THE POLITICAL CALCULUS OF DEFECTION: EXAMINING THE EFFECTS OF POLITICAL PARTY CROSS CARPETING FROM OPPOSITION PARTIES TO THE RULING APC ON NIGERIAN DEMOCRACY (2025/2026)

MUHAMMED JAMIU OLAITAN
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
BAYERO UNIVERSITY, KANO
08108918011

ABSTRACT

The study examines the factors that contributed to the gale of defection in recent times and its effects on the country's democracy. The study adopts the game theory of politics, where politicians defect to another party as a calculated move for political gain. In recent times, the country's democracy has been battling with a gale of defections, particularly from the PDP to the ruling party, the APC, thus resulting in the absence of a formidable opposition in the country. The study used a thematic review of existing works, and data were collected from secondary sources and analysed using a qualitative method of data analysis. The study found that unresolved intra-party crises contribute mostly to this gale of defection. The findings also revealed that federal alignment in order to fast-track growth and development in the states and court litigation also contributed to it in one way or another. Arising from findings, the study therefore recommends strict laws and regulations to alleviate the gale of defection, the enactment of laws that also ban candidates who lost primary elections from defecting to another party, and the treatment of other levels of government equally by the federal government regardless of political party in the distribution of the nation's resources.

Keywords: Political Party, Democracy, Cross-carpeting, Nigeria

Introduction

Representative democracy requires united political parties to perform their functions in line with the acceptable ethics and modalities of democratic principles. Similarly, party unity is essential for not only cabinet stability and policy bargaining but also to ensure accountability in politics. In Nigeria, most recently, party-carpeting has assumed an escalating monstrous dimension to the extent that it has rendered the polity a mere stadium for the game of politics and a seeming platform for political jamborees and an arena for marketing the political parties and politicians who are in search of relevance and/or convenient political accommodation and access to state power and resources. Again, some scholars affirm that it has been the practice in Nigeria's unstable party democracy for people to defect to other parties with the intention to

secure party tickets or nominations from the party so as to win elections under the canopy of the new party, and after which, a good number of them will return to their former party abode. This is most common among the political gladiators in Nigeria, as it has been the members of the ruling party that defected to the opposition party during the non-election period in order to secure the new party flag, contest and win the election under the party coverage, and afterwards dump the party and go back to the former or entirely another where there are promises of better opportunities and privileges (Ulu and Okogbuo, 2019).

In recent times in Nigeria, there has been a gale of defection from opposition parties, particularly the PDP, to the ruling party, the APC, thus posing a great detriment to the principle of competitiveness in elections. We cannot talk about the vitality of democracy without talking about a formidable opposition. Formidable opposition brings about competitiveness in elections, which is one of the fundamental features of democracy. However, the purpose of democracy has been defeated by the gale of defection. The opposition has diminished significantly. The few ones available are battling with unresolved internal crises, which are inimical to their stability and sustainability. How can we have only one party as the majority in a country covered by the total land area of 923,768 km² with over 200 million inhabitants? This is very unfortunate, as it has great implications for the democratic sustainability of the country.

Party switching undermines party loyalty, reduces competitiveness in elections, as it weaken opposition parties and strengthens the ruling party, distorts electoral outcomes and representation, promotes political opportunism rather than ideology, complicates the consistency of policy and governance. In Nigeria context, it raises concerns about political stability, accountability, transparency, and the effectiveness of democratic institutions. Thus, the study seeks to examine the effects of carpet crossing from opposition parties to the APC on Nigerian liberal democracy. This study thus seeks to answer two pertinent questions, which are as follows:

i. What are the causes of carpet-crossing in this current Nigerian democracy?

ii. What are the effects of carpet-crossing on Nigerian democracy?

Methodology

The study reviewed relevant literature on cross-carpeting and its implications on democracy in a thematic manner. The data was collected through the secondary source, particularly published articles, online news, journal publications, internet materials and relevant websites. In addition, the data collected were analysed using a qualitative method of data analysis.

Conceptualisation and Theoretical discourse of Political Party, Cross Carpeting and Democracy

Conceptual Review of Democracy

In the last decade, the global community has witnessed the emergence of mass organisation in Africa, Asia, Europe and other continents of the world. Ultimately, this has risen to demand an end to dictatorial rule and its replacement with democracy. But then, what exactly is democracy, why is it desirable, and under what conditions can it be secured? The concept of democracy has been defined by scholars from various perspectives such as direct/participatory view, liberal/representative view, and Marxist view of democracy. Hence, this study concentrate on liberal/representative democracy, because it has emerged as the dominant model of democracy. Therefore, from the liberal/representative point of view, democracy is a direct, popular participation in day-to-day governance. Contributing, Anifowose and Enemuo (2025) defines it as "a set of ideals, institutions, and processes of governance that allows the broad mass of the people to choose their leaders, and that guarantees them a broad range of civic rights. It involves human rights/desiring freedom, sense of political responsibility, tolerance of opposition, majority rule, due process, freedom of press/media, the rule of law, reasonable level of economic well-being among the people, etcetera".

According to Huntington (1991), the modern usage of the term (democracy) as a form of government is defined in terms of sources of authority of government, purpose served by government and procedures for constituting government. The central procedure of democracy, as noted by Huntington, is selection of leaders through competitive elections by the people they govern. Janda (2000), cited in Anger (2013) concurred to the notion that the practice of democracy implies commitment to democratic ideals. This also means strict adherence to democratic values, tenets and norms. This is far away from practice in Nigeria. Accountable and transparent government (Government for the People) is only in theory, not in practice, as most of Nigerian leaders are only serving for their personal enrichment and aggrandisement.

Conceptual Review of Political Party

There are exists major disagreement among political scientist on how best to define a political party. This has led to a genre of literature on political parties which have acquired the distinctive name stasiology i.e political parties as subject (Ojo, 2008). However, the point of convergence of the various definitions is anchored on the point that political party is the major institution for organising democratic government. Max Weber (cited in Kifordu, 2011) defines political party as contending groups that struggle for political control within corporate bodies. This definition places politicians and candidates for leadership recruitment into both elective and appointive positions as principal actors and the objectives of party organisation is to capture governmental powers. Similarly, Likoti (2005) posits that political party is an organised group of

people with similar political aims and opinions that seek to influence public policy by getting its candidate elected to public office. The theme and context of these definitions suggests that the primary objective of political parties is to contest and win election so as to organised and dominate the organs of national leadership. Edmund Burke (cited in Ojo, 2008) defines political party ‘‘as a body of men, united for promoting their joint endeavors, the national interest upon some particular principles in which they all agreed". Herbert Simon (1962) asserts that a political party is a social group with a system of interdependent activities characterised by a high degree of rational direction of behavior towards end that are objects of common acknowledgement and expectation.

In this respect, one can adduce that a political party is a socially organised group of people who share a common belief, value, ideology, and objectives that seek to recruit leadership through elections. Their main objective is to provide a platform for members to contest elections, win elections and capture state power.

Conceptual Review of Cross Carpeting

The term 'cross-carpeting' has been used interchangeably with concepts like party defection, party switching, floor-crossing, party-hopping, canoe-jumping, decamping, party-jumping (Malthora, 2005; Mbah, 2011; Fashagba 2014). In his work, Chang (2009) used the term ‘political defection' in place of cross-carpeting. He defines political defection as a situation in which a legislator switched from his original party to run either under another party or as an independent candidate. Relatedly, Blunt (1964) defines party switching in place of cross-carpeting as any situation in which a member of a legislature who had been elected on a certain party platform changed his political allegiance before a next general election. In this regard, political party defectors are usually regarded as political prostitutes without political principle, morality, conscience and lacking in political ideology to champion the cause of leadership for the wellbeing of the society and political development of the country. In the view of Awofeso and Irabo (2017), cross carpeting describes the practice where a person give up allegiance to political entity in exchange for allegiance to another. In the work of Edet (2017), he use the term 'politics of defection' in place of cross-carpeting. He defined defection as an act of swapping political parties.

In short, one can assert that the concept of cross-carpeting is used or can be used interchangeably with such terms as 'defection', 'party switching', 'floor crossing', 'political migration', 'party realignment', and 'party hopping'. It explains a situation where politicians switch from one political party to another, often for personal aggrandisement or for strategic reasons. In other words, it refers to a circumstance where a politician switches allegiance from one party to another.

History of Party Defection (Cross-carpeting) in Nigeria

Party defection has been given series of meaning in the present democratic dispensation in Nigeria. Some scholars call it "party-switching", while some call it "carpet crossing". Whatever nomenclature attached to it does not change its characteristics. Its historical origin in Nigeria dates back to the first republic, particularly in 1951 (Jaja, 2014). This could be seen a decade to Nigeria's political independence in the defunct western region House of Assembly. Contributing further, Aniche (2018) expressed that it was an overnight affair, when several members of the defunct National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC), led by late Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe decamped to the Action Group (AG), led by late Chief Obafemi Awolowo purposely to deny Azikwe and his party, the majority in the western region House of Assembly, which he required to form a government with the decamping group. AG was able to form the government in the region. Similarly, in that same first republic, another premier of that same western region of Nigeria – Ladoke Akintola left the then AG in a crisis rooted more in personality clash but explained as personal principles and his conviction to advance the Yoruba race into the Nigeria's mainstream politics to form the UNDP and enter into alliance with Northern People's Congress (Adejuwon, 2013). Subsequent republics are not exempted from defections, for instance, in the old Ondo state during the second republic, Akin Omoboriowo, the then Deputy governor of United Party of Nigeria (UPN) led government of Michael Ajasin defected and joined the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) to become its gubernatorial candidate (Okparaji, 2010). Explaining this history and the consolidation of the trend in Nigerian political system, Mbah (2011, p.3) opined that political party defection has become an increasingly permanent feature in Nigerian democratic experience. In fact, in the fourth republic of Nigeria, party defection and political instability are among the greatest challenges confronting Nigeria's democracy.

As a result, intra-party squabbles and disputable actions have continued to energize the growth of what is branded today as party defection which subsequently raises another issue of questioning the party ideology, and among others. Consequently, this sordid act termed as party defection has left a very uninteresting impression in party politics of many contemporary democracies. Evidently, massive party defections in Nigeria and the muzzy struggle that characterized the act were very fierce and intense, almost cutting the breadth of party politics in Nigeria (Awolowo, 2003). Drawing from the above, there seemed to be absence of internal party democracy in virtually all political parties in Nigeria, it is important to note that party defection is not the exclusive character of one party in Nigeria, but a general practice. Thus, the magnitude of the current defections and its impact on the body polity raises fundamental questions on the manifestation of the trend and sustainability of Nigerian democracy. In this regard, the need for in depth knowledge of the basic concepts here cannot be over emphasised.

Major Cases of Governors Defection in Nigeria in Recent Times (2023-2026)

Names of Governors	States	Old Party	New Party	Reasons for Defection
Ahmadu Fintiri	Adamawa	PDP	APC	Unresolved internal crises
Pastor Umo Eno	Akwa Ibom	PDP	APC	Internal PDP crisis and federal alignment
Bala Abdulkadir Muhammed	Bauchi	PDP	APM	Unresolved PDP internal crisis
Douye Diri	Bayelsa	PDP	APC	Intra-party crisis and federal alignment
Sheriff Oborevwori	Delta	PDP	APC	Intra-party crisis and federal alignment
Peter Mbah	Enugu	PDP	APC	Federal alignment
Abba Kabir Yusuff	Kano	NNPP	APC	Conflicting Court judgement and federal alignment
Ademola Adeleke	Osun	PDP	Accord Party	Unresolved intra-party crisis
Seyi Makinde	Oyo	PDP	APM	Instability in PDP and federal alignment
Caleb Muftwang	Plateau	PDP	APC	Instability in PDP and federal alignment
Siminalayi Fubara	Rivers	PDP	APC	Federal alignment and unresolved PDP crisis
Kefas Agbu	Taraba	PDP	APC	Federal alignment
Dauda Lawal	Zamfara	PDP	APC	PDP's protracted crisis and legal disputes

Source: Online News

Theoretical Framework

A theory provides a framework or basis for explaining, predicting, and analysing a phenomenon. This study is premised on only one theory related to 'The Political Calculus of

Defection: Examining effects of political party cross-carpeting from opposition parties to the ruling All Progressives Congress (APC) on Nigerian democracy (2025/2026). That theory is 'zero-sum game theory' of politics. A game is any situation in which the outcomes (pay offs) are, the product of the interaction of more than one rational player. The term therefore includes not only games in the ordinary sense, such as chess and football, but enormously wide range of human interactions including politics. The game theory, as the name implies, is a kind of game involving the manipulation of numbers. The game theory was propounded by John Neumann and Oscar Morgesnstern in 1944.

Zero-sum game theory on the other hand originates from mathematics and economics, particularly the work of John von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern. In political science, it is used to analyse situations where one actor's gain is perceived to be exactly equal to another actor's loss. Political competition, power struggles, electoral contests, territorial disputes, and some international conflicts are often examined through this framework.

The nexus between zero-sum game theory and the defection of PDP governors to APC is that Nigerian party politics often operates as a winner-takes-all system, where political power, resources, and survival are perceived as fixed and exclusive. In this zero-sum logic, governors defect from PDP to APC because they believe: staying in the opposition reduces access to federal power and resources; joining the ruling party increases chances of political survival, influence, and reelection. Thus, cross-carpeting is a strategic shift to the perceived winning coalition, where one party's gain (APC dominance) is viewed as the other's loss (PDP weakening).

The zero-sum game theory of politics has been criticised for assuming that all politics is win–lose, ignoring cooperation, compromise, and shared gains. Nevertheless, the zero-sum game theory of politics assists in explaining intense political competition, as it clearly captures situations like elections, coups, or party rivalry where one side's victory directly means another's loss. The theory also helps explain actions, such as defections, coalition shifts, and power struggles where actors aim to avoid exclusion from scarce political rewards.

Causes of Political Defection in Nigeria

Political defection in Nigeria has become a recurring and deeply entrenched feature of its democratic experience, particularly in the Fourth Republic. Although defection is not unique to Nigeria being a recognized occurrence in many democracies the frequency, strategic timing, and often opportunistic motivations behind it in the Nigerian context point to underlying systemic enablers that extend well beyond personal ambition or ideological realignment. These factors are driven by the institutional, political, legal, and socio-economic context of Nigeria's democratic patterns. The factors are;

i. Weak political parties' Ideologies: Nigerian political parties, for the most part, operate without clear ideological foundations or consistent policy frameworks. Rather than being driven

by enduring values, principles, or issue-based agendas, many parties are organised around influential personalities, elite coalitions, and short-term electoral calculations. This personalisation of political parties significantly weakens institutional cohesion and blurs the ideological lines that should distinguish one party from another. As Olayiwola (2014) notes, the dominance of personality politics and the absence of structured party identities make it remarkably easy for politicians to defect from one party to another without facing any meaningful ideological contradiction or political consequences.

ii. Legal Loopholes and Constitutional Ambiguities: Sections 68(1)(g) and 109(1)(g) of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria were designed to discourage indiscriminate political defections by setting conditions under which elected legislators may forfeit their seats. However, these provisions include a notably vague clause that allows defection if there is a "division" within the political party under which the legislator was elected. This ambiguous language has become one of the most exploited loopholes in Nigeria's constitutional framework. In practice, politicians and their legal teams have routinely invoked the "division" clause, often citing internal party disagreements, leadership crises, or factional disputes as justification for defecting to other parties, especially the ruling party. Unfortunately, the judiciary has not consistently interpreted or enforced this provision, and in many cases, it has sided with defectors, further diluting its effectiveness (Eme and Ogbochie, 2015). The lack of a clear legal definition of what constitutes a "division" has allowed for broad, subjective, and often politically convenient interpretations.

iii. Executive Dominance and Access to State Resources: Nigeria's political system is heavily centralised, with significant power and resources concentrated in the executive arm of government, particularly at the federal level. This structure creates strong incentives for politicians to align themselves with the ruling party, not necessarily out of ideological affinity, but to gain or maintain access to state resources, influence, and protection. In this context, political defection becomes a strategic tool for survival and relevance within a patronage-driven political order. As Aiyede (2015) observes, executive dominance over key levers of power such as federal appointments, government contracts, security apparatus, and even judicial influence makes proximity to the ruling party a critical factor in political longevity. Defection is often timed to coincide with changes in federal leadership or general elections, as politicians rush to realign themselves with those in control of executive power. This was evident in the wave of defections to the All Progressives Congress (APC) following its victories in the 2015 and 2023 general elections.

iv. Political Survival: Many Nigerian politicians approach politics primarily as a career path rather than a platform for public service or ideological advocacy. This careerist perspective aligns closely with the assumptions of Rational Choice Theory (RCT), which posits that individuals make calculated decisions to maximize personal benefits while minimizing risks. Within this framework, defection is often a strategic move designed to ensure political survival, re-election, or access to material rewards. According to Nwosu and Awofeso (2019), politicians defect when their current party no longer serves their ambitions, whether due to declining

popularity, internal marginalization, exclusion from patronage networks, or diminishing electoral prospects. Rather than remain in a weakened or divided party, they rationally shift allegiance to a more advantageous platform, often the ruling party, where the likelihood of securing appointments, protection, or re-election is higher. This behaviour is especially common after general elections, when the balance of power shifts and political actors scramble to reposition themselves for relevance (Eze and Okonkwo, 2023).

Contributing Aleyomi (2013), there are many reasons for political party defections, which include the following

i. The trend result for personality clash,

ii. Power tussles,

iii. Divergent views of the operations of a political party's philosophy,

iv. Crisis or division within a given political party,

v. Disagreement on party's position on issue(s),

vi. Realization of one's personal political ambition, and

vii. Party leaders reneging on agreed issues of the political party, probably on power sharing formula, among other factors.

Drawing from the above, we see political party defection as an act of one's abandonment of his/her preview position or association, offers to join an opposition or ruling group/party over the issue of political ideology, manifesto or programme, and party management. However, Braji (2014) affirm that in Nigeria, from 2011 till date, many politicians at the local government, state, and federal levels had consistently defected from one political party to the other. Some politicians did so by abandoning parties on whose platform they were elected, while others after losing elections found it the best option for them to switch to another political party. Meanwhile, Baba and Aeysinghe (2017), agreed with the assertion that some past and present Governors, state/federal legislators, council Chairmen, and councilors have abandoned their elected political party platform for another, on the excuse of factional crisis or division within their political party.

Implications of cross-carpeting on Nigerian Democracy

Political party defection in Nigeria, particularly among elected public office holders, carries significant consequences for both electoral legitimacy and the broader health of democratic governance. At its core, party defection disrupts the representational contract between elected officials and the electorate. When politicians switch parties after securing office, often without seeking a fresh mandate, it calls into question their accountability and undermines the trust placed in them by voters. This practice raises critical concerns about the sanctity of electoral

choices. Citizens cast their ballots not just for individuals, but for the parties, ideologies, and manifestos those individuals represent. When defections occur post-election, voters are effectively denied the outcome they chose, making the original mandate meaningless. As Udeuhele (2017) observes, this erosion of representational integrity weakens the democratic process and fosters disillusionment among citizens. Moreover, the prevalence of such defections often signals a broader systemic failure, where party platforms are weak, ideology is secondary to personal gain, and institutional safeguards against opportunism are ineffective. In this context, political defection becomes not just an individual decision but a symptom of deeper structural issues within Nigeria's political system. Addressing these challenges is essential to restoring public trust and ensuring that electoral outcomes truly reflect the will of the people. The study explores ways in which political defection has eroded electoral legitimacy and democratic consolidation in Nigeria. The implications are stated below;

i. It underminesthe strength of opposition and democratic pluralism: Political party defection weakens the strength of opposition parties and diminishes the essence of competitive democracy, which is against the principles of democracy. When the majority of the opposition parties defect to the ruling party, it creates a lopsided political structure, which is against democratic checks. For example, the defection of well-known opposition leaders in states like Rivers and Kano following the general elections in 2023 further weakened opposition parties, reducing their ability to bring people together and stop presidential overreach (Omodia, 2022).This trend became particularly pronounced during the 2023/2025 political cycle, as a significant number of elected officials from the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the Labour Party (LP) defected to the ruling All Progressives Congress (APC). These defections have not only expanded the APC's dominance in the National Assembly but also deepened concerns about the health of Nigeria's democratic institutions. With the opposition increasingly depleted, the legislature risks becoming less effective in fulfilling its oversight functions and holding the executive accountable. Aiyede (2015) emphasizes that such imbalances weaken the principle of checks and balances, enabling executive overreach and undermining the pluralism that is essential for a functioning democracy. When one party dominates the political landscape through defections rather than through fresh electoral mandates, the result is a diminished capacity for dissent, debate, and alternative policy propositions. This, in turn, deprives voters of meaningful choices and contributes to the erosion of democratic competition. Ultimately, these developments undermine the vibrancy of Nigeria's democratic process and make electoral legitimacy increasingly fragile.

ii. Chances of one-party Dominance: Defections to ruling party allows them to gain an overwhelming majority, which paves the way for authoritarian behaviour. Long-term one-party rule may cause democratic norms to erode, dissent to be suppressed, and state institutions to be manipulated in favour of the governing class (Frank and Oputa, 2025). If defections, opposition party internal disintegration, and unbridled power consolidation persist, Nigeria might be on the verge of becoming a de facto one-party state. The ramifications for civic engagement,

democratic pluralism, and electoral credibility could be severe and long-lasting (Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre, 2025).

iii. Political and Institutional Instability: The occurrence of mass defections often leads to factional warfare, intra-party conflict, and political crises. According to Ojo (2020), these disagreements frequently turn into protracted legal battles that further unstable the government and impede the efficient implementation of policies. Defections have led to changes in leadership across different state Assemblies, delay in budget passing, and power tussles between the legislators and the governor in the case of Rivers state.

iv. Weakening Internal Party Politics: In Nigeria, defections are another sign of insufficient internal party democracy. Due to feelings of exclusion or unfair treatment during party primaries or decision-making processes, many politicians leave their positions. Ajayi (2021) asserts that a candidate's lack of transparency, Members of other parties look for better opportunities due to selection procedures, candidate imposition, and a lack of inclusive party structures MPs would be less inclined to defect if internal party democracy were strengthened because they would have more faith in their parties' open and honest procedures and fair competition.

In a nutshell, Political defection in Nigeria continues to exert corrosive effects on electoral legitimacy, democratic governance, and institutional stability. When elected officials abandon the parties under which they were voted into office often without seeking a fresh mandate it distorts the principle of representation and diminishes the value of the electoral process. This behavior weakens opposition parties, concentrates power within the ruling elite, and disrupts the policy-making process by fostering unstable legislative alliances. Moreover, the prevalence of defection fuels public cynicism and voter apathy. Citizens who see their electoral choices routinely overridden by elite political deals may begin to view elections as meaningless exercises. More critically, political defection undermines the consolidation of democracy by normalizing opportunism, weakening party discipline, and exposing the fragility of institutions meant to uphold democratic norms (Udeuhele, 2017; Aiyede, 2015).

Findings

The study found that the gale of defections in recent times in the country really affects the sustainability of democracy in the country, as some are even insinuating that the country is heading to a one-party state. The majority of Nigerians didn't see the upcoming presidential election as a competitive one due to this gale of defection. The study also found that unresolved intra-party crises contributes mostly to the current gale of political party defection in Nigeria, particularly the crisis in the People's Democratic Party (PDP). In addition, the study also found that some defected to the All Progressive Congress (APC) with the aim of aligning with the federal government for the growth and development of their respective state. Lastly, the findings also revealed that court litigation also serves as one of the factors for political party defections in this current democratic dispensation in the country.

Conclusion

The study highlights the pervasive nature of carpet crossing (political party defection) from opposition parties to APC and its effect on the Nigerian democracy. The study found that political party defection has a great detrimental effect on the Nigerian democracy, with high percentage of politicians defecting from one party to another, particularly from the People's Democratic Party (PDP) to the ruling party, the All Progressives Congress (APC).

These politicians defecting from one party to another, particularly to the ruling party (APC) are doing so not because they have the interest of their people at their heart but because of a cheap political gain, greediness and personal aggrandisement. The study therefore unequivocally concluded that the current gale of carpet-crossing (political party defection) in the country serves as a great inhibition to the sustainability of the Nigerian democracy, as it undermines the principle of competitiveness, weaken opposition parties, stunted democratic growth, diminished representatation, institutional instability, and detrimental to the party's ideology .

Recommendations

In line with the research findings, the recommendations of this study are presented below:

i. The country needs stricter laws and regulations, as well as internal party reforms to promote discipline and ideology.

ii. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in conjunction with the Nigerian government should enact a law that bans a party candidates who fail to secure a party ticket through primary election or consensus to defect to another party.

iii. Open discussion should be encouraged between warring factions, facilitated by neutral mediators or elder statements.

iv. Having found that some politicians are defecting to the ruling party to fast-track development in their respective state, the study therefore recommends that the federal government should treat all the states and local governments equally in the distribution of nation resources regardless of political party they belong to.

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