



The impact of intra party conflict on candidates' defection in southwestern Nigeria electoral outcome

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Abstract

Democracy revolves around participation on the part of the electorates and accountability on the part of the leaders. This synchronization of both electorates and party leaders/members is what separates political parties from all other organizations such as pressure groups, trade unions, professional associations etc. However, intra-party conflict appears to prevent orderliness in any democratic setting, by serving as obstacles to proper and objective nomination of candidates for party primaries. This study investigated the impact of intra party conflict on candidates' defection in Southwestern Nigerian electoral outcome. The study is anchored on frustration – aggression theory, to explain how intra party conflict could propelled defections and influence electoral outcome. Using content analysis of secondary data obtained from various available literature and documentary evidences, and descriptive analysis of primary data obtained through the administration of questionnaire on purposively selected respondents, this study critically explored the linkage between intra party conflict and electoral outcomes in Nigeria. This study has established that intra party conflicts have effects on candidates' defection. The mean and standard deviation response indicated that respondents think less of candidates' selection as a motivation for defection among politicians. It was also discovered that intra party conflict, ideology, candidates' selection and personal ambition has significant relationship with the electoral outcomes in Southwestern Nigeria. The results of the findings have shown that politicians in Nigeria run the parties as if they were running their private businesses due to internal democracy, imposition of candidates, intra party conflict among others which could pose danger to the sustainability and consolidation of democracy in Southwestern Nigeria in particular and Nigeria at large. As conflict is inevitable in human organisation and within a political party and people pursue different interests instead of common interest, therefore, political party should try to aggregate the varying interests of its members and articulate a unified front for achieving its objectives. This would limit the destructive effect of intra party conflict in the polity.

Keywords: Conflict, Defection, Democracy, Electoral Outcome, Intra Party

Introduction

Politicians have been defecting from one political party to another, especially from opposition parties to the ruling party, throughout the course of the previous 20 years or more in Nigeria. The terms "party cross-carpeting," "party switching," "floor-crossing," "party hooping," "canoe-

jumping," "party-jumping," "decamping," and so on are used to allude to this phenomenon, which is synonymous with defection (Aniche, 2017).

The political elites, who have always made sure to strike a balance in resolving their



conflicting interests, whether by forming coalitions or working together to embrace the spirit of give and take in sharing or allocating political positions, are more often the source of defection than any other group (Edet, 2017). In Nigeria's emerging democracy, defection has become an enduring characteristic. It happens when any elected party representative in a legislative body, like the parliament, adopts a viewpoint on politics or policies that differs from the party or parties they represent (Mustapha, 2018). The Nigerian democracy has experienced a number of political defections during the last 20 years, with MPs leaving one political party or policy representative that is incompatible with that of the party/parties he or she represents

Fundamentally, the dissatisfaction with their previous party, from which they desert without betraying any ideological principles, as we are currently witnessing in Nigeria's current political journey. Political parties require its members to express their varied or common interests due to the various activities they engage in, which can occasionally result in intra- or inter-party disputes. Scholars have linked the causes to power struggles, personality conflicts, crises or divisions within a party, differing opinions on how a political party should operate, achieving one's own political goals, disagreements over the party's stance on issues, and party leaders breaking their word on issues that the party has agreed upon, most likely in accordance with the power sharing formula (Momodu & Matudi, 2013)).

Within most political parties, factionalism is a reality and there are factions. Factionalization, in fact, provides one of the motivations for the political elites to renounce in order to uphold their self-serving goals or interests (Edet, 2017).

One of the main factors that contribute to a politician defecting from one political party to another is their noncompliance with electoral laws regarding nomination,

selection, and election of candidates, party executive, and flag bearers. This is because primary election results are determined solely by the financial might and strength of the candidate, not by their qualifications or moral character. People have formed their own political parties and switched from one to the other as a result of political turmoil brought about by this type of political calculation and permutation.

Without considering the thoughts, desires, or ambitions of other party members, these political leaders primarily manage the party's internal affairs on a personal basis. Major political parties in Nigeria are currently experiencing a crisis due to a lack of internal democracy and the imposition of candidates by political godfathers on party members. As a result, it will be challenging for parties to produce candidates who will be accepted by other party members, which will ultimately lead to conflict, factions, clashes, and defection. Political godfathers are constantly opposed to internal party democracy, which breeds conflict, internal party crises, and the frequent exodus of resentful politicians to other political parties where their goals and interests are more likely to be met and safeguarded.

In addition, internal disputes, divisions, and crises within Nigerian political parties may have contributed to the governing elites' preference for their own personal ambitions over the interests of the country. Party crises are frequently ascribed to the authoritarian inclinations of party executives or leaders because of the political elites' personal interests. By victimizing, intimidating, and taking advantage of other members of their respective political parties, Nigeria's ruling elites have adopted traits and personalities from their colonial overlords. As a result, they have been unable to uphold any kind of social compact with the Nigerian people through efficient governance. The mindset and belief that politics is the most profitable industry in the nation may be the cause of intra- and inter-party conflict. This belief appears to exacerbate the growing culture



of impunity and flagrant disdain for the rule of law displayed by the Nigerian political elite. The political elites' avarice for power is said to be the primary source of many disputes. Thus, the purpose of this study is to ascertain how intraparty conflict affects candidates' defection in the electoral process in Southwest Nigeria. This work is divided into five pieces. The first portion presents the study; the second and third sections deal with the methodology and literature review, respectively. Conclusion, recommendations, and findings occupy the fourth and fifty sections, respectively.

While Several studies have examined the impact of defection on democratic engagement. (Awofeso and Irabor, 2017) democratic consolidation (Aleyomi 2013; Adetayo 2015) voting patterns (Fabiya 2014) and political instability (Badejo et.al, 2015) in Nigeria, little is known on the impact of intra party conflict on candidates' defection in Southwestern Nigeria electoral outcomes, hence the study.

Research Question

- i. What has been the impact of intra party conflict on candidates' defection in Southwestern Nigerian electoral outcome?

Research Objective

The main objective of the study is to investigate the relationship between candidates' defection and electoral outcome in Southwestern Nigeria. Specifically, the study is to:

- i. assess the impact of intra party conflict on candidates' defection in Southwestern Nigerian electoral outcome.

Review of Literature

To put the current study in a new light, pertinent concepts that match the study's particular variables and earlier empirical research are discussed in this section. An evaluation is conducted on the effect of

intraparty strife on the defection of candidates in the electoral outcomes in Southwest Nigeria. Studies that demonstrate conclusions that align with the goal of the current study in Southwest Nigeria are included in this section. As a result, this section examined the literature in relation to the research issue posed in order to pilot the study based on the following subtopics:

Intra Party Crisis as a Factor of Candidates' Defection.

In order for democracy to function, voters must participate and leaders must be held accountable. Fundamentally, there are a few basic platforms that will improve how democracy actually functions in a state where political party dominance is highest. According to Nnoli (2003), a political party is a collection of individuals who have similar ideas on the structure and purposes of state authority. In three stages, he underlined the importance of this definition further: Lastly, political parties differ from other political groups in that they not only tend to influence government policy but also engage in or strive to engage in the following three areas: 1) party activities connect to the interests of the people; 2) political parties are organized and different from other organizations; and 3) seek to undertake the responsibility for formulating and implementing government policy. This is what separates political parties from all other organizations such as pressure groups, trade unions, professional associations and so on.

On the other hand, intra-party strife seems to impede order in any democratic environment by impeding the appropriate and impartial nomination of candidates for party primaries. Scarrow (2000) argues that robust, resilient, and strong political parties are essential to democracy. These parties should be able to represent the people and offer choices for policies that show they can rule for the people's best interests. Democratic political parties face constant



challenges as a result of the growing rift between the public and their elected officials, the fall in political activity, and the spread of anti-democratic forces.

Poor party politics, for instance, have undoubtedly hampered Nigeria's democratic process due to a variety of factors, including the politicization of the military's higher echelons, party indiscipline, excessive westernization of the concept of "democracy," ethnicization of party politics, and, most concerning of all, a lack of internal party democracy (Ntalaja 2000).

Therefore, it is also possible to argue that Nigerians' desperate desire for political power stems from their perception of politics as a means of gaining financial gain; controlling governmental resources, which are frequently diverted for personal gain, is one way to get riches and power (Edoh, 2002).

This probably implies that the acquisition of political power is not an end in itself, but only a means to an end and the ultimate end of course is economic power and the primitive accumulation of public wealth for personal use by the political elites.

The word intra-party conflict is concept used to embrace all the tussles and wrangling within a political party that are inimical to normal nomination and/or election of party flag bearers, as against inter-party politics which is political activity among different political parties. For instance, the democratic process in Nigeria has undoubtedly been hampered by poor party politics due to a number of factors, including the politicization of the military's higher echelons, poor political leadership, excessive westernization of the concept of "democracy," party indiscipline, lack of clear-cut party ideologies, and, most concerning of all, a lack of internal party democracy (Ntalaja 2000). Moreover, it is plausible to suggest that the desperate pursuit of political dominance in Nigeria stems from the perception of political office as a means of generating income. The only surefire way to gain power is to seize control of public

resources, which are frequently misappropriated for private gain (Edoh, 2002)

The contextual diseases of Nigerian (party) politics add to the foregoing. These include: (i) The nature of politics in which the pursuit of state power is viewed as a "do or die" situation; in this setting, politics inadvertently turns into a savage form of warfare.

(ii) The internal characteristics of political parties, such as their lack of ideological orientation, organizational and operational flaws, and weak sense of discipline and loyalty.

(iii) The power of personality class, money politics, and cabalism, which breeds ideas like God fatherism and cabalism.

(iv) The incumbency factor, which causes gang-up and intra-party strife since the goals of the current political executives (party leaders) conflict with those of some party elements.

Maintaining her focus on identifying the driving cause behind Nigeria's intra-party strife, Mbah made the following submission:

In a related development, Shale and Matlosa (2008) list the following as the reasons for intra-party conflict: 1. Favoritism, or the promotion of one's family; 2. Unequal resource distribution, where the leader's constituency receives the majority of the resources; 3. A lack of regular meetings; and 4. Centralized authority, or the concentration of power at the top.

An examination of various intra-party conflicts in Nigeria will be highlighted by the intra-party conflicts during the start of the fourth republic.

To begin with, the Party had more than three National Chairmen during the first term of the PDP president, which lasted barely four years, 1999–2003: Chief Solomon Lar, the pioneer chairman, Chief Bernabas Gemade, and Chief Audu Ogbe. States and local governments also engaged in domestic politics to some extent. This situation likewise occurred with the other



two major parties, the AD and the APP. The rate of internal crises increased during the second term, which ran from 2003 to 2007, because political chief executives controlled the faith of all the parties based on the level of government in the federal structure at which each party held political authority or influence. For the PDP, this included all levels of government, including local, state and federal.

The six South West states that made up the AD were Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Osun, Ondo, and Ekiti. This arrangement only lasted for the AD's one term in office, from 1999 to 2003. This was because, starting in May 2003, the President, who is also of South West extraction, tricked all of the AD's governors into a deceptive agreement that turned out to be a monumental political ploy. As a result, the AD nearly vanished from the political landscape of the nation, leaving only Lagos, where the then-Governor, Bola Ahmed Tinubu, had played shrewdly and never ceded his political constituency to President Obasanjo's political trap (Onyishi, 2012).

Party members who loved party flirtation and were looking for better political opportunities elsewhere had an easy time finding a justification to leave the party due to the leadership difficulties that had arisen in so many chapters of nearly every political organization. But "defection," "canoe-jumping," "party switching," "decamping," and other such practices quickly overtook Nigeria's political system. These incidents concerned the PDP, APP, and AD, the three political parties. Politicians have never shied away from joining or leaving political parties based on their assessments of the potential for political gain; the first Senate President of this administration, Senator Evans Enwerem, was initially the All-People's Party (APP) candidate for governor of Imo State. He decamped to the PDP prior to the general election after the Party leadership offered him a senate seat, but he lost his quest to fly the party's flag in the ensuing general election. In addition to winning the Senate election, Chief Obasanjo's

administration and the PDP's national leadership supported him for the Senate Presidency. (Mbah, 2011:) In 1999, Alhaji Alhassan Sbaibu of Plateau State defected from the All-People's Party (APP) over a petty disagreement and joined the PDP. The President granted him membership in the Northern Nigeria Development Company (NNDC) as payment. Not a small number of significant APP and AD members in Cross River State defected to the PDP. Vice President Alhaji Atiku Abubakar's defection during the Obasanjo government was a significant event. Having actively participated in the Peoples' Democratic Movement (PDM) led by the late Musa Yar'Adua, he was one of the PDP's founding fathers. After an open disagreement with his boss, President Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, he defected to the Action Congress, which later changed its name to the Alliance for Democracy (AD). He ran for president of the Action Congress in the 2007 general elections and lost; he later returned to the PDP prior to the 2011 general election (Mbah, 2011).

.Furthermore, as if it was not enough for him, he laughably defected again from the PDP; became a leading force in the formation of the New PDP and subsequently joined the emergent political party now known as the All-Progressives Congress (APC) and contested the primaries of the party in 2015 against the incumbent president, Muhammadu Buhari and having lost the primary election went back to the PDP to contest the 2019 presidential election. Intra-party conflict, resulted in a spate of defections also involving governors of different party affiliations: the then Governor of Bauchi State up till 29th May 2015, Alhaji Isa Yuguda was a PDP member, failed to pick the party gubernatorial ticket in 2007, decamped to the then All Nigerian People's Party (ANPP), won the election under latter's platform and subsequently defected back to his original party, the PDP. The former Governor of Imo State was originally a member of PDP, decamped to Progressive People's Alliance (PPA), won



election under its platform and almost immediately returned to PDP; former Governor Theodore Orji of Abia State followed the same pattern by changing party identity from PPA to PDP. The then Governor of Ondo State, Dr. Olusegun Mimiko won his governorship election on the platform of the Labour Party (LP) but later decamped to the PDP. In the North, Aliyu Shinkafi of Zamfara State (ANPP) and SaminuTuraki of Jigawa State (ANPP) defected to the PDP (Mbah, 2011).

The Nigeria National Assembly is by no means spared of this spate of defections and, as a result of intra-party conflicts, as no fewer than thirteen Senators and thirty-five members of the House of Representatives had switched party between 1999 and 2013. At the Mini-Convention that the PDP conducted in 2013, seven state governors – Kano, Kwara, Rivers, Sokoto, Adamawa, Niger and Jigawa– with their teaming supporters walked out of the venue, the Eagle Square in Abuja moved to the Yar'Adua's Centre where they addressed a press conference and announced their intention to form a new party to be known and called the new PDP. After initial running battle with the parent body, and the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), the n-PDP decided to strike a deal for a merger with the now mega party – the All-Progressives Congress (APC). The party eventually won the presidential election in March 2015 and a reasonable majority of state governorship seats. Ever since its inauguration at the centre, the pattern of defection has reversed in its favour. Early August, 2015 a former state chairman of the PDP and leading members of the party in Bayelsa state decamped to the APC at the state party rally that was massively attended by both national, regional and state officials of APC plus their teaming supporters and followers. The decamped members gave various reasons for their action (Onyishi, 2012). Before the 2019 general election, the incumbent Senate President Bukola Saraki, the incumbent Governor of Sokoto State, Aminu Waziri Tambual, the speaker

of the House of Representatives Yakubu Dogara and host of others left the ruling APC for PDP.

Awofeso and Irabor (2016) investigated party cross-carpeting in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: Cases and Causes, adopted historical and desktop analysis method and discovered that cross-carpeting was patterned towards ethnic/religion inclination, intra-party feud and selfish interest of the political class. Coupled with these anti-democratic tendencies, the study also found that indiscipline in political parties and lack of ideology was the major factors that determined cross-carpeting in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. It however concludes that party discipline and ideology must be strictly adhered to by political parties to check the menace of incessant cross-carpeting among political office holders. The essence of this study adequately provides an insight into measures that can be used to control the tendencies of defection in Nigeria.

Party primaries, candidate selection, and intra-party conflict in Nigeria were evaluated by Adekeye and Ambali (2017). According to PDP in Perspective, there is a relationship between internal party conflicts, the selection of candidates, and party primaries in the People's Democratic Party. Almost all political parties in Nigeria are perpetually embroiled in internal party conflicts because of a lack of internal democracy, the imposition of party candidates by influential party leadership, the replacement of primary election winners with unsuccessful candidates, and the disruption of internal rules and regulations, which has led to defection of members to other parties and factionalization within the party. The study was carried out using only secondary sources of data and the findings from the qualitative analysis signifies that while institutional structures have been enacted to avert conflict within the party, non-adherence to the dictates of such structures have birthed a wide range of internal conflicts within the party, thus



resulting to cases of defection, factionalization, proliferation of political parties, unconstitutional change of party leaders and most importantly, the defeat of PDP in 2015 general elections. In a similar vein, Nnamani (2018), who conducts research on Primary Elections and Intra-Party Conflict: The Cause of Multiplicity of Political organizations in Nigeria, observed that a great deal of internal conflict, crisis, and squabbles has plagued numerous political organizations in Nigeria.

The study employed a combination of primary and secondary data gathering methods, including questionnaires, interviews, and observation. The results were analyzed using simple percentages. The study's conclusions showed that the party leadership, as well as the imposition of party candidates and the replacement of successful primary election candidates with unsuccessful ones, had infiltrated the internal structure of the parties and fostered rivalries, hatred, and oppression. The results of this study also showed that indiscriminate disruption and disdain for internal policies lead to members of one political party defecting to another, the party becoming divided, or the disgruntled members founding a new party.

The aforementioned opinions are pertinent to this research since they provide light on the reasons behind desertion in Nigeria. It demonstrates how politicians may switch parties if internal democracy is lacking.

Theoretical Framework - Frustration-Aggression Theory

The study embraced the Frustration-Aggression theory because, on the one hand, people who experience the brunt of the privilege few's actions—who also happen to control party affairs—may become frustrated with the system and become aggressive, and because, on the other hand, the issues associated with the multi-party system throughout the nation's history are thought to be systemic, which explains why people switch political parties.

Sigmund Freud (1939) and Hollard, Doob, Miller, et al. (1939) popularized the frustration-aggression theory, which is the most widely accepted explanation for defection. According to the hypothesis, anger is a necessary condition for aggressive behavior to arise. This theory offers contextual analysis and connections while reflecting some of the fundamental problems with intraparty conflicts in Nigeria's democratic governance. According to the frustration-aggression theory, someone becomes angry when they feel comparatively deprived due to the discrepancy between their desires and their actual circumstances.

Thus, frustration leads to aggressiveness (Amenta, 2005). When a person's wants are unmet, they get aggressive. When a fundamental desire is denied, they become irate and turn their animosity toward the people they believe are preventing them from fulfilling their desires. Aggression-Frustration (FA) According to theory, violent behavior can occasionally result in further aggressive behavior. According to Dellard et al. (1939), the theory therefore seeks to rationalize the causes of aggressive behavior among individuals or groups of persons in the society of men. Truism states that aggressive behavior is predicated on the presence of frustration, and that frustration itself breeds aggression. According to Dennen (2005) frustration is used not only to refer to the processes of blocking one's goal attainment but to also refer to the reactions that follow the blocking of one's expected goal.

From this vantage point, it is clear that obstructing one's intended aim can cause dissatisfaction, which can also provoke aggressive behavior toward the source of the obstruction. Therefore, it is crucial to recognize that violence appears in a variety of contexts within our culture. Aggression can be shown, for example, in conditions of war, bullying in schools, violations of one's fundamental rights, domestic violence, involvement in sociopolitical activities, etc. Members of the Nigerian multi-party



system, for instance, may become disenfranchised for a variety of reasons depending on their actions or inactions. As a result, there are numerous issues that could develop into conflict scenarios, as seen in Nigeria, where lawsuits and defections are

Furthermore, the degree to which someone's expectations are thwarted or prevented by another determines how disappointed they are.

Moreover, it has been hypothesized that one of the main reasons some ardent party members switch from their original political parties to the ruling party is the fear of being persecuted or prosecuted by the ruling administration.

For example, there were rumors that Senator Akpabio, who served as a commissioner for eight years under a PDP government in his state, went on to become governor of his state for an additional eight years on the same political platform, and then joined the PDP as a senator and minority leader in the Senate, may have joined the APC in 2018 in order to avoid being charged with a crime by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). However, his associates denied these rumors. Sen. Akpabio only "moved to join APC out of frustration of being expelled by the PDP through a letter dated August 2, 2018," according to a judge of the Federal High Court in Abuja, in a somewhat bizarre ruling. The judge also pointed out that, in accordance with section 40 of the 1999 Constitution, Akpabio was free to join any other political party in an effort to avoid being expelled, and that this did not constitute defection. In 2018, Danjibo and Ashindorbe

This theory's strength, then, comes from the premise that anger leads to violence and that people act in certain ways because someone else—a person, a group of people, an institution, an organization, etc.—is obstructing their path toward their intended objective. Tension and a variety of crises both inside and between political parties

and other organizations characterize the political environment in Nigeria.

The majority of the time, disagreements over who gets what, when, and how, together with the strategies and tactics used to accomplish these goals, lead to friction and hostility. Atiku Abubakar and his supporters defected from the PDP to the AC during the most significant intra-party dispute between former President Olusegun Obasanjo and his vice, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, at the start of Nigeria's Fourth Republic in 1999. These political defections were blamed on a variety of factors, including internal party strife, a lack of internal democracy, disregard for the party platform, and automatic nomination without adhering to the platform (Dike, 2003).

Methodology

This study uses a combination of key informant interviews and a qualitative and quantitative survey research style. This is required since it is not possible to measure the primary indicators of candidate defection and their effects on election results in South-Western Nigeria with the same instrument. Data from respondents were gathered using survey methods and a questionnaire used as a research tool. A questionnaire was used to gather information on the influence of intraparty dispute on candidates' defection in the Southwestern Nigerian election outcome as well as other significant variables. The Key Informant Interview Question Guide is used in the study in an identical manner. This was done in order to get the essential qualitative information about the topic matter from Key Informant Interviewees. The following are the major actors that were interviewed in this study:

1. Pressmen and women.
2. Some candidates that have defected from one political party to another in the two dominant political parties of APC and PDP.
3. State party Chairmen/Secretaries/Publicity



Sectaries of All Progressive Congress (APC) and Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP)

In order to contact the respondents and collect data, the study was conducted in Southwest Nigeria. Politicians and party members from South Western Nigeria's two main political parties, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the All-Progressive Congress (APC), make up the study's population. Two states have been chosen based on the strength of APC and PDP membership in order to provide adequate representation. One state represents the state with the highest number

of registered members for the two major political parties, while the other state represents the state with the lowest number of registered members.

The rationale for choosing the states with the highest and lowest number of registered members is that it is assumed that membership strength indicates level of political consciousness in these states. The Taro Yamane mathematical formula was used to calculate the sample size from the study population of 1, 086,745 of party members of the two dominant political parties of APC and PDP in South-Western Nigeria.

The Taro Yamane Formula $n = \frac{N}{1 + N \times (e)^2}$

$n = \frac{1, 086,745}{1 + 1,466,569 \times 0.05 (0.05)}$

$n = 1, 086,745 \times 0.0025$

$n = \frac{1, 086,745}{2716 .8625}$

$n = 399.99 \approx 400$

As a result, for the purpose of administering the questionnaire, 400 respondents were chosen at random from members of the two major political parties in the Nigerian states of Oyo and Ogun, the PDP and the APC. Oral interviews must be used as a primary data gathering source in addition to the previously mentioned survey in order to conduct in-depth research. Thus, thirty (30) Key Informant Interviewees were conducted among the following stakeholders: members of the press, women members of the press, some candidates who have switched parties within the two major political parties, the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) and the All-Progressive

Congress (APC), as well as state party chairs, secretaries, and publicity secretaries. Both descriptive and inferential statistics were used to analyze the data with the aid of SPSS.

Findings

Analysis of Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

The respondents' demographic characteristics e.g. gender, political affiliation, state of political affiliation was presented in both tables and figure.

Table 1 Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

VARIABLE	Frequency	Percentage (%)
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Gender	Male	185	48.3
	Female	198	51.7
Party	APC	232	60.6
	PDP	151	39.4
Age of Respondents	18-25years	38	9.9
	26-35years	87	22.7
	36-45years	175	45.7
	46-60years	67	17.5
	61years and above	16	4.2
Educational Qualification	SSCE	108	28.2
	NCE/ND	134	35.0
	B.Sc./HND	127	33.2
	M.Sc.	14	3.7
Job Status	Lecturer	17	4.4
	Politician	155	40.5
	Trader	181	47.3
	Election Observer	12	3.1
	Others	18	4.7
State	Lagos	11	2.9
	Oyo	94	24.5
	Osun	13	3.4
	Ogun	254	66.3
	Ekiti	6	1.6
	Others	5	1.3

Table 1 displays the background information of the respondents. Of the total respondents, 185 (48.3%) respondents were male, 185 (51.7%) respondents were female. In terms of party affiliation, 232 (60.6%) were member of All Progressive Congress (APC) and 151 (39.4%) were of the People’s Democratic Party (PDP) political party. In terms of educational

qualification, 134 (35%) had NCE/ND; 127 (33.2%) respondents had B.Sc./HND, 108 (28.2%) and only 14 (3.7%) respondents hold master’s certificate. Most of the respondents are either Trader (47.3%) or politician (40.5%); others are lecturers, 17 (4.4%); lecturer, 17 (4.4%); election observers, 12 (3.1%); and others, 18(4.7%).

Statistics on Defection and Election Participation

Table 2: Respondents Analysis Based on Participation in Election and Outcome

	VARIABLE	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Q1: Did you participate or contest in the last election?	Yes	104	27
	No	279	73
Q2: How long have been in this party prior to election?	Months to 2 years defected prior to electoral contest)	44	40.4



	Above 2 years (Did not defect prior to major electoral contest)	60	59.6
Q3: Defection from parties	APC=> PDP	12	27.3
	PDP=> APC	24	54.5
	APC=> Others	4	9.1
	PDP=> Others	4	9.1
Q4: Did you win the electoral contest?	Yes	82	66.7
	No	22	33.3

Table 2 presents the statistics on party politics and electoral outcome. In the study, it was obtained 104 (27%) of the respondents participated in an election while others, 279 (73%) respondents did not partake in any electioneering. Of those that participated in the election, 44 (40.4%) had defected from another party while 60 (59.6%) had been in their parties prior to the election period. Finally, 82 (66.7%) of those who contested for one position or the

other won their contest, while 22 (33.3%) respondents lost their contests.

Research Question: What has been the impact of intra-party conflict on candidates' defection in Southwestern Nigerian electoral outcome? Seven items were designed to explore how intra-party conflict on candidates' defection in Southwestern Nigerian electoral outcome. The statistics obtained are as follow:

Table 3: Descriptive Analysis of Intra Party Conflict and Motivation Factor for Defection

Items/ Questions (N = 383)	SA (%)	A (%)	D (%)	SD (%)	\bar{x}	Std. Dev
Intra Party crisis serve as a challenge to the growth and sustainability of Nigeria's democracy	204 53.3	148 38.6	27 7.0	4 1.0	3.44	.67
Leadership recruitment leads to defection	204 53.3	121 31.6	49 12.8	9 2.3	3.36	.79
A clash of personal values leads to defection	139 36.3	164 42.8	69 18.0	11 2.9	3.13	.80
Threat to one's status serves as motivating factor for defection	160 41.8	148 38.6	68 17.8	7 1.8	3.20	.79
Communication problem among members of the party leads to defection	115 30.0	171 44.6	87 22.7	10 2.6	3.02	.80
High level of party indiscipline and intolerance motivates defection	142 37.1	171 44.6	57 14.9	13 3.4	3.15	.80
Selfish and parochial interest serves as motivating factor for defection	214 55.9	119 31.1	40 10.4	10 2.6	3.40	.78
Weighted average mean	3.24					

Table 3 presented the responses on analysis of intra party conflict and motivation factor

for defection. The defining items are as follow: "intra party crisis serve as a



challenge to the growth and sustainability of Nigeria's democracy" which has a mean score of 3.44 ranks highest and is followed by "selfish and parochial interest serves as motivating factor for defection" which has a mean score of 3.40; "leadership recruitment leads to defection" which has also a mean score of 3.36; "threat to one's status serves as motivating factor for defection" generated a mean score of 3.20; "high level of party indiscipline and intolerance motivates defection" with a mean score of 3.15 ranks next, and followed by "a clash of personal values leads to defection" which has a mean score of 3.26. The weighted average mean was obtained as 3.24 indicating agreement of respondents on strong motivational impact of intra party conflict on defection. In sum, intra-party conflict has effect on candidates' defection in Southwestern Nigerian electoral outcome.

Interview Report of Intra-party Conflict as Motivation for Candidate Defection

Defection is a common attribute of political system in Nigeria. It is defined in terms of rescinded allegiance to a party. Party members defect at will, and the common perception among non-politicians and politicians alike is that the act provides little to the credibility of electoral system and leadership as a whole. Despite the negative perception that trails defection, it has been normalized as part of political culture. However, there are scores of reasons are advanced for defection among politicians itself. These reasons were subject to critical analysis among stakeholders. In response to the question on the reason for defection, one of the interviewees explained:

"Mostly, if there is an unsettled crisis within the party, such issue...may affect the party during the election. So, some of the candidates may decide that since they don't want to be part of failure, they would like to deflect to a party that has any chances. Those are the major reasons why some candidate

decided to deflect" (Interview 1, male, 60 years, Chairman).

Intra-party conflict is a common reason advanced for defection among politicians. Their inability to reach consensus on number of things, mostly relating to issue of flag bearing in general election. A respondents maintain a position as thus:

"If candidate contests for an elective post, and that post is not given to him, he may decide to go for other way in another party...defecting from one party to other to contest for an elective post" (Interview 2, Male, 52 years, Chairman)

"What I think is that, people like to join the ruling party because it even happened here in Ogun State where the person left our party in majority with other people to another political party that won the election and that is their own problem" (Interview 6, Male, 42 years, Chairman)

In Nigeria, it seems that the willpower to lead or govern is very strong among politicians and this make consensus relatively hard to come by. When politicians cannot achieve the goal of representing their political parties in the major election, the quickly think the next line of course is to move to a party where this goal can be actualised. This act is called cross-carpeting. Cross-carpeting among politicians is explained as thus:

Yes, formerly, I was a member of AD which later transformed to AC and later transformed to ACN and later transformed to APC, after that, I crossed back to PDP where I contested for election and won the election

successfully. Later on, because of change of government at the state level then, I also crossed back to APC but now I am a strong member of PDP” Interview 7, Male, 45years, Secretary)

“... the meaning of the defection, to me? The first thing I can say, is the cross-carpeting from one particular party to another or changing of political parties. Let's say, for example, I was once a card carrying of APC. But today, I have dropped APC for another party, PDP... so, that is a defection. But to me, the question is, when someone is not satisfied with the

activities, or what is going on in his former party, he now dropped that party for another party. So, that is a defection for me. Now, rational behind for dropping my former political party over, everybody dropping his former political party” (Interview 2, Male, 52 years, Chairman)

It can be inferred that majority see conflict within the party as a major causative factor of defection in Nigeria. Conflict itself results of certain conditions such as personal beefing, resources, candidates’ selection. Importantly, candidate selection is widely acknowledged as a major precursor of intra-group or party conflict.

The statistic generated from the responses of the fourteen (14) participants on conflict as a motivational factor for defection is presented as follow:

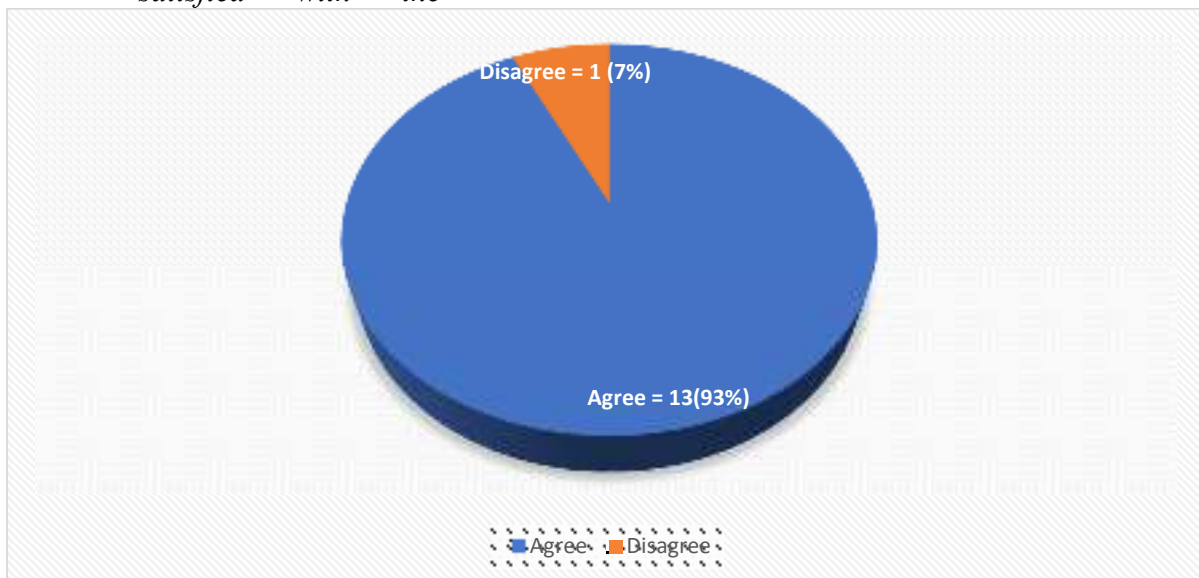


Figure 1: Pie chart depiction of respondents’ view of internal conflict as a factor of defection

As presented in figure 1, 13 (93%) of 14 interviewees agree to the fact that internal conflict within the party is a strong factor for defection among politicians in Nigeria.

Discussion of Findings

The result of research question two revealed that intra-party conflict has effect on candidates’ defection in Southwestern Nigerian electoral outcome. This result corroborated that of Piero (2020) who revealed that intra-party crises such as candidate selection, personal ambition of



governing elites, lack of internal democracy etc motivates defection among politicians.

Also, the result of this study supported that of Eme and Anyadike (2011) who argues that the various crises plaguing the major parties and emerging ones and various intra and inter-party crises of the defections in the National Assembly, defection of governors among other others are vivid instances of lack of party discipline among party men which resulted to factionalisation within the parties and this has resulted to defections, political abduction, harassment, arson, assassinations, withdrawal of credible and qualified professional from the race. The study was carried out using only secondary sources of data and found that intra-party conflicts occasioned by lack of internal democracy among political parties in Nigeria are the causes of defection, it however concludes that the issue of defection has been one of the major banes of democratic process in Nigeria.

Furthermore, the result of this study also supported that of Adekeye and Ambali (2017) who noted that Party Primaries, Candidate Selection and Intra-Party Conflict in Nigeria: PDP in Perspective noted that there is interplay between intra-party conflicts, candidates' selection and party primaries in People's Democratic Party and that virtually all the political parties in Nigeria have been perpetually enmeshed in conflicts owing to lack of internal democracy and imposition of party candidates by powerful party leadership, substitution of candidates who have won the primary election with other who did not and disrupting internal rules and regulations, which have resulted to defection of members to other parties and factionalization within the party. The study was carried out using only secondary sources of data and the findings from the qualitative analysis signifies that while institutional structures have been enacted to avert conflict within the party, non-adherence to the dictates of such structures have birthed a wide range of internal conflicts within the party, thus resulting to cases of defection, factionalization,

proliferation of political parties, unconstitutional change of party leaders and most importantly, the defeat of PDP in 2015 general elections.

Moreover, the result of this study also supported that of Momodu, Jude and Matudi (2013) in their study "the implications of Intra-Party Conflicts on Nigeria's Democracy made use of research survey. A sample of 100 subjects were used and questionnaire was used for data collection and data obtained through an open-ended questionnaire was analyzed using simple percentage. The study concludes that the causes of intra-party conflicts include: godfatherism, lack of internal democracy, imposition of candidates, non-inclusive decision making, injustice and oppression within the party, power or leadership tussle between or among members of a political party among others. On the whole these factors have profound negative implications on the stability of political parties, democratisation process. The study also found out the implications of intra-party conflicts on Nigeria's democratisation to include; decamping of aggrieved members to other political parties, distrust among members of political parties, animosity and factionalisation of party members, indiscipline among party members, credibility problem and bad image for political parties, opportunity for opposition political parties to criticize and factionalize the party in conflict among others

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation

This study has established that intra party conflicts has effects on candidates' defection. The mean and standard deviation response indicated that respondents think less of candidates' selection as a motivation for defection among politicians. It was also discovered that intra party conflict, ideology, candidates' selection and personal ambition has significant relationship with the electoral outcomes in Southwestern Nigeria. the results of the



findings of this study have shown that politicians in Nigeria run the parties as if they were running their private businesses due to like of internal democracy, imposition of candidates, intra party conflict among others. Therefore, this could pose danger to the sustainability and consolidation of democracy in Southwestern Nigeria in particular and Nigeria at large.

One of the reasons why intra party conflict continues to thrive is due to the fact that party members are not punished and allowed to go scout free. If punitive measures are properly entrenched, it will reduce the rate at which party members engage in squabbles with one another. Therefore, there should be a need for a systemic overhaul of Nigerian constitution and electoral laws. This may be done through strengthening the laws that have to do with party finances, candidates' selection and other methods of internal democracy. As conflict is inevitable in human organisation and within a political party and people pursue different interests instead of common interest, therefore, political party should try to aggregate the varying interests of its members and articulate a unified front for achieving its objectives. This would limit the destructive effect of intra party conflict in the political system.

Implication of the Findings

It is very important for Nigerian political parties to be ideologically formed so as to reduce the defection of politicians from one political party to another. However, if all the stakeholders including the government, the electoral body, politicians and the electorates fail to look into the findings of this study as mentioned earlier, Nigeria will be driven towards a one-party state which does not mean well for the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria.

Also, the results of the findings of this study have shown that politicians in Nigeria run the parties as if they were

running their private businesses due to like of internal democracy, imposition of candidates, intra party conflict among others. Therefore, this could pose danger to the sustainability and consolidation of democracy in Southwestern Nigeria in particular and Nigeria at large.

Limitations to the Study

There were many challenges encountered during the course of carrying out this research. Some of these challenges are identified as follows:

- a. Problems were encountered during the collection of data. Many of the respondents sampled complained of being busy to fill the questionnaire. The researcher had to beg them and tell them the purpose of the questionnaire before they created little time out of their tight schedule to attend to the instrument.
- b. Some of the sampled respondents were unable to grant immediate response to the instrument but the researcher and the research assistant have to repeat the visit before the request was granted; and this created additional stress and cost to the researcher for collecting the appropriate data.
- c. Majority of the respondents were afraid of responding to the questionnaire until they were convinced that the questionnaire was meant for research purpose only.
- d. Another limitation of the study is that researcher and his research assistants also met some voters who cannot read or write. Therefore, copies of questionnaire meant for them were read in local language (Yoruba Language) to them and ticked for them.

Suggestions for Further Research



Owing to the identified limitations above, further research can be carried out in the following areas:

- i. It is suggested that a similar future study should be made better with the additional research designs and methods. This is expected to increase the data quantitatively and enhance conclusion and possible recommendations towards strengthening of the political institutions for democratic consolidation and reduce the spate of defection in Nigeria.
- ii. Another research of this nature, can also be carried out in other geo-political zones of Nigeria not covered in this study.

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