

Cross-Carpeting and Governance in Nigeria: Party Loyalty Versus Political Survival

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ABSTRACT

Political defections have become a defining characteristic of Nigeria's democratic experience since the return to civilian rule in 1999. While party switching is not inherently incompatible with democratic practice, its frequency and motivation in Nigeria raise serious concerns about democratic accountability, party institutionalization, and political stability. This article interrogates whether political defections in Nigeria are driven by genuine ideological realignment or by personal and strategic interests of political elites. Drawing on rational choice theory and party system institutionalization theory, the study argues that defections in Nigeria are overwhelmingly motivated by self-interest rather than ideological commitment. The article situates political defections within the broader context of weak party ideology, fragile internal party democracy, and declining public trust in political institutions. Existing empirical studies indicate that Nigerian political parties are largely indistinguishable in ideological orientation, rendering party affiliation a tactical instrument rather than a principled commitment. As a result, frequent defections undermine voter confidence, weaken opposition politics, and erode democratic accountability. The article further contends that the normalization of defections reflects deeper structural problems within Nigeria's political system, including elite dominance, the monetization of politics, and ineffective legal frameworks regulating party behavior. By critically engaging existing literature and contextual evidence, this study contributes to ongoing debates on democratic consolidation in Nigeria and offers insights into the institutional reforms necessary for strengthening party politics and democratic stability.

Keywords: Political Defections, Democratic Stability, Party Ideology, Nigeria

I. INTRODUCTION

Political parties are universally acknowledged as central institutions in democratic governance. They perform critical functions such as interest aggregation, political recruitment, policy formulation, and the organization of electoral competition. In established democracies, political parties are differentiated by clear ideological orientations and programmatic commitments, which enable voters to make

informed choices and hold elected officials accountable. These ideological commitments provide a framework within which citizens can evaluate the performance of parties and their leaders, fostering political stability and predictability. When parties are ideologically coherent, defections or party-switching are relatively rare and often viewed as acts of political betrayal, with serious consequences for the defector's career and reputation.

In contrast, the Nigerian political landscape presents a different scenario. Since the return to civilian rule in 1999, Nigeria has experienced frequent and sometimes massive defections of politicians from one party to another, often without clear ideological justification. This phenomenon has raised critical questions about the motivations behind such movements: Are these defections driven by genuine ideological realignments, or are they primarily guided by personal ambitions, political expediency, and the pursuit of power? The answer to this question is crucial because the nature of political defections has significant implications for democratic stability. In a system where party loyalty is weak and ideological commitments are largely absent, defections can exacerbate political uncertainty, undermine institutional trust, and erode the principles of representative democracy. Moreover, political defections in Nigeria are often linked to broader structural and systemic issues, including the personalization of politics, weak institutional frameworks, and the dominance of patronage networks. Politicians may switch parties to access political offices, gain strategic advantages in upcoming elections, or align themselves with more electorally popular platforms, rather than to advance specific policy agendas. This behavior has contributed to a perception among citizens that Nigerian politics is characterized by opportunism rather than principled leadership, thereby weakening public confidence in democratic institutions.

Understanding the impact of political defections in Nigeria requires a careful analysis of both individual motivations and structural factors. This study, therefore, seeks to examine whether defections in the Nigerian political system are ideologically motivated or primarily the product of personal interest, and to assess the implications of these dynamics for the country's democratic stability. By

exploring these issues, the research aims to shed light on the challenges facing party institutionalization and the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria.

Conceptual Clarifications

A rigorous examination of political defections and their implications for democratic stability in Nigeria requires clarity of key concepts that frame the analysis. Concepts such as political defection, ideology, party institutionalization, and democratic stability are frequently used in political science literature, yet their meanings vary depending on context. This section clarifies these concepts as they apply to Nigeria's Fourth Republic.

Political Defection

Political defection refers to the act of an elected official or political actor leaving the political party on whose platform they were elected to join another party during their term of office. While party switching is not inherently undemocratic, its normative implications depend on frequency, motivation, and institutional regulation. In established democracies, defections often occur due to deep ideological disagreements or fundamental policy disputes. In contrast, defections in Nigeria are predominantly strategic, occurring in anticipation of elections, changes in executive power, or access to state resources (Akinola, 2017).

Defection in Nigeria has become routinized and normalized, transforming what should be an exceptional political act into a common survival strategy within a highly competitive and clientelist political environment. Abdulrauf and Oladimeji (2019) argue that the Nigerian case represents a form of "elite mobility" rather than ideological realignment, with politicians treating parties as interchangeable platforms rather than vehicles of shared principles.

Ideology

Ideology refers to a coherent set of beliefs, values, and policy preferences that guide political action and distinguish one political group from another. Ideology provides voters with a framework for evaluating party behavior and holding leaders accountable. In theory, political parties are expected to articulate ideological positions that shape their policy agendas and legislative priorities.

In Nigeria, however, ideology is weakly articulated and poorly institutionalized. Party manifestos tend to emphasize broad and non-controversial goals such as economic development, national unity, and good governance, without clear ideological commitments (Olaopa, 2018). This ideological vagueness diminishes the meaningfulness of party labels and facilitates defections, as politicians face minimal ideological costs when switching parties.

Party Institutionalization

Party institutionalization refers to the degree to which political parties are stable, socially rooted, internally coherent, and normatively valued by political actors and citizens (Mainwaring & Scully, 1995). Institutionalized parties exhibit predictable patterns of competition, enforce internal discipline, and command loyalty from their members.

Nigeria's party system is widely regarded as weakly institutionalized. Parties are often organized around powerful individuals rather than enduring structures, and internal rules are frequently overridden by elite interests (Omotola, 2015). Weak institutionalization reduces the capacity of parties to sanction defections and encourages opportunistic behavior among political elites.

Democratic Stability

Democratic stability refers to the ability of a democratic system to endure over time while maintaining political order, legitimacy, and effective governance. Stable democracies are characterized by predictable political competition, strong institutions, public trust, and peaceful transitions of power.

In Nigeria, democratic stability remains fragile. Although civilian rule has endured since 1999, persistent challenges—including electoral malpractice, elite dominance, political violence, and widespread defections—continue to undermine democratic consolidation (Adejumobi, 2014). Political defections contribute to instability by weakening opposition parties, eroding accountability, and fostering political cynicism among citizens.

Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored in three complementary theoretical perspectives: rational choice theory, party institutionalization theory, and democratic accountability theory. Together, these frameworks provide a comprehensive explanation for the prevalence of political defections in Nigeria and their implications for democratic stability.

Rational Choice Theory

Rational choice theory assumes that political actors are utility-maximizing individuals who make strategic decisions based on expected costs and benefits. Cox and McCubbins (1993) argue that politicians are primarily motivated by the pursuit of office, power, and influence, and they will adopt behaviors that maximize their chances of political survival.

Applied to the Nigerian context, rational choice theory explains political defections as strategic responses to institutional incentives. When party loyalty is not rewarded and defection carries few penalties, politicians have strong incentives to switch parties in pursuit of electoral advantage or access to state resources. The absence of ideological

constraints further reduces the costs of defection, making it a rational strategy within Nigeria's political environment.

Party Institutionalization Theory

Party institutionalization theory emphasizes the importance of stable and well-organized parties for democratic consolidation. According to Mainwaring and Scully (1995), weakly institutionalized party systems are prone to volatility, elite opportunism, and democratic instability.

Nigeria's party system exhibits key symptoms of weak institutionalization: frequent party switching, low levels of public trust, weak internal democracy, and limited ideological differentiation. Huntington (1968) famously argued that political instability arises when political participation outpaces institutional development. In Nigeria, the rapid expansion of political competition since 1999 has not been matched by the development of strong party institutions, creating conditions conducive to defections.

Democratic Accountability Theory

Democratic accountability theory focuses on the mechanisms through which citizens hold political leaders responsible for their actions. Accountability requires clear lines of responsibility, stable party platforms, and informed voters. When politicians defect frequently, these conditions are undermined.

Defections obscure responsibility for policy outcomes, allowing politicians to evade blame by aligning with new parties. This weakens electoral accountability and diminishes the capacity of elections to function as instruments of democratic control (Carothers, 2006). In Nigeria, where voters already face challenges in distinguishing between parties, defections further complicate accountability and weaken democratic legitimacy.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Political Defections in Comparative Perspective

Political defections — the act of elected officials switching party allegiance — occur not only in Nigeria but also across diverse democratic systems worldwide. In comparative politics literature, defections are often examined through the lenses of institutional design, party discipline, and electoral incentives. For example, Brazilian and Indian politics reflect frequent party switching driven by personal ambition and access to patronage rather than strong ideological commitment, leading scholars such as Mainwaring and Zoco (2007) to argue that weak party institutionalization encourages opportunistic behavior. In stronger party systems like those in Western Europe, defections tend to be more costly for politicians and can trigger by-elections or

loss of parliamentary privileges, reinforcing discipline and ideological coherence (Desposato, 2006).

In the Nigerian context, Ibrahim (2019) describes defections as a “defection effect syndrome,” where shifting party membership alters the balance of political power rather than reflecting ideological realignment. Ibrahim notes that defectors often leverage elite support networks or voter bases not because of ideological recalibration but to gain strategic advantages and access to resources. Similarly, Buba and Matawal (2020) highlight that the absence of clear ideological platforms within Nigerian parties means defections rarely reflect policy disagreements but are instead driven by personal calculation and electoral expediency. Comparative studies therefore show that the impact of defections on democratic stability depends on institutional safeguards, party cohesion, and legal mechanisms to manage defections. In systems with robust anti-defection laws and internal party discipline, defections are less likely to destabilize governance than in contexts dominated by personal ambition (Mainwaring & Zoco, 2007; Ibrahim, 2019).

Political Defections and Governance in Nigeria

In Nigeria's democratic landscape, political defections profoundly influence governance and democratic consolidation. Empirical research consistently shows that defections are often driven by personal ambition, access to political resources, and strategic alignment with ruling coalitions rather than coherent ideological shifts (Azubike et al., 2020). For instance, studies in the *International Journal of Social Sciences and Management Research* reveal that political elites frequently switch parties to align with the party in power — a behavior linked more to material gain and political survival than ideological conviction (Okogbuo & Oko, 2021).

Ayedogbon and Falade (2018) examine legislative defections and demonstrate that poor party institutionalization and the lack of ideological foundations contribute to a political culture where defections impair democratization efforts and weaken legislative oversight. This pattern is echoed by Olatunji, Salahu, and Alabi (2017), who argue that the poverty of party ideology in Nigeria distorts electoral outcomes and undermines policy continuity.

Politicians' propensity to defect disrupts governance by eroding internal party cohesion. When elected officials defect mid-term, voters may feel betrayed, as their mandate was given under a specific party platform that no longer represents their chosen interests. Moreover, the ruling party's numerical advantage can be artificially inflated, weakening opposition and reducing competitive checks on executive power. The legal framework complicates governance further: legislators may face some constitutional

constraints, but executive officeholders often defect without losing their positions (Megbele et al., 2019).

Overall, these patterns suggest that defections in Nigeria contribute to governance instability by prioritizing personal interests over ideological commitments, weakening accountability, and undermining democratic quality (Ayedogbon & Falade, 2018; Olatunji et al., 2017).

Ideological Weakness and Party Politics

The absence of strong ideological foundations is a recurring theme in analyses of Nigerian party politics. Falade and Akande (2020) describe Nigerian parties as “parties without principles,” arguing that ideological ambiguity allows politicians to navigate the political system without accountability.

Ojo (2012) famously observed that “when parties look the same on paper, switching becomes simply strategic rather than substantive.” This insight captures the essence of Nigeria’s defection problem: ideological indistinctness lowers the psychological and political barriers to party switching.

Voter Trust and Political Cynicism

Service, deepening political cynicism.

Public perception studies reveal widespread distrust of political parties in Nigeria. Aina (2021) found that only 32% of Nigerian voters trust party manifestos, reflecting deep skepticism about parties’ commitments to policy promises. Uzochukwu (2019) further demonstrates that frequent defections exacerbate voter apathy and reduce party loyalty, particularly among young and first-time voters.

Gyimah-Boadi (2014) argues that declining trust in political parties is a major obstacle to democratic consolidation in Africa. In Nigeria, defections reinforce the perception that politics is driven by personal ambition rather than public.

Party Institutionalization and Internal Democracy

Omotola (2015) highlights the role of weak internal democracy in fueling defections. Party primaries are often characterized by manipulation, exclusion, and elite interference, prompting aggrieved politicians to defect in search of alternative platforms. Bello (2016) adds that the absence of ethical norms within parties normalizes opportunistic behavior and erodes party discipline.

Ideological Indistinctness Among Nigerian Political Parties

One of the most persistent challenges to democratic consolidation in Nigeria is the ideological ambiguity that characterizes the nation’s major political parties. Political ideology serves as a compass for both voters and political actors. It informs policy positions, guides legislative priorities, and provides a framework for accountability. In mature democracies, ideological clarity enables voters to

make informed choices and hold parties responsible for the fulfillment of their promises. However, in Nigeria, parties are frequently indistinguishable in terms of policy orientation and ideological identity.

Ojo (2012) observes that “when parties look the same on paper, switching becomes simply strategic rather than substantive.” This statement encapsulates the heart of Nigeria’s party politics. Over the past two decades, the major parties—the All Progressives Congress (APC), the People’s Democratic Party (PDP), and several smaller parties—have demonstrated minimal policy divergence. Campaigns are dominated by generic promises of development, anti-corruption rhetoric, and appeals to national unity, rather than distinct ideological visions. As a result, party membership often serves as a vehicle for access to resources, political office, or influence, rather than a commitment to specific policy frameworks.

The indistinct ideological positioning of parties not only facilitates political defections but also diminishes the normative role of political parties in society. Parties are intended to provide voters with structured options, enabling them to reward competent governance and punish underperformance. In Nigeria, however, this mechanism is undermined. The near interchangeability of parties creates a political environment where defection is low-cost for politicians and high-cost for voters, who lose the ability to meaningfully distinguish between parties.

Falade and Akande (2020) describe Nigerian parties as “parties without principles,” noting that ideological convergence erodes the legitimacy of the political system. The lack of programmatic differentiation reduces parties to instruments of elite bargaining, thereby weakening their democratic function. Eurosocial Public Policy Institute (2016) further argues that the absence of ideological clarity in developing democracies contributes to the cyclical instability of party systems, which manifests in recurrent defections and low public trust.

Voter Trust and Political Cynicism

The frequent incidence of political defections has significant implications for voter trust and political engagement. Political trust is essential for the functioning of democracy because it motivates citizen participation and sustains institutional legitimacy. Aina (2021) found that only 32% of Nigerian voters trust party manifestos, highlighting a profound deficit in public confidence. This mistrust is compounded by high-profile defections, which signal that political commitments are conditional and self-serving rather than principled.

Political cynicism in Nigeria is reinforced by the perception that parties and politicians prioritize personal interests over public service. Uzochukwu (2019) emphasizes that voters increasingly view politics as a game of power and access, rather than an arena for meaningful representation. This

perception discourages participation in electoral processes and weakens the moral authority of political institutions.

The relationship between defections and public cynicism is also evident in the behavior of young voters, who are more likely to express disillusionment with party politics. Surveys indicate that youth turnout is lower in regions where high-profile defections are frequent, suggesting that defections erode the perceived efficacy of voting. Gyimah-Boadi (2014) notes that political disengagement among youth undermines the long-term sustainability of democratic governance, as the next generation becomes detached from institutional politics.

Defections also undermine the principle of electoral accountability. In a well-functioning democracy, voters can punish or reward parties based on performance. However, when politicians switch parties with minimal ideological cost, lines of responsibility are blurred. Citizens are left uncertain about which party is accountable for policy outcomes, weakening the ability of elections to function as instruments of democratic control (Carothers, 2006). Consequently, defections exacerbate political cynicism by signaling that party labels are largely symbolic and that electoral promises may not be honored.

Weak Party Institutionalization

The prevalence of defections in Nigeria is closely linked to the weak institutionalization of political parties. Party institutionalization involves the degree to which parties are organizationally stable, socially rooted, and normatively valued. Strongly institutionalized parties enforce internal discipline, promote loyalty, and provide a framework for ideological consistency. Nigerian parties, by contrast, are often organized around influential individuals rather than enduring structures, and internal governance mechanisms are frequently subverted by elite interests (Omotola, 2015).

Organizational Fragility

The organizational fragility of Nigerian political parties manifests in several ways. First, party structures are often top-heavy, with decision-making concentrated in the hands of national executives or state-level leaders. Grassroots participation in candidate selection, policy formulation, and dispute resolution is limited. This concentration of power fosters alienation among rank-and-file members and creates incentives for defections when internal conflicts arise (Bello, 2016).

Second, the absence of strong institutional mechanisms to monitor and enforce party discipline allows defections to occur with minimal consequence. Anti-defection provisions exist in Nigerian law but are inconsistently enforced and frequently circumvented through political negotiation or court intervention. Mustapha and Adow (2018) highlight that legislators who defect are often rewarded with strategic appointments or access to resources, reinforcing the

perception that defections are a viable strategy for personal advancement.

Internal Democracy and Leadership Manipulation

Weak internal democracy exacerbates the problem. Party primaries in Nigeria are frequently marred by manipulation, vote-buying, and exclusion of dissenting voices. When politicians perceive that party structures are unfair or manipulated by elites, they are more likely to seek alternative platforms for electoral success (Omotola, 2015). This dynamic contributes to the perception that party loyalty is transactional rather than principled.

The combination of top-down control, weak disciplinary mechanisms, and elite manipulation not only facilitates defections but also undermines the broader legitimacy of political parties. Citizens are discouraged from engaging with parties as instruments of representation, and political competition becomes a contest among elites rather than a meaningful policy-oriented choice.

Consequences for Party Cohesion

The fragility of party institutions reduces cohesion within legislative bodies, complicates governance, and weakens opposition parties. Legislators who switch parties often bring followers with them, diluting the organizational capacity of the original party. This constant flux undermines strategic policy planning and creates an environment in which governance is reactive rather than proactive. Adebanwi (2013) notes that such dynamics reinforce elite dominance and limit the capacity of parties to serve as vehicles for societal representation.

Linking Ideology, Defections, and Democratic Stability

The interplay between ideological indistinctness, weak party institutionalization, and frequent defections has profound implications for Nigeria's democratic stability. When parties lack clear ideological identities, voters cannot effectively differentiate between them. Defections then become an attractive strategy for politicians seeking power or influence, as there is minimal cost to switching affiliations. This undermines accountability, erodes voter trust, and fosters political cynicism.

Furthermore, weak party structures exacerbate these challenges by failing to enforce discipline or resolve internal disputes transparently. The result is a cycle in which opportunistic behavior is rewarded, voter confidence declines, and democratic institutions are weakened. As Huntington (1968) observed, political stability is contingent on the development of strong institutions. In Nigeria, the weakness of party institutions and the prevalence of defections threaten this stability.

The consequences extend beyond electoral politics. Governance is compromised when legislative bodies are fragmented and opposition parties are weakened. Policy

continuity is disrupted, and decisions are increasingly driven by personal or elite interests rather than programmatic commitments. Citizens perceive politics as a transactional arena, further reinforcing disengagement and apathy.

Personal Interest Versus Ideology in Political Defections

One of the most contentious debates in Nigerian political studies is whether defections are motivated by ideological alignment or personal interest. Empirical evidence overwhelmingly suggests that personal gain—not ideological commitment—drives most defections. Kew and Ojo (2017) argue that Nigerian politicians operate in a political environment dominated by resource distribution, patronage networks, and access to power. Consequently, party affiliation becomes a flexible tool to maximize personal and political advantage rather than a reflection of policy beliefs or ideological fidelity.

Table-based studies and surveys in Nigeria consistently indicate that the majority of defections are opportunistic. For instance, Uzochukwu (2019) found that roughly 72% of voters perceive defections as motivated by personal interest, 18% by ideological alignment, and 10% by constituency pressure. This indicates that ideological congruence plays a minimal role in driving party-switching behavior.

From a theoretical perspective, this phenomenon aligns with rational choice theory. Cox and McCubbins (1993) assert that political actors make strategic decisions based on expected benefits. In Nigeria, the rewards of defection—such as appointment to governmental positions, access to party machinery, or improved electoral prospects—far outweigh potential costs. Because ideological differentiation is weak and party discipline is limited, the decision to switch parties is low-risk and highly rewarding.

Furthermore, personal ambition interacts with structural weaknesses in the political system. Weakly institutionalized parties provide little penalty for defection, and voters often lack mechanisms to hold politicians accountable. As a result, defection becomes an instrument of elite strategy, reinforcing the notion that Nigerian politics is driven more by personal calculus than collective policy objectives (Mustapha, 2020).

Democratic Implications of Political Defections

The dominance of personal interest over ideology in defections has significant implications for Nigeria's democratic stability:

1. Weakening Electoral Accountability

When politicians defect for personal gain, voters are unable to hold parties or candidates accountable for electoral promises. The inability to link policy performance to party loyalty undermines the credibility of elections as instruments of democratic control. Carothers (2006) emphasizes that accountability is a central pillar of

democratic consolidation, and frequent defections weaken this pillar by blurring lines of responsibility.

2. Erosion of Party Credibility

Frequent defections diminish public trust in political parties. Aina (2021) notes that low levels of trust in party manifestos—combined with high levels of defections—reinforce voter cynicism. Parties become perceived as transactional vehicles for personal advancement rather than principled organizations capable of articulating policy visions. This perception discourages political engagement, particularly among younger voters, who are more likely to disengage from a system seen as self-serving and unstable.

3. Policy Inconsistency

Defections disrupt legislative cohesion and policy continuity. When legislators switch parties mid-term, governing coalitions become unstable, and policy priorities are frequently renegotiated to accommodate new alliances. Abdulrauf and Oladimeji (2019) argue that this instability hampers long-term development planning, weakens public administration, and compromises governance outcomes.

4. Entrenchment of Elite Dominance

Defections often serve the interests of political elites who dominate party structures and control resource allocation. Adebani (2013) highlights that Nigerian politics is characterized by elite bargaining, where defections are used strategically to consolidate power. This dynamic marginalizes ordinary citizens and undermines participatory democracy, reinforcing inequality in political influence.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

Addressing the destabilizing effects of political defections requires multi-level interventions aimed at strengthening party ideology, internal discipline, and democratic accountability. The following policy recommendations are proposed:

1. Legal Reforms

a. Anti-defection legislation: Nigeria should implement and enforce stricter anti-defection laws with clear penalties for legislators who switch parties without justification. Such laws could draw lessons from India and South Africa, where defections are penalized to discourage opportunistic behavior. Enforcement mechanisms should be independent of political influence to prevent selective application.

b. Primary election reforms: Parties should adopt transparent and competitive primary election processes to reduce elite manipulation. Fair primaries decrease grievances that often motivate defections and enhance internal legitimacy.

2. Strengthening Internal Party Democracy

a. Transparent governance: Political parties must institutionalize transparent decision-making processes and enforce codes of conduct. Internal party democracy—including fair representation, rotation of leadership, and member participation in policy formulation—can mitigate the incentives for opportunistic defections.

b. Institutionalized discipline: Parties should develop mechanisms to monitor, sanction, and prevent defections strategically. This could include binding membership agreements, disciplinary committees, and internal arbitration systems to resolve conflicts without recourse to defection.

3. Civic and Voter Education

a. Ideology-focused civic education: Citizens should be educated about the importance of party ideology and programmatic policies in guiding governance. An informed electorate is more capable of penalizing opportunistic behavior and rewarding principled politics.

b. Strengthening voter engagement: Programs that encourage youth participation and community-level engagement can help rebuild trust in political parties and create societal pressure against opportunistic defections.

IV. CONCLUSION

Political defections in Nigeria represent a significant challenge to democratic consolidation. The analysis demonstrates that defections are largely driven by personal interest rather than ideological commitment. Ideological indistinctness among parties, weak institutionalization, and opportunistic incentives create an environment where party-switching is strategically advantageous for political actors but costly for democratic governance.

The consequences of defections are profound: they undermine electoral accountability, erode voter trust, disrupt policy continuity, and entrench elite dominance. Without intervention, these patterns threaten the stability and legitimacy of Nigeria's democratic institutions.

To strengthen democracy, Nigerian parties must pursue ideological clarity, enforce internal discipline, and promote participatory governance. Legal reforms, transparent primaries, anti-defection measures, and civic education are critical tools for transforming party politics from a system of personal opportunism into a framework for principled governance. By addressing the structural and normative drivers of defections, Nigeria can build a more stable, accountable, and resilient democracy.

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