



**Dr. Evans Duah**

# **NPP Presidential Primaries**

## **Report**

Sept-Oct, 2025

**Second Public Research**



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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## ABSTRACT

The **September 22 to October 5, 2025**, survey of New Patriotic Party (NPP) delegates was designed **to update the August 2025 baseline** by assessing how preferences have evolved ahead of the party's presidential primaries. The poll sampled **26,150** (an increase from the 20,356 sample in the August 2025 Survey) of the **204,893 registered delegates**, achieving **19,868 responses (76 %)** with **6,282 delegates unreachable or unavailable**. Results were extrapolated to the full delegate population and analyzed under two models, like the August polls: a **worst-case** scenario and a **best-case** scenario.

## Key Findings

- **Kennedy Ohene Agyapong (KOA)** strengthened his lead. In the **worst-case model**, he commands **44.11 % of national delegates** ( $\approx 90,369$  votes), up from the **41 %** recorded in **August 2025**. In the **best-case model**, he reaches **53.80 %**, surpassing the majority threshold and improving on his August 2025 performance, where he slightly exceeded **51 %**. KOA dominates high-delegate southern regions, including **Central, Greater Accra, Ashanti, Ahafo, Bono, Volta**, and **Western**, and now leads in **11 of 16 regions even under conservative assumptions**.
- **Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia (DMB)** holds second place but shows stagnation. His worst-case support stands at **39.51 %**, consistent with the **31 – 39 % range reported in August 2025**. In the best-case model, his share drops to **32.21 %** because undecided delegates tilt toward **KOA**. DMB maintains dominance in the northern regions, specifically, **North East, Northern, Savannah, Upper East**, and **Upper West**, but his southern presence remains insufficient for a first-ballot win.
- **Dr. Bryan Acheampong (BA)** lost momentum. His national share declines from **9 – 11 % in August** to **6.28 %** in the **worst-case** scenario and **8.27 %** in the **best-case**. His influence remains concentrated in the Eastern Region without significant cross-regional growth.



- **Dr. Yaw Osei Adutwum (YOA)** and **Kwabena Agyei Agyapong (KAA)** record modest gains. YOA rises from **2 – 3 %** to 3.19 %, while KAA moves from **0.30 % to 0.86 %**. Both remain marginal but potentially influential through endorsements or alliances.

The updated results confirm the structural dynamics emphasized in the **August 2025** analysis. Control of populous southern regions remains decisive for achieving a national delegate majority, while strong northern margins cannot offset southern deficits.

**Nevertheless, the contest is not fully concluded.** Under conservative assumptions, **KOA leads DMB by 4.60 percentage points**. Shifts among undecided delegates or regional coalitions could still affect the outcome. These **findings should be interpreted as indicative, not predictive**, due to non-response bias, regional heterogeneity, and potential campaign developments before the final vote.



# INTRODUCTION

## BACKGROUND

This follow-up poll, conducted between **mid-September and the first week of October 2025**, builds directly on the **August 2025 baseline** to capture evolving delegate sentiment within the New Patriotic Party (NPP) ahead of its presidential primaries. **The primary goal was to measure changes in candidate support, regional alignment, and the strength of undecided and undisclosed delegates following intensified campaign activities.**

The analysis focuses on identifying **shifts in delegate preferences, regional concentrations of influence, and the strategic balance between leading contenders**. By applying both **Worst-Case** and **Best-Case scenario** models, the study establishes analytical bounds for interpreting delegate alignments, providing stakeholders with a reliable tool for strategy, forecasting, and tactical adjustment.

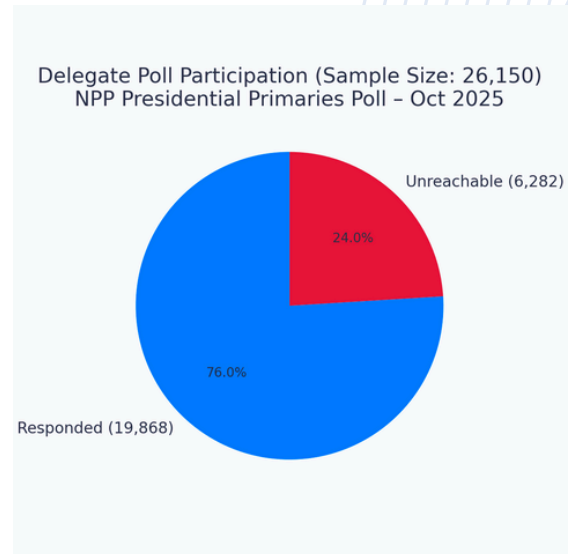
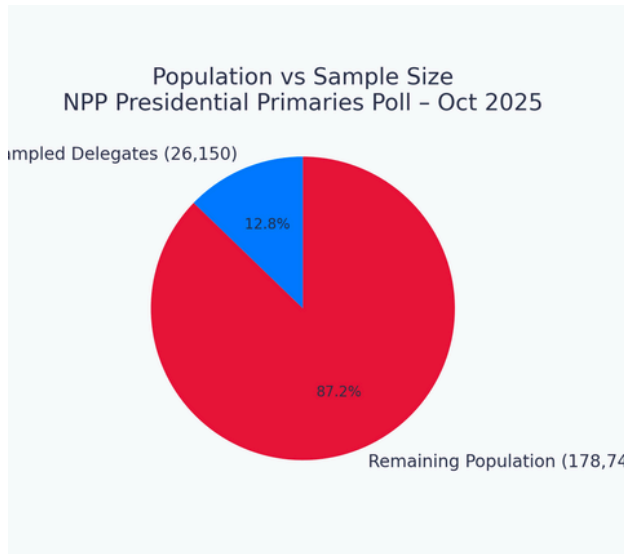
## SAMPLE AND DATA COLLECTION

The total population of certified delegates stood at **204,893 as of October 2025**. A target sample of **26,150 delegates (12.76 %)** was drawn to ensure adequate representation across all **16 administrative regions**. Of this number, **19,868 delegates (76.00 %)** participated successfully, while **6,282 (24.00 %)** were **unreachable** or **unavailable** during the polling period.

Data collection was conducted by a team of **120 trained field officers** operating under strict supervision and audit protocols. Calls were made within structured six-hour windows daily, followed by verification audits to confirm authenticity and accuracy. Each enumerator followed a standardized five-minute interaction guide per respondent to ensure consistency and avoid interviewer bias.

Responses were recorded digitally and transmitted to a centralized dashboard for real-time monitoring. The poll captured declared preferences for each of the five candidates as well as **"undecided"** and **"undisclosed"** categories to maintain analytical accuracy.





## SCENARIO CONSTRUCTION

To address uncertainty in delegate polling, two scenario models were constructed:

- **Worst-Case Scenario:** Allocations were computed under conservative assumptions, minimizing favorable responses for each candidate. This scenario approximates outcomes if undecided or undisclosed delegates ultimately break against leading candidates or remain uncommitted.
- **Best-Case Scenario:** Allocations were computed under optimistic assumptions, maximizing favorable distributions. This scenario approximates outcomes if undecided and undisclosed respondents disproportionately align with leading candidates.

These dual scenarios establish an **analytical range, lower and upper bounds, within which actual delegate alignments are most likely to fall**. They also highlight the **sensitivity of projected outcomes to small shifts in undecided and undisclosed pools**, which, although numerically limited, can prove decisive in tightly contested regions.



## LIMITATIONS

While extensive measures were taken to ensure accuracy and representativeness, certain limitations apply:

- **Nonresponse Bias:** With **24%** of delegates unreachable, uncontacted respondents may differ systematically from those reached.
- **Regional Homogeneity:** Extrapolations assume uniform behavior within regions, though local variations may exist.
- **Temporal Sensitivity:** Sentiment may shift with ongoing campaign events or endorsements after the polling window.
- **Measurement Precision:** Regional rounding may cause slight deviations between summed and national totals.

The analysis was conducted at a **95 % confidence level with a margin of error of  $\pm 0.66$  %**, ensuring statistical reliability in comparing candidate performances and interpreting directional trends.

## METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

The study was conducted under **strict research and ethical standards** to ensure **data integrity and transparency**. Enumerators were trained extensively before fieldwork began, covering both technical procedures and ethical guidelines. Each enumerator received a standardized orientation on neutral communication, confidentiality, and respondent consent procedures.

Supervisors monitored the process through daily digital audits. Random callbacks were conducted to verify the authenticity of responses and to ensure that enumerators adhered to the five-minute interaction rule per respondent. The dataset was encrypted during collection and storage, and only aggregated, anonymized results were used for analysis and publication.





**Quality control mechanisms were embedded at every stage.** Data entry was automated through encrypted mobile interfaces that synchronized with a centralized dashboard for live tracking and anomaly detection. Supervisory teams reviewed daily logs to detect irregularities, duplicate entries, or outlier responses.

The **research design complies with ethical guidelines governing political polling and social research. Participation was voluntary,** and respondents were informed that their responses would remain confidential and used solely for analytical purposes. **No personal identifiers, voice recordings, or delegate contact details are disclosed in this report.**

This methodological rigor strengthens the reliability of the findings, ensuring that variations in reported delegate sentiment reflect genuine shifts in preference rather than procedural inconsistencies.





# NATIONAL-LEVEL RESULTS

## WORST-CASE AND BEST-CASE

The **September–October 2025 delegate poll** reveals clear and measurable shifts in national-level preferences within the New Patriotic Party (NPP) ahead of the presidential primaries. Compared to the August 2025 baseline, **the findings indicate that Kennedy Ohene Agyapong (KOA) has not only consolidated his lead but also expanded his advantage across multiple regions and demographic clusters of delegates.**

Conversely, **Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia (DMB)**, while maintaining a firm second position, **exhibits signs of stagnation and slight attrition in key southern regions** that have historically influenced national outcomes.

When aggregated across all 16 regions, **KOA leads consistently in both the Worst-Case and Best-Case modeling scenarios**, underscoring both the depth and breadth of his support.

The **gap between the two frontrunners has widened marginally but significantly in KOA's favour**, marking a decisive turning point in the race's trajectory.

The results confirm that Kennedy Ohene Agyapong (KOA) has achieved a notable expansion in his national footprint. **His share of delegates rises from 44.11% under the conservative model to 53.80% in the optimistic projection**, representing a net gain of **9.69 percentage points**.

This progression suggests that the momentum generated after the August baseline has translated into tangible delegate commitment. It also demonstrates the effectiveness of his intensified regional ground operations, particularly in the southern bloc and swing areas such as Bono East and Oti.



# NATIONAL-LEVEL RESULTS

## WORST-CASE AND BEST-CASE

Candidate	Worst-Case Votes	Worst-Case Share	Best-Case Votes	Best-Case Share	Change (pp)
Kennedy Ohene Agyapong (KOA)	90,369	<b>44.11%</b>	110,226	<b>53.80%</b>	9.69
Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia (DMB)	80,956	<b>39.51%</b>	65,996	<b>32.21%</b>	-7.3
Dr. Bryan Acheampong (BA)	12,874	<b>6.28%</b>	16,943	<b>8.27%</b>	1.99
Dr. Yaw Osei Adutwum (YOA)	6,549	<b>3.19%</b>	8,996	<b>4.39%</b>	1.2
Kwabena Agyei Agyapong (KAA)	1,758	<b>0.86%</b>	2,732	<b>1.33%</b>	0.47
<b>Total</b>	<b>192,506</b>	<b>94.00%*</b>	<b>204,893</b>	<b>100%</b>	—

**\*Note:** The remainder accounts for “undecided” and “undisclosed” responses (≈ **6.00 %** nationally).



# NATIONAL-LEVEL RESULTS

## WORST-CASE AND BEST-CASE

From the table, **Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia (DMB)** records a decline from **39.51% to 32.21%**, a contraction of **7.30 percentage points**, largely due to erosion of support in **Greater Accra, Bono, and sections of Ahafo**. While he remains dominant across the Northern regions, most notably **North East, Upper West, and Northern**. These areas alone do not carry sufficient delegate weight to offset his southern deficits. The findings suggest that his campaign has reached a saturation point within its traditional strongholds but faces diminishing returns in new territories.

**Dr. Bryan Acheampong (BA)** shows modest but steady growth, increasing his delegate share from **6.28% to 8.27%**, driven by localized influence in the **Eastern and Greater Accra** regions. This suggests that while **BA remains a third-tier candidate nationally**, his potential as a coalition partner or kingmaker has grown.

Both **Dr. Yaw Osei Adutwum (YOA)** and **Ing. Kwabena Agyei Agyapong (KAA)** also experience marginal gains, rising by **1.20 and 0.47 percentage points**, respectively. Although their delegate shares remain small in absolute terms, their symbolic and alliance value could become decisive in close regional contests or in determining endorsement cascades prior to Congress.

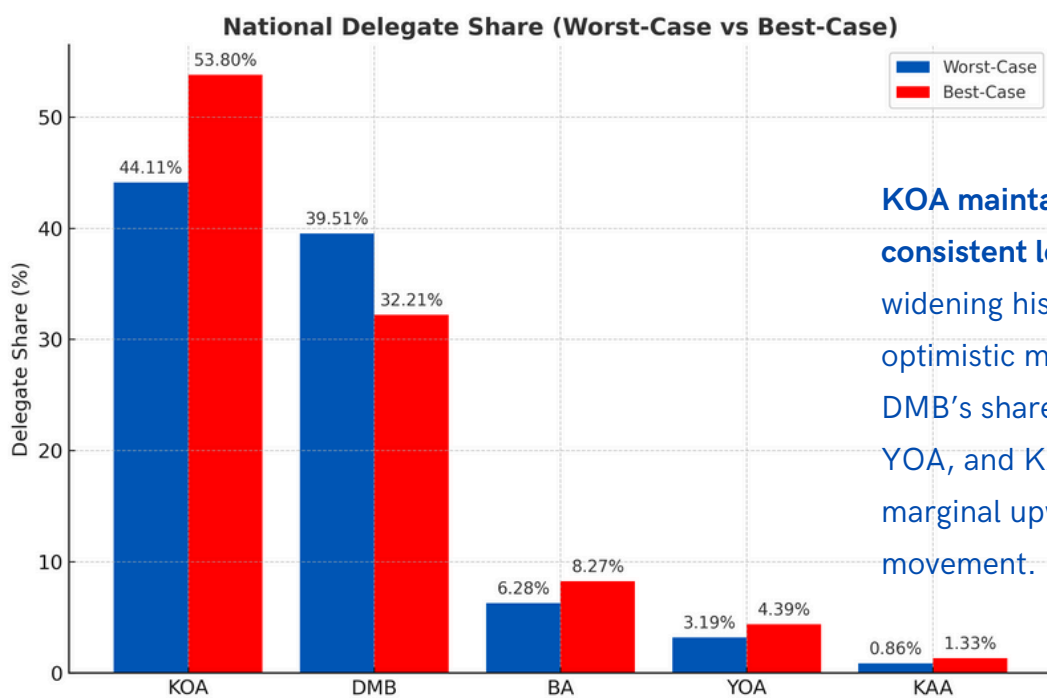
In summary, **the national data highlights that regional balance is the key determinant of success in the NPP primaries**. With nearly two-thirds of delegates based in the south, Kennedy Ohene Agyapong's dominance across the southern regions gives him a decisive edge, while Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia's northern strength is constrained by smaller delegate numbers.

With only about **6% undecided**, **KOA stands as the national frontrunner, well-positioned for a first-round win if momentum holds**.

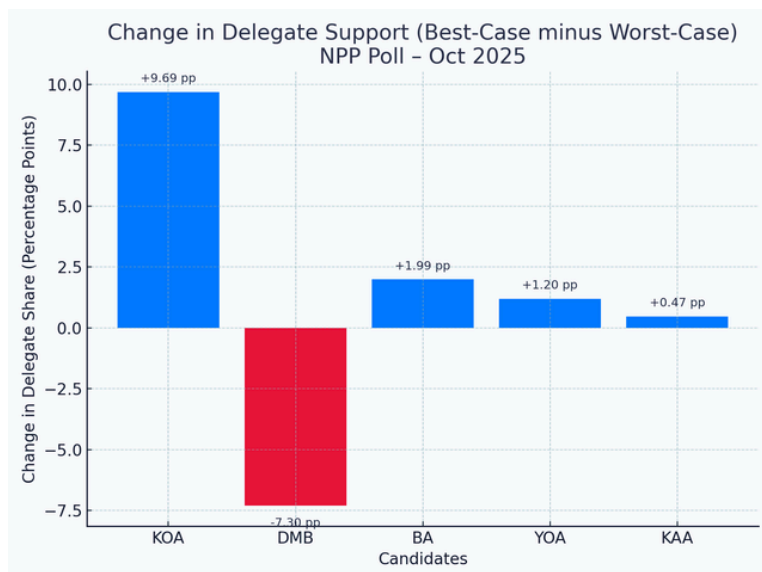


# NATIONAL-LEVEL RESULTS

## WORST-CASE AND BEST-CASE



KOA maintains a consistent lead nationally, widening his margin in the optimistic model, while DMB's share declines. BA, YOA, and KAA exhibit marginal upward movement.

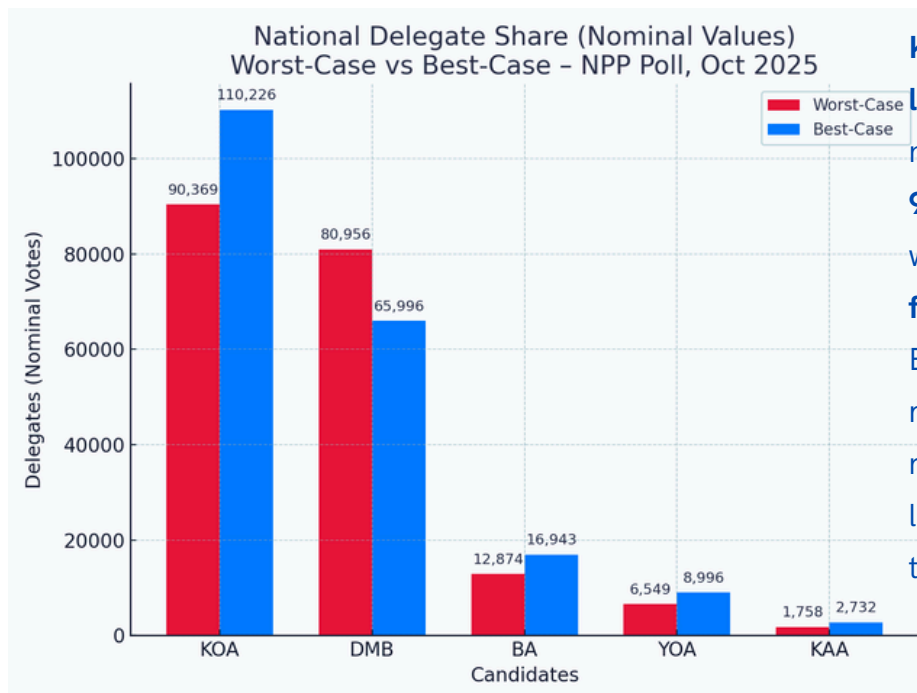


KOA records the highest gain (+9.69 pp), while DMB experiences the steepest decline (-7.30 pp). Minor increases for BA, YOA, and KAA indicate incremental regional consolidation.

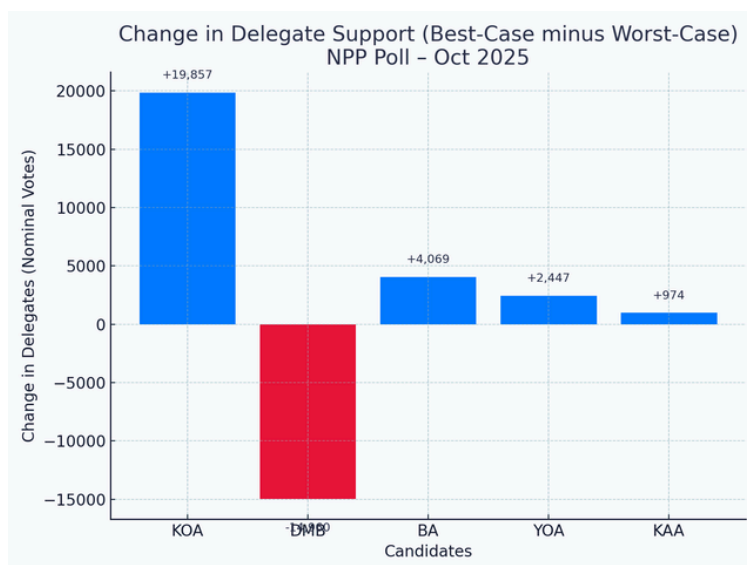


# NATIONAL-LEVEL RESULTS

## WORST-CASE AND BEST-CASE



**KOA extends his national lead** in absolute delegate numbers, rising from **90,369 to 110,226 votes**, while **DMB's support drops from 80,956 to 65,996**. BA, YOA, and KAA post modest numerical gains, reflecting gradual but limited expansion within their regional bases.



**KOA achieves the largest numerical gain of about +19,857 delegates**, reinforcing his upward momentum across multiple regions. **DMB shows the sharpest contraction, losing approximately -14,960 delegates**, while BA, YOA, and KAA each register moderate increases consistent with slow but steady consolidation.



# REGIONAL-LEVEL RESULTS

## WORST-CASE AND BEST-CASE

The **September–October 2025** poll confirms a well-defined north–south divide, with **Kennedy Ohene Agyapong (KOA)** dominating the highly populated southern regions and **Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia (DMB)** consolidating strength across the northern belt. This structural split mirrors historical voting patterns within the party, where delegate concentration and regional loyalty often determine the final national balance.

While **KOA's** advantage stems from commanding the majority of delegates in the south, where population density and delegate volume are highest, **DMB's** support remains anchored in the north, characterized by smaller delegate numbers but higher cohesion.

**Dr. Bryan Acheampong (BA)** continues to perform relatively well in the **Eastern Region** but remains regionally constrained, unable to extend his appeal beyond familiar strongholds.

Both **Dr. Yaw Osei Adutwum (YOA)** and **Ing. Kwabena Agyei Agyapong (KAA)** sustain modest yet consistent local influence, particularly within **Ashanti** and parts of **Bono East**, where their personal networks retain residual loyalty.

Across all **16 administrative regions**, **KOA leads in 11 regions** under the Worst-Case model and expands that dominance under the Best-Case model, underscoring both numerical strength and geographical reach.

**DMB**, while holding five regions primarily in the northern corridor, shows marginal declines in his percentage shares within those regions, suggesting potential erosion of margins even in his traditional bases.



# REGIONAL-LEVEL RESULTS

## WORST-CASE

Region	KOA	DMB	DBA	DYOA	KAA	Undisclosed	Undecided	Total Delegates
ASHANTI	15,112	13,788	1,740	2,800	196	998	1,122	35,756
AHAFO	1,899	1,809	110	65	9	147	160	4,199
BONO	3,702	3,064	353	263	76	244	290	7,992
BONO EAST	3,028	3,477	288	256	86	207	246	7,588
CENTRAL	11,779	5,093	389	185	83	278	320	18,127
EASTERN	8,084	3,954	7,146	499	173	636	741	21,233
GREATER ACCRA	19,863	15,333	898	819	273	951	997	39,134
NORTH EAST	152	3,003	21	11	7	148	148	3,490
NORTHERN	2,951	7,206	262	269	172	445	500	11,805
OTI	1,812	2,160	236	226	81	195	219	4,929
SAVANNAH	1,338	2,061	110	79	70	148	174	3,980
UPPER EAST	2,726	4,191	188	162	161	325	382	8,135
UPPER WEST	1,405	4,249	185	147	134	246	291	6,657
VOLTA	6,602	4,025	289	240	131	330	395	12,012
WESTERN	6,746	5,370	420	335	85	378	400	13,734
WESTERN NORTH	3,170	2,173	239	193	21	155	189	6,122
Total	90,369	80,956	12,874	6,549	1,758	5,831	6,574	204,893





# REGIONAL-LEVEL RESULTS

## BEST-CASE

Region	KOA	DMB	DBA	DYOA	KAA	Total Delegates
ASHANTI	18,031	10,301	2,844	4,102	478	35,756
AHAFO	2,501	1,328	213	134	23	4,199
BONO	4,306	2,754	456	346	130	7,992
BONO EAST	4,231	2,499	390	337	131	7,588
CENTRAL	15,074	2,332	418	206	97	18,127
EASTERN	8,632	3,534	8,358	520	189	21,233
GREATER ACCRA	22,264	14,056	1,402	1,031	381	39,134
NORTH EAST	546	2,894	27	14	9	3,490
NORTHERN	4,244	6,613	366	358	224	11,805
OTI	2,336	1,790	361	319	123	4,929
SAVANNAH	1,663	1,908	172	130	107	3,980
UPPER EAST	3,028	4,397	273	214	223	8,135
UPPER WEST	1,674	4,369	239	189	186	6,657
VOLTA	9,044	1,895	478	362	233	12,012
WESTERN	8,859	3,622	623	477	153	13,734
WESTERN NORTH	3,793	1,704	323	257	45	6,122
Total	110,226	65,996	16,943	8,996	2,732	204,893



# REGIONAL-LEVEL RESULTS

## LEADERS AND VOTE SHARES

Region	Leading Candidate (Worst-Case)	Share	Leading Candidate (Best-Case)	Share
Ashanti	KOA	42.26%	KOA	50.43%
Ahafo	KOA	45.23%	KOA	59.56%
Bono	KOA	46.32%	KOA	53.88%
Bono East	DMB	45.82%	KOA	55.76%
Central	KOA	64.98%	KOA	83.16%
Eastern	KOA	38.07%	KOA	40.65%
Greater Accra	KOA	50.76%	KOA	56.89%
North East	DMB	86.05%	DMB	82.92%
Northern	DMB	61.04%	DMB	56.02%
Oti	DMB	43.82%	KOA	47.39%
Savannah	DMB	51.78%	DMB	47.94%
Upper East	DMB	51.52%	DMB	54.05%
Upper West	DMB	63.83%	DMB	65.63%
Volta	KOA	54.96%	KOA	75.29%
Western	KOA	49.12%	KOA	64.50%
Western North	KOA	51.78%	KOA	61.96%



# REGIONAL-LEVEL RESULTS

## WORST-CASE AND BEST-CASE

The **Northern bloc**, comprising the **Northern, North East, Savannah, Upper East**, and **Upper West** Regions, remains the foundation of **Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia's (DMB)** delegate strength. He continues to dominate in the **North East (over 80% in both models)**, **Upper West (rising slightly to 65.63%)**, and the **Northern Region (holding at 56.02%)**. These results confirm his entrenched appeal and consistent control over the northern belt.

However, **Kennedy Oshene Agyapong (KOA)** is beginning to make visible inroads into this territory. His modest but steady gains in the **Northern** and **Savannah** Regions show early signs of penetration into DMB's strongest base. Though small numerically, these shifts are politically meaningful; they signal a gradual softening of northern loyalty and open opportunities for further coalition-driven growth.

The swing regions, **Bono East, Oti**, and **Savannah**, have emerged as decisive battlegrounds.

**Bono East** shows a dramatic turnaround from a **DMB lead (45.82%) to a KOA majority (55.76%)**, while **Oti** similarly flips from **43.82% to 47.39% for KOA**. **Savannah** remains narrowly contested, with DMB's advantage shrinking to less than two percentage points. Together, **these regions represent under 10% of total delegates**, yet their volatility gives them significant influence over the final outcome.

Overall, three regional patterns stand out:

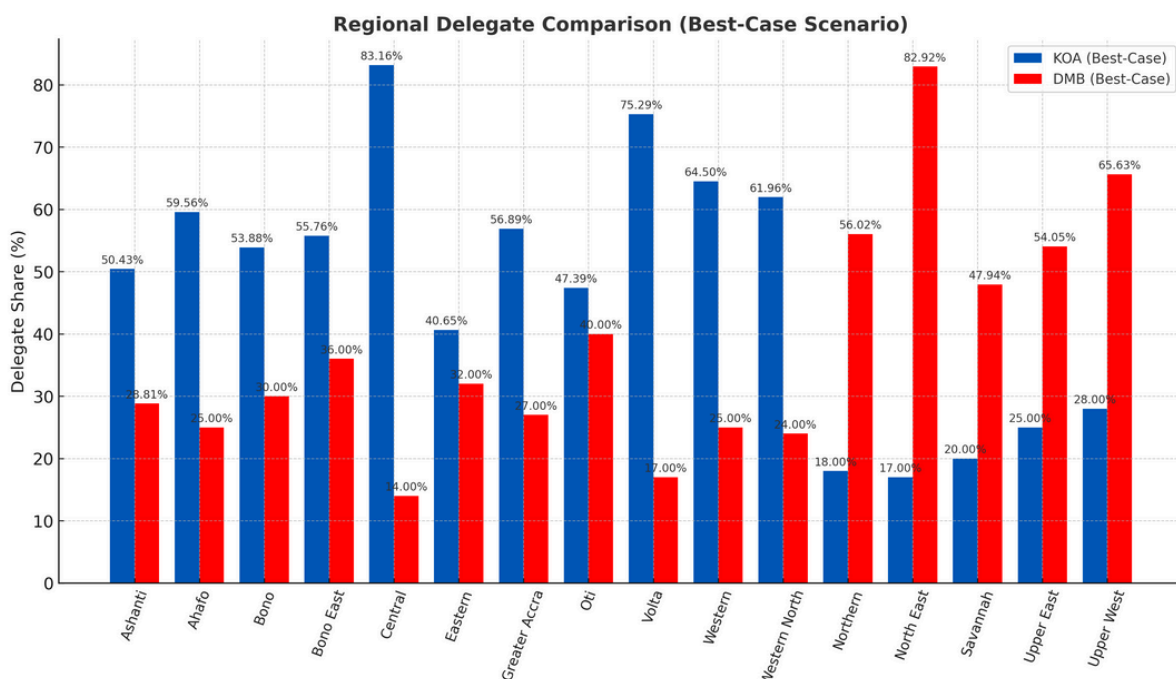
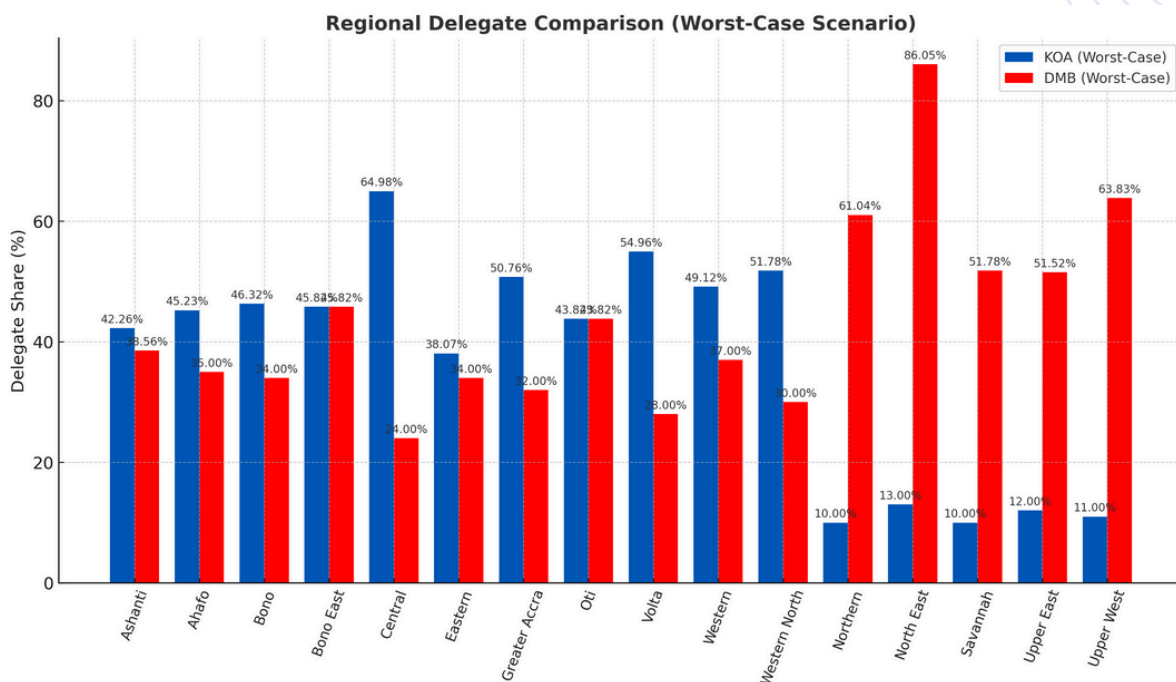
- **Southern** dominance defines the election equation, **giving KOA the numerical edge**.
- **Northern** strength sustains **DMB's relevance**, but it remains insufficient for the majority.
- **Swing regions** hold the balance, where late persuasion and alliances will determine the margin.

In essence, **KOA's campaign is evolving from regional strength to national consolidation**, powered by firm southern control, expanding swing influence, and subtle gains in the north, indicators of a credible pathway toward first-round victory.



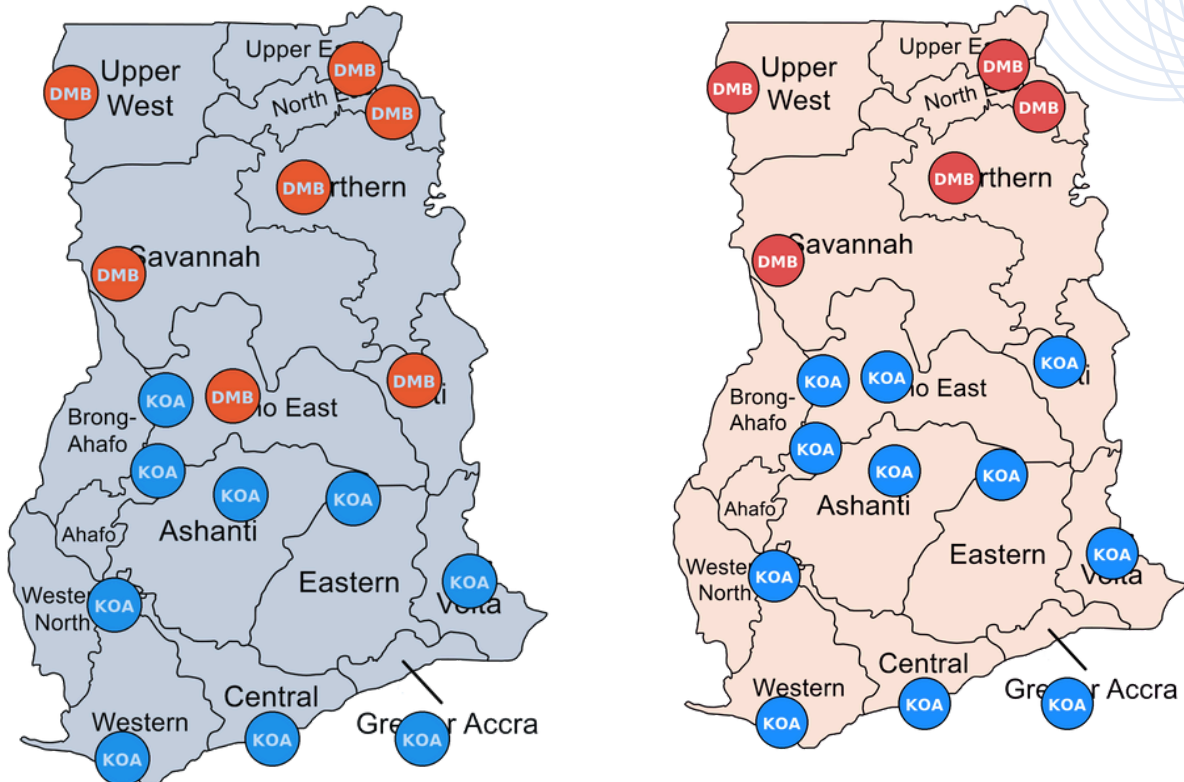
# REGIONAL-LEVEL RESULTS

## WORST-CASE AND BEST-CASE



# REGIONAL-LEVEL RESULTS

## WORST-CASE AND BEST-CASE HEATMAP



## COMPARATIVE OBSERVATIONS

The comparative heatmaps for the September–October 2025 NPP delegate poll reveal a clear and deepening geographic polarization between the two leading contenders, **Hon. Kennedy Oshene Agyapong (KOA)** and **Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia (DMB)**, with KOA consolidating his position across the Southern belt while DMB retains dominance in the Northern corridor.



# DISCUSSION

## SHIFTS SINCE THE AUGUST 2025 POLL

The **September–October 2025** results confirm a consolidation of **Kennedy Ohene Agyapong’s (KOA)** lead and a **gradual decline in Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia’s (DMB)** national share. **KOA’s growth** from approximately **41 % in August to 44.11 %** (worst-case) and **53.80 %** (best-case) in **October 2025** represents a critical phase shift. He is no longer only leading but also sustaining that lead across multiple regions.

Conversely, DMB’s share has stabilized within a narrower range (**39.51 % to 32.21 %**), reflecting a steady but constrained base. **This stagnation signals that while his northern bloc remains intact, his campaign has struggled to make inroads in the south despite increased visibility and endorsements.**

**Bryan Acheampong (BA)** has gained marginally, moving from **6.28 % to 8.27 %**, demonstrating resilience within the **Eastern Region** and limited traction in the **Greater Accra** periphery. Both **Dr. Yaw Osei Adutwum (YOA)** and **Ing. Kwabena Agyei Agyapong (KAA)** maintain symbolic relevance, appealing to delegates through niche credibility rather than broad structural reach.



# CONCLUSION

## SUMMARY

The **September–October 2025 survey**, with a **12.8% (26,150 delegates) sample size**, an increase from the **10% (20,356 delegates) sample size August survey**, **confirms a decisive structural shift in delegate sentiment** within the New Patriotic Party. **Kennedy Oshene Agyapong** currently maintains a **statistically significant lead** over **Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia**, strengthened by dominance across the high-delegate southern corridor. However, the race remains open in swing regions where late realignments or alliances could alter the national balance.

While **KOA's** growth trajectory positions him **favourably for a first-round majority**, the contest's outcome ultimately hinges on **turnout management, perception control**, and **coalition dynamics**. **DMB's northern** consolidation and organizational discipline ensure he remains a formidable challenger, particularly if southern deficits are narrowed through effective negotiation and targeted persuasion.

Overall, the data underscores three enduring realities:

1. The South will decide the election.
2. Swing regions hold the key to final victory margins.
3. Coalition building and perception management remain as important as numerical advantage.

The poll, with a **95 % confidence level and  $\pm 0.66$  % margin of error**, provides a credible snapshot, not a prediction, of current delegate alignments. The final outcome will depend on **how effectively campaigns convert momentum into votes** within the short window before the primaries







**“Numbers tell us who is  
ahead; strategy decides  
who stays ahead”**

DR. EVANS DUAH



NPP  
PRESIDENTIAL  
PRIMARIES

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DR. EVANS DUAH  
SEPT-OCT 2025 POLLS