not do the same for the 2015. The fallouts from the 2015 were so many and glaring and the spillover of these on the general election was enormous. The NDC did not only lose the presidency because of voter apathy but five (5) parliamentary seats in the region.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMEDATIONS

7.0 INTRODUCTION

The main thesis of this study is to examine in details, the sort of politics that goes on in the NDC parliamentary primaries in the Upper West Region of Ghana. It centers on the reasons why parliamentary primaries were unpopular in the UWR from 2003 to 2007, but later gathered full speed from 2011. The caliber of candidates who contested the primaries, the different kind of roles played by candidates and their supporters to be ahead of their opponents, and the general implications these primaries had on the NDC in particular and Ghana's Democracy in general.

In order to provide logical answers to the above thesis, the following questions were posed.

1. Why were parliamentary primaries not popular in NDC from 2003-2007 in the UWR?
2. What caliber of candidates contested the NDC parliamentary primaries in the Region?
3. Who were the stakeholders/interested parties, supporters and what role did they play to influence the selection of their preferred candidates?
4. What were the administrative processes and sources of funding for the organization of these primaries and how fair were they applied?

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5. What are the implications of the use of ethnicity, chiefs and money in parliamentary primaries on Ghana's Democracy?
6. What were the fallouts from 2011 and most especially 2015 NDC parliamentary primaries and how did these fallouts affect the NDC?

7.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

After having searched for cogent answers to the above questions, the findings of the research has been summarized as follows:

Pertaining to why parliamentary primaries were not popular in the NDC in the Upper West Region from2003-2007, the research found that certain conditions prevented people from contesting, and there was also deliberate collusion between party officials and sitting MPs to cleverly prevent new entrants in order to protect their interest.

A number of factors accounted for the above observations. First, a lot of NDC members and even most members of the public were not politically enlightened on the functions of a member of parliament and the lucrative nature of the office. Secondly, during that period, the few ones who showed interest to contest sitting MPs were either intimidated or prevailed upon by the party and sitting MPs not to contest so that in future they (sitting MPs) would step down for others. All these were done in the name of party unity.

Lastly, the 2003-2007 period was the time the NDC was in opposition and so the party was not attractive for people to marshal resources to contest and so sitting MPs capitalized on the ignorance of others and the inability of others to marshal resources to challenge them and went unopposed.

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Fortunately , Many people later become aware of the lucrative nature of the MPs office together with the fact that after 2008, the NDC was back in government and therefore all manner of people had gathered enough resources to challenge many sitting MPs who were not willing to step down as promised. This tells us two things. First, resources count a lot in primary elections especially in strongholds and secondly, a party in government attracts more parliamentary aspirants than when it is in opposition.

Quality counts in all spheres of life and so with regard to the quality or caliber of contestants in the NDC parliamentary primaries, the study found that all the forty-six (46) contestants were men and women of substance and had at least a tertiary education with the least certificate being a Diploma and the highest being a Ph.D. All of them had worked in various capacities and had contributed to the development of society and many of them had contributed significantly to the development of the NDC party.

In fact, all the contestants who were successful were people who had served the NDC in one way or the other before contesting. All contestants were men of integrity as all cleared themselves of criminal charges. This meant that the contestants were of high moral integrity and so they could be entrusted with a public office like that of an MP. Not anybody with a criminal background will survive the competition because his /her opponents will use that as a campaign message against him/her.

Moreover, it was also discovered that in the game of parliamentary primaries those who have stakes are many. They include family members, friends, well-wishers, and party officials at all levels, NDC members, traditional authorities, religious and ethnic groups and so on and so forth. Most of these stakeholders, such as party executives, chiefs,

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religions and ethnic groups etc who were supposed to be neutral turned themselves into supporters of candidates and did all manner of things to back their preferred candidates. They did all these because of what they stand to benefit if certain particular candidates were elected as MPs.

Again, it was also found that the administrative processes and sources of funding for the organization of NDC parliamentary primaries in the UWR were highly flawed. These flawed administration processes included how party executives taking sides instead of being neutral. The compilation of NDC expanded biometric register without recourse to who was a true party member and how the executives watched on as candidates and their supporters engaged in electoral malpractices and vote buying at the full glare of party executives who were the conduit for such material enticement. Surprisingly, most of these infractions were reported to the authorities but no one took any concrete action. In fact the inadequate funds that were given by the paty for the exercise had a telling effect. Constituency executives had to appeal to most contestants for financial support but this compromised the fairness of the elections. It offered the opportunity for the highest bidder to manipulate the system to his /her advantage.

In fact, through some of the unapproved activities of some candidates and their supporters together with the issues emanating from the highly flawed administrative processes, losers and their supporters were badly hurt. Although these came to the attention of the party big wigs, no concret solution was found and so some of the losers either stood as independent candidates or withdrew their support for those who won. The overall effect was that the NDC did not only lose the presidency but also lost five (5) seats in the Upper Rest Region. Indeed, the 2015 primaries had increased the number of

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independent candidates from the NDC to 100%. In 2012, in Jirapa, Paul Derigubaa was not satisfied with the manner in which the primaries were conducted and so when he lost, he stood as independent candidate and won the Parliamentary elections. In 2015, Patrick Bandanaa of Wa West and Sampson Abu of Lawra lost the NDC primaries and stood as independent candidates.

Additionally, it was also found that incumbency has a lot of advantage when it comes to parliamentary primaries. In fact, since 2003 up to 2015 only three (3) sitting MPs (Alhassan Dubie in 2011 in Sissala East, Sampson Abu in 2015 in Lawra and Aminu Salifu in 2015 in Wa East) lost their primary bids in very bizarre circumstances. Again, it was also discovered that party endorsement of candidates does not offer any added advantage. This is so because according to the qualitative data, out of six (6) candidates that were endorsed by the party only three (3) won the primaries but lost the general elections and so the party's endorsement did not yield any meaningful results for the NDC.

Interestingly, it was also discovered that the amount of money given by the party Head Office for the organization of parliamentary primaries is always woefully inadequate. This leaves many constituencies with no any other option than to appeal to party members especially contesting candidates to contribute to defray administrative cost. In this regard, sitting MPs and sitting DCEs who are contesting mostly contribute more than others and that offers them the opportunity to manipulate the entire system to their advantage. However, party executives do not see anything wrong with it since it is seen as true partymanship if you contribute more to run party's administration. Aside from that, anybody who contributes more is helping make the work of party executives of the

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constituency level quite easier. It is a known fact and a norm in all the constituencies that the MP for the area funds almost all party activities in his/her constituency.

This is because the party executives in the constituencies are not paid officers. The MP who won the elections on the ticket of the NDC is paid as a member of parliament. Therefore, it is his/her singular duty to keep the party active until the next election and that explains why the five (5) seats lost by the NDC in the Region are referred to as orphan constituencies

Lastly, it was also discovered that out of the forty-six (46) contestants only five (5) were women. The were Alhassan Dubie and Alijata Sulemana of Sissala East, HagbanaAzanilow of Sissala West, Vivian Kuuku Nelly of jirapa and Alice Teni Boon of Lambussie-Karni and out of these five (5) only Alijata Sulemana of Sissala Eastest who made it at the primaries twice but was only successful once in the general elections.

The reasons for the low women participation in primaries were that women generally do not like going into politics because they think it is an area reserved for men. Also, the terrain in the primary politics is so rough and uneven and that makes it difficult for the feminine gender to compete with males who are considered by society to be stronger.

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7.2 CONCLUSIONS

This thesis set out to investigate the kind of competition that goes on in the NDC parliamentary primaries in the Upper Went Region and based on the findings of the research the following were reached as conclusions.

First, from 2003-2007, parliamentary primaries were not widespread in the region for the NDC party. This was a result of the party being in opposition and as such, members could not gather the needed resources to contest primaries, but more importantly, many party men were not enlightened on the functions and attractive nature of the MPs office. Sitting MPs therefore capitalized on these conditions and went unopposed. In other words, the absence of parliamentary primaries in the UWR from 2003-2007 was due to the fact that certain natural conditions prevented people from contesting and also there was a deliberate collusion between party officials and sitting MPs to (cleverly) prevent new entrants in order to protect their interest

Secondly, it is also concluded that in the game of parliamentary primaries a lot of supporters such as friends, businessmen, tribal and religions groups, camps, party executives all play diversed roles to support a candidate to win parliamentary primaries. Not all these things however, are sufficient in themselves as they depend on the caliber or quality of candidates contesting the primaries. The extent to which a loser would accept the results patly also depends on who his supporters are.

Again, it also concluded that in the absence of a clearly defined and acceptable sources of funding for the organization of NDC parliamentary primaries at the constituency level, the highest contributor, most often than not, manipulate the system to his advantage. In addition to this, most of the administrative processes were highly flawed but that was

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done deliberately to give advantage to some candidates. In the end, all these things came back to haunt the party.

Incumbency has a lot of advantages for sitting MPs and DCEs who contest parliamentary primaries but party's endorsement of a candidate does not give the candidate any added advantage, in most cases it worked against the so-called party's endorsed candidate. The prevalence of ethnicity, religion, and the use of money in primary elections poses a lot of danger to Ghana's Democracy. This is because ethnicity and religion are very volatile issues that can easily plunge society into chaos. The use of money breeds bribery and corruption since Ghanaian leaders bribe the electorate to vote for them, when they assume office, they would also receive bribe as their reward. In this case, the electorate are not victims to the bad practices of bad politicians but accomplices. These factors do not lead to the economic development of Ghana and the deepening of its Democracy.

Over the years, the NDC keeps modifying the manner in which its parliamentary primaries are conducted and the main aim is to make it acceptable to all, but some administrative processes have always been deliberately flawed to give advantage to certain contestants, for this reason a lot is still yet to be done in order to give real democratic voice to the people at the grassroots in order to match with the name, the National Democratic Congress.

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7.3 RECOMMEDATIONS

7.3.1 Policy Recommendations

Based on the findings of the research the following policy recommendations are made.

First, it is recommended that the NDC should find a way of raising enough funds at the national level to run its parliamentary primaries at the constituency level. This can be done by asking those who are interested in helping the party fund primary elections contribute to a national pool at least one year before the next primaries.This is to enable all constituencies get enough money to run their parliamentary primaries without anyunnecessary interference. The current system is such that the party's Head Office sends meager sums of money to the constituencies. Most often than not, the constituency executives have no option than to appeal to other party men, especially the contestants to contribute to the organization of the parliamentary primaries and that gives opportunity to those who contribute more to manipulate the entire system to their advantage.

Indeed, this practice is unfair because it does not give an even playing field to all contestants and so Democracy is sold to the highest bidder.

Secondly, it is also recommended that party executives who wish or openly support any contestants should be made to resign. This is because party executives are the ones in charge of running the parliamentary primaries and so they are the referees in this game. The entire organizational processes are initiated and supervised by party executives except on the voting day where the job of the EC is merely limited to organizing the polls and counting the ballot to declare the results (Szilegui, 2017). Therefore, it is not fair for somebody to be a referee in a game and a player at the same time. This is really conflict

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of interest and it goes against the principles of natural justice and fairness. It is against this background that the recommendation is made to the NDC party to make all executives desiring to openly support any contestant to resign their positions, become an ordinary member in order to give him free hand, and mind to give the needed support to his favorite candidate.

Thirdly, it is also recommended for deliberate policy to entice or encourage more women to run for NDC parliamentary primaries so that they can also contribute to national development. This recommendation is made for the fact that from 2003-2015 only five (5) women attempted the NDC primaries and only one was successful. More so women are the majority in society since according to the 2010 Population and Housing Census women are about fifty one percent (51%) as against forty-nine percent (49%.) for men (GSS, 2012).

Aside from this, Dr. Kwegyir Aggrey one of Ghana's famous scholars in his famous statement said that 'if you educate a man, you educate an individual but if you educate a woman, you educated a whole nation'. This means that an assistance offered to one woman would spread to many people as compared to men. It also means that what men can take care of, women can take care of several of that and so the party should take steps to ensure their inclusion in parliamentary primaries so that they can also represent the people.

The NDC party should encourage women participation in two ways. The first way is that more resources should be devoted from the national pool to support women contestants since parliamentary primaries require huge resource. The current system where women

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are made to pay only fifty percent (50%) of the filing fee is woefully inadequate. Secondly, the party must take affirmative action to allow women to stand unopposed especially in their safe seats. By this, the party would be helping to bridge the gender gap in politics and also help to achieve the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) five (5) which enjoins all countries to achieve gender equality and empower females in all sphere of public life. In Ghana, there is more than enough evidence to show that women are underrepresented, especially in parliament where they only constitute twelve-point seven percent 12.7% (UNDP, 2017)

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Interview with Calos Chireh, former Constituency Secretary, member of NDC Regional Comunication Team, and a political Analyst, May 2019

Interview with Bede Ziedeng, NDC National Deputy Director in charge of elections, May 2019

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APPENDIX A

Dear Respondent,

Mathew L. Arah., A PhD Student of the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, is undertaking a survey on the politic of Parliamentary Primaries with regards to the NDC in the Upper West Region from 2003 – 2015 as Partial fulfillments for the award of a PhD degree in Political Science.

The information that would be solicited from you is going to be used strictly for only academic purposes. You are therefore being assured of anonymity and confidentiality of any information that you provide.

If in doubt, please kindly refer to the Head of Department, Dr. MaameGyekye –Jandoh on 0248148247 or the lead supervisor of this thesis, Prof Essuman – Johnson on 0208135834.

Name of Constituency…….

Name of Electoral Area……

Name of Polling Station……

SCTION A: YEARS PARTICIPATED AS DELEGATES.

1. Which of the following years did you take part as a delegate for the NDC parliamentary primaries?

   (1) 2012 (2) 2015 (3) 2012 and 2015

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SECTION B : WHY NO COMPETITIVE CONTEST

IN 2003 & 2007 IN THE UWR

Q2. Why were there no serious competitions in 2003 & 2007 Parliamentary Primaries in the region?

(a) The party was in opposition so there was no support or attraction to contest.

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(b) Some who showed interest to contest were prevailed upon either by the sitting MP or

the party to step down either for the future or for some material reward.

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(c) Some that had interest were intimidated by the powers that be so they could not show up. (1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(d) Any other Specify……

SECTION C QUALITY / CALIBER OF CANDIDATES

Q3. What Caliber of candidates do you think would be more successful as members of Parliament?

(a) People with high academic qualification (1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(b) People who have contributed or have the potential of contributing to societal development

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

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(c) People who have served the party in many capacities (1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(d) People who command and have moral integrity (1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(e) Any other Specify

……..

SECTION C. INTERESTED STAKEHOLDERS AND SUPPORTERS INVOLVEMENT IN PRIMARIES

Q4 .Which of the following do you consider as interested stakeholders in Parliamentary Primaries?

Party Executives (a) Yes (b) No (c) Don't know

Religious, Clan / tribe / ethic groupings (a) Yes (b) No (c) Don't know

Traditional Authorities (a) Yes (b) No (c) Don't know

Camps within the party (a) Yes (b) No (c) Don't know

The opposition Party (a) Yes (b) No (c) don't know

Any other Specify ……

Q5. Which of the following do you agree with?

(a) Party Executives sometimes manipulate the system in favour of a particular candidate whom they can easily control to protect their interest.

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

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(b) Religious, clan / ethic / tribal groupings appeal to each other or their members to have

their own elected so that he/she can protect their identify and also give them material

reward.(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(c) Traditional authorities appeal to either their subjects or sub chiefs to get a Son or

Daughter of the area elected for their parochial interest and interest of his subjects.

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(d) Bussinessmen secretly or openly sponsor candidates so that they can get contract when

the Person gets elected.

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(e) Camps within the Party throw their support behind particular candidates they think

would be sympathetic towards their cause. (1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(f) Opposition is always interested in and will play a role that would lead to the selection

Of a weaker candidate so that they (opposition) can winthe general elections.

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

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SECTION D : WHAT INFLUENCE THE CHOICES OF DELEGATES

Q6. Which of the following factors influenced your choice of candidates in the 2012 or 2015 primaries or both ?.

(a) Competence and ability to deliver?(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(b) Appeal from party executives to choose a particular candidate because he/she is the party's choice. (1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(c) Appeal from traditional authorities and tribal or clan groups to select a particular candidate. (1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(d) Material rewards in the form of money, food, accommodation and transport for contestants.

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

SECTION E: FAIRNESS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESSES

Q7. Do you think the party executives were fair to all candidates with regards to the administrative processes governing the conduct of the 2012 &2015 Parliamentary primaries?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

Q8. If yes please kindly explain your answer

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Q9. If no, which of the following are applicable?

(a) Party executives secretary or openly supported some candidates against others

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(b) Party executives look on as some candidates transport, camped and fed delegates to the detriment of other candidates.

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(c) In the case of the 2015, party executives or officials sent more registration booklets to certain electoral areas where their preferred candidate comes from more than other areas.

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(d) In some polling stations people who were not party members had their names onto the 2015 expanded biometric register.

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

SECTION F. FUNDING FOR PARLIAMENTARY PRIMARIES

Q10. Are you aware or have you heard that a greater portion of funds for the organization of parliamentary primaries come fromthe contestants? .

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

Q11. If yes, don't you think that a richer candidate who contributes more than others will manipulate the system to his/ her advantage?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

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SECTION G. THE IMPLICATION OF RELIGION, CLAN / TRIBE, CHIEFS AND MONEY DETERMINING THE SUCCESS OF CANDIDATES

Q12. What are the implications of religion, clan / tribal grouping, traditional authorities and sometime the use of money to influence people to vote for our young democracy?

(a) Wrong and incompetent people are elected to be MPs.

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(b) These practices breeds corruption

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(c)These practices do not lead to the development and deepening of our young democracy.

Since they defeat the democratic principles of fairness equity and transparency.

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

SECTION H. EFFECT OF COMPETITION ON NDC

Q13. Did the issues that emerged after the 2012 and 2015 parliamentary competition affect the NDC party in anyway?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

Q14. If no please kindly explain your answer

……

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……

……

Q15. If yes, kindly tick the following that are applicable

(a) Disunity amongst party members as the expanded biometric created unmanageable problems for the party.

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(b) Some disgruntled candidates either stood as in department candidates or withdrew their support forthe elected candidate therefore ditched the chances of theParliamentary candidates in the constituency.

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(c) The party lost some seats in the regions and as such those constituencies are orphan constituencies.

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(d) The party has spent some time and money for reconciliation and rebuilding the party at the grassroots.

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know

(e) Though in 2012 there were problems, it was easier to handle because the selectorate were made up of fewer senior party members

(a) Yes (b) No (c) Don't know.

SECTION I. BIODATA OF THE RESPONDENT

Q16. Sex (1.) Male (2.) Female

Q11. Age (1.) 18 -24 (2.) 25-30 (3)31-35 (4) 36-40 (5) 41 -45 (6) 46-50 (7) 51-55

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(8) 56-60 (9) 60 and above.

Q18. Religion. (1)Christianity (2) Islam (3) Traditional Region (4) Non- religious

(5) Other Specify ……..

Q19. Level of Education (1) Basic (2) Sec / VOC /Tech (3) Post-secondary/Poly

(4) First Degree and above.

Q20. **OCCUPATION**

(1) Farmer (2) Civil Servant (3) Public Servant (4) Politician (5) Trader (6) Student (7) Unemployed

Q21**. LEVEL OF INCOME**

(1) Below GH¢500 (2) GH¢501 -1,000 (3) 1001-2000 (4) 2001 – 3000. (5) 3000 and above.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND RESPONSES.