

Voters' Confidence and Good Governance in Nigeria: A Comparative Analysis of 2015 and 2019 Presidential Elections

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Abstract

Nigeria has undergone the two faces of electoral integrity: the good and the bad. For the avoidance of doubt, Nigerian elections between 1999 and 2007 were generally rated to be lacking in integrity. This may have accounted for the low quality of governance in Nigeria during those periods. It is against this background that this study set out to examine the relationship between voters' confidence and good governance in Nigeria. The study used (mixed method) both primary and secondary sources of data collection. For the primary source of data a well-structured questionnaire and closed ended interview were conducted. A total of 1200 questionnaires were administered in three states (Kwara, Ekiti and Rivers) in three different geo-political zones in Nigeria. And a total of forty-five interviewees/people were interviewed in the three states. On a face to face and well structure interview. Both qualitative and quantitative method of data analysis was used. The study uses Principal Agency theory. The study finds out that there is significant contribution of Voters' Confidence to Good governance in Nigeria. The study concluded that there is a significant contribution of Voters' Confidence in the achievement of Good governance in Nigeria. And the study have also made it clear that for any nation to achieve good governance, it has to improve the Voters' Confidence in the electoral process of the country.

Keywords: Voters Confidence; Good Governance; Election; Democracy

INTRODUCTION

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The integrity in an electoral process is considered as the fundamental principle that runs throughout the electoral cycle right from the nomination of candidates by the political parties, the campaign exercise, the conduct of elections proper and the declaration of election results up till litigations on the election if any there were i.e. electoral dispute. When these procedures is followed fairly, firmly, and transparently by the EMB and all other participants in the process it would result into an election that would be seen as credible and upholding international standard of democratic practice. These situations would necessarily elicit the confidence of the

voters in the political system and imbue legitimacy of the government which is the fundamental attribute of good governance.

Post-election violence has occurred in many countries and on all the continents in the world. In Asia, India, which attained independence in 1949 and has an uninterrupted civilian administration witnessed the upsurge in New Delhi in India and Kuala Lumpur in Malaysia; Kinshasa in Congo Democratic Republic, In Latin America Lima in Peru and Caracas in Venezuela. The rulers resort to rigging and coercion of voters. When these fail they intimidate their opponents and lock them up in prison, often on false charges. The opinion of foreign and domestic observers cast aspersions on the overt cases of electoral fraud and malpractices that undermine electoral credibility.(Donno, 2010 p.6) In the second instance partisan gerrymandering, inadequate voters register, bias of the media owned by government, falsified counting of votes, influences of monetisation of votes and prescription of legal hurdles to surmount. Electoral malfeasance also occurs in the developed democracy such as in the Al Gore versus George Bush elections. When the manual recount of votes was stopped. This ultimately gave Bush the victory. (Hasen, 2012 p.9; Buckley, 2011 p.5) The problem associated with the election conduct of advanced countries of the world like the USA, Britain, Canada, and a host of others have been well managed and not resulted in electoral violence, unlike developing nations.

Nigeria's return to democratic rule dates back to May 29th, 1999 and in its wakes, the country's through its Election Management Bodies, (INEC) has conducted six(presidential elections) general elections namely: 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015 and 2019 respectively. However, before 2015 the country has not been able to conduct free, fair, and credible elections. The inability to conduct an itch-free election is not only peculiar to Nigeria. It is a political phenomenon across the globe. The only difference is the intensity, forms in which electoral violence is happening across countries of the world.

Almost everywhere elections have been conducted on the continent, it has experienced some form of electoral violence. The abuse of incumbency, use of thugs and 'macho men' to intimidate political opponents (and sometimes prevent them from voting), snatching of ballot boxes, disruption of the electoral process (especially at polling/ voting centers), the manifestation of violence as a result of disagreement with election results have all featured prominently in most elections in Africa. It's on record

that in the 2011 presidential election, Nigeria witnessed post-electoral violence that up till today we are still counting the loss of lives and properties and the memory remain fresh on our minds. (Amao, 2019 p.11).

Since the adoption of the card reader machine by the INEC, it is often expected and believed that electoral anomalies will have been issues of the past but malfunctioning of the card readers at several polling units, rejection of Permanent Voters' Card, poor durability of card readers battery irregular biometric data capture also contributed to technical deficiency. This was in addition to erratic power of the device. Not only that, the failure of the electronic device to assess the permanent voters' card, had given room for other anomalies of which underage and non-registered people vote during the election because of lack of trust in the card reader machine and unskilled personnel. Similarly, some NYSC members and non-permanent staff who were hired for the exercise could not easily handle the machine efficiently. Despite the praise accorded to the use of the card reader machine by INEC. It would be out of place to assume that the card reader machine used during the 2019 Presidential Elections was without any challenges as stated above.

Objectives of the Study

1. The main objective of this research work is to examine the nexus between voters' confidence, and good governance in Nigeria.
2. The subsidiary objective is to comparatively analyse 2015 & 2019 presidential elections in Nigeria.

METHODOLOGY

The study used (mixed method) both primary and secondary sources of data collection. For the primary source of data a well-structured questionnaire and closed ended interview were conducted on a face to face and well structure interview was conducted on the stakeholders. A total of 45 stake holders/ respondents were successfully interviewed in each state from three different geo-political-zones of Nigeria. i.e. Kwara in North-central, Ekiti in Southwest and Rivers in South-south geo-political zones of Nigeria. The population of this study was determined using Taro Yamane formulae and purposive sampling of the stake holders and therefore a total of

1200 (400 each state) questionnaires were administered in three states (Kwara, Ekiti and Rivers) in three different geo-political zones in Nigeria. i.e. Kwara in North-central, Ekiti in Southwest and Rivers in South-south geo-political zones of Nigeria. Both qualitative and quantitative method of data analysis was used. (Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS) & Partial Least Square Method (PLS) as well as descriptive statistical tools such as regression, correlation, and chi-square was used to analysed and present data in quantitative form. The adoption of this method of data analysis increases the understanding of the nature and dynamics of the phenomena under study. This will be done after which verbal statement of interviewee or participants have been duly transcribed. The study uses Principal Agency theory as a theoretical tools of analysis.

Significance of the Study

This research work is significant in the sense that no scholar have combined the the two variables together within the Nigerian context and more importantly that once we tried as much as possible to improve our electoral processes in order to improved, increased and enhanced our voters' credibility in an election and consequently ensure the achievement of good-governance in Nigeria. Therefore, the study contribute to knowledge and academic improvement as well as overall societal advancement.

Scope of the Study

The research work shall examine voters' confidence, and good governance in Nigeria. (2015-2019): A comparative analysis of 2015 and 2019 Presidential elections. Primarily, the research work shall cover an in-depth study of voters' confidence, and good governance in Nigeria.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

The Concept of Democracy

Political philosophers that included Plato, Aristotle, Montesquies, Bodin were concerted by defining democracy from different perspectives. The word democracy is derived from the latin words demos that means people and also kratos that means to govern or to rule. Democracy was defined by a great American President Abraham Lincoln as “the government of the people, by the people and for the people” (1863 p.7). This is the widely reference definition of democracy. Several other definition of

democracy has emerged. Plato, in the 5th Century B. C. The athenian great philosopher and political thinker. According to Plato,(375BCp.8) “democracy is the gentle art of gathering votes from the poor and campaign funds from the rich by promising to protect each from the other”. Amao, (2003 p. 4) defined democracy ‘as a collective system which tries to maximise peoples’ welfare’. It’s a reactionary political idea. Stemming from these the original conception of democracy, it can be referred to as majoritarian rule. In addition, democracy has been defined in terms of procedural rules by which a polity is governed. In most contemporary democracies the major process by which governments are changed and important decisions made is through periodic elections, referendum, or plebiscite.

The Concept of Political Parties

A political party is the vehicle through which candidates are fielded for elective post. Political parties connote any political association identified by an official label that presents candidates at elections (Satori, 1976 p. 9). According to Downs, (1957 p. 9) a political party is a team of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by gaining office in a duly constituted election”. In his own perception, Schumpeter (1962 p. 283) views political parties as groups of people that seeks to capture political power”. Schnattschneider, (1942 p.35) views political parties as “an organised attempt to get power”. Power in this regard means control of the government (Schnattschneider, 1942 p.35). In another perception, LaPalombara, (1974 p.509) perceives political party as an organisation with the same shared values with aim of controlling the machinery of government. Even though, these definitions may demonstrate some diverse perceptions of scholars on electoral politics. The sole aim of political parties is to capture public offices through competitive elections. An objective of political parties in any democratic system is to gain access to political office in order to gain control of the governing apparatus of a state.

Hofmeister and Grabow (2011 p.11) asserted that all the definitions “emphasise electoral participation and the objective or aim of capturing and controlling the machinery of government. Downs (1957 p. 9); Satori (1976 p. 9); Schumpeter (1962 p. 283); Schattschneider (1942 p. 35); LaPalombara (1974 p. 509); Hofmeister Grabow, (2011 p. 11), the purposes of a political party is to aggregate people of like minds and common belief and ideology with the purpose of contesting for elections and forming the government. They further emphasised that a political the party shall have defined

members with a registration card who, along with others as a collective, shall mount campaigns to propagate their manifesto and woo the electorates to vote for their candidates during elections.

The Concept of Elections

Election all over the world is regarded as the foremost and the most peaceful means of changing governments in a democratic setting. It provides the citizens the opportunity to determine who governs them as at when and how. Election in the twenty-first century has been seen as the most veritable way of selecting leaders and the most veritable means of participating in the governance process in any country. In recent times, the election has become a tool for legitimating government leadership even when the government has not adopted democracy in principle and practice. Whenever there are controversies in election politics, judiciary mediation is inevitable. Election is a deeply rooted conditionality in a democratic society that is enshrined in the constitution of the country. Usually an electoral body or commission that would oversee it is also stated. In Nigeria, the 1999 constitution stated that elections must be organised by INEC.

In modern states elections are held periodically and it ranges from one country to another. (Ejue & Ekanen, 2011 p. 4; Birch & Muchlinski, 2017 p. 6). In Ghana, Nigeria, USA it is a cycle of four years. It is seven years in China and in the UK, India which practices the parliamentary system, it takes place as soon as the ruling party loses its majority in the parliament. The age of participation is prescribed and it 18 in many cases, the political parties field candidates and the electorates shall have the freedom to vote anybody of their choice. In some countries like the USA, independent candidacy is allowed in which any citizen can contest without the platform of a political party. In some countries only one party exists and in some there are two dominant parties while in others many parties contest the elections. (Hamalai, Egwu and Omotola, 2017 p. 9). The critical requirement for an election in the best global practice is that it should be free, credible and fair. When these values are upheld the government will enjoy the confidence of the people who shall be assured that the mandate which they gave them freely can be withdrawn during another round of elections to another party or another candidate. (Dahl, 1971 p. 6; Oni, Chidozie and Agbude, 2013 p. 8; Ojo, 2008 p. 6; Cohen, 1983, p. 55; Hughes & May, 1988 p. 20).

The Concept of Political Participation as a Cardinal Pillar of Democracy

Political participation is when the citizens of a state partake in activities that were geared at influencing and making input into a sub-national or national affairs. It is the voluntary and deliberate actions that are undertaken to affect political choices within a political space. This includes decisions on infrastructure and the location of public facilities such as hospitals, schools, roads, water etc to be undertaken directly by the government or outsider (Booth & Seligson 1978 p. 5; Huntington & Nelson 1976 p. 5; Pateman 1970 p. 2; Verba & Nie 1972 p. 4). However, Conge (1988 p. 2) further stated that in participation, the people can embark on aggressive or non-aggressive actions; they can be active or passive and the involvement of the people could be borne out of individual voluntary decision or they could be mobilized by a group of people including NGOs. He reiterated that their action may achieve the intended purpose or it bring forth unintended consequences. More significantly, citizens could engage in political participation in support of any specific action or against it. Similarly it might be violent or non-violent.

The Concept of Legitimacy

Legitimacy is considered as a sine qua non to acceptance of a government, a strong belief that the will of the electorates sustain and it results in stability of the society. (Rothstein 2009 p. 313). Scholars agreed that when a government is considered legitimate, schism will be low and resort to repression by the government shall not ensue (Scharpf, 1999 p. 9)

The Concept of Election Administration

The administration of election is handled by an electoral body. There are three variants of such a body. It can be an independent, in which case it controls its funds and makes independent decisions on elections without the control of, or certification of the government. It can be a government model one whose funding and activities are controlled by the government and the third is an admixture of the two. (Jinadu 1997, p. 2; Lindberg, 2004, p. 7; Lopez-Pinto, 2000 p. 3; USEAC, 2008;) In Nigeria, the membership of the body is nominated by the executive and confirmed by the legislature. It is to be made up of people with conscience and who enjoy unblemished record and who do not belong to any political party. (International IDEA, 2006 p.6). The task of

the electoral body is of crucial importance because they set the date of elections, recruit the polling officers, acquire and deploy electoral materials. Infact, the EMB determine the authenticity, admissibility, acceptance and credibility of elections. Firmness, fairness and thoroughness must be (Llewyn, 2008 pp. 3, 325; Kimball & Baybeck, 2009 p. 2; Agbaje and Adejumobi, 2006 p.29).

The Concept of Election Management Body (EMB)

EMB is the institution that is saddled with organising activities that pertain to elections in a democratic country. It does have two variants. It can be fully an independent model in which case it enjoys autonomy but also has the involvement of the government. First, its membership will be nominated by the chief executive of the government and screened by the legislature. They set up a budget of their own and itemise the things they intend to accomplish and defend it before the legislature. This includes the vehicles, boats etc for their permanent staff and those on the field, the facilities they need to operate such as construction of offices, registration and compilation of voters' list, employment of legal officers in house and outside etc. They therefore, take responsibility for their failure and success. On the other hand, the mixed model is one in which the government plays a role and has limited autonomy.

The Concept of Voters' Confidence

Voter's confidence in the electoral system is interchangeably used to denote the level of trust that the electorates have in the electoral process. (Coleman & Manna 2000 p.7; Bowler & Karp 2004 p.7; Price & Romantum, 2004 p.7 Hansen, 2002 p.8). Confidence in the electoral process is very important because, it is the determinant of the perception of the citizens and how much support and assistance they lend to the governance process. And ahead of governance, the trust that they build on the process that determines to a large extent the peace, harmony and concord that would exist within the society. On the other hand, the catastrophe and pandemonium that they inflict on the process before, during and after elections, It is also a function of their confidence in the process. (Miller, 1974 p. 6 Easton 1965 p. 7; Nye, et al, 1997 p. 4; Hetherington, 2005 p. 9). Scholars contend that what constitutes voters' confidence are varied but it is a function of how well and effectively that the electoral body charged with that responsibility performed on their assignments and how well the government supports

and distances itself from actions that undermine the voting pattern and change its outcome.

While events from the developed democracies have shown a steady rise in the confidence of voters in the process of elections, the developing world including Nigeria, Belarus, Uganda, Afghanistan have shown acts that does not make the votes of the electorates to count. The consequence of these is that violence erupted at different stages of the electoral process pre, during, and post-elections. It's also lamentable that the governance system is negatively affected. Delivery of the dividends of democracy for which a government is voted for is reduced and insecurity of lives and property which is the primary duty of the government is heightened. (Dalton, 1999 p. 3; American National Election Studies, 2007 p. 2; Hill 1981 p. 5; Rahn, Brehm, & Carlsin, 1999 p. 4 Price and Romantan, 2004 p. 3.) In essence, the trust that citizens effect on the electoral system translates to the level of support that they give to the government and governance process. (Koehler, 2009 p. 4; Bratton et al 2005 p.3). Further, scholars believe that voters' confidence can aggregate from either support for the system of government that is emplaced, the political leaders and contestants. Similarly, the familiarity of the voters with the procedures of elections, the trust in the efficacy and efficiency of the technology adopted and promptitude and exactitude of voting scores that was announced affect their confidence in the electoral process.

Determinants of Confidence

Trust and confidence in an electoral system is not static. It is contingent on time and some variables they might intervene to direct the view of the voters. The critical issues that determine the confidence that the people express in the electoral system are: One of these issues is when a scandal occurs at any level of the cycle. For instance if the hope and confidence of the people had been kindled during the voters registration, but they realised on election day that under age pupils or non nationals have been stuffed in, this shall definitely affect their confidence. Also, finance that is devoted to campaigning is a strong factor that imbues confidence in the mind of the voters. It should be regulated and monitored so as not to result in vote buying that shall reduce the confidence of the voters.

If the electoral law is followed throughout the electoral cycle, the electoral integrity would be high and vice versa. When the campaign is based on issues and the

language of communication is issue based and polite rather than personal attacks, the voters and observers would have confidence in the procedure. Before, during and after elections, political communication should be based on ideas that can further the growth and development of the society. When the electorates lose trust at any point of the electoral cycle, it would ultimately, reduce their confidence. When the EMB is perceived to be independent, it would elicit the confidence of the voters. Once the electoral laws are unbiased and it is applied accordingly, voters' confidence would be high. Voters' familiarity with the electoral process, the perception of such voters is high and vice versa. A helpful poll worker who offers guide and assistance to the aged and illiterate voters, would be seen as helping to increase the confidence of the voters and even the observers if and when they make a visit to his polling booth. Furthermore, voter familiarity with the electoral process, general opinion about the voting technology, party identification with the winner/or losers' effect, voting method, age and gender.

Effects of Voters' Confidence on the Political System

- i. Voter's confidence improves the legitimacy of the government in the political system.
- ii. When the level of support is low i.e. voter's confidence, the survival of the political system is threatened.
- iii. When the voter's confidence is low, the system's institution would be constrained.
- iv. Unfavourable outcome of public policy or public policy outcome..
- v. When the voter's confidence is low, there would be a higher tendency of deviant behaviour of the citizens. In Nigeria the increase in the activities of Boko Haram, the IPOB and the Fulani herdsmen devastation are classical examples of behaviour arising from loss of confidence in the leadership.
- vi. When voter's confidence is high in the electoral process, it helps to improve governance.
- vii. When confidence is high, it increases level of political participation of the citizens.

The Concept of Good Governance

Academics did not attach much premium to the definition of good governance. Rather emphasis was devoted to what constitutes the concept. To Alkali, (2004 p. 45)

good governance occurs when the political authorities exercise their political power to create growth and development, operate within the precinct of the rule of law; allow their citizens to enjoy the fundamental rights of choice, association and expression; principle of transparency and accountability is upheld. Babawale, (2007 p. 7) was of the view that good governance is done when the government does not condone corruption and promotes accountability; when access to and dissemination of information is not impeded and repression of dissenting voices are not the order of the day.

The aggregate yardstick of scholars is that good governance encompasses eight characteristics. The first is that the citizens should have a say in putting in place the government; Secondly, the political leadership should respect the fundamental rights of the people and respect their humanity. The security and judicial system should not be biased and should uphold the rule of law without fear or favour. Thirdly, the government and its actions should be transparent. Fourthly, the institutions of the state should offer their services without discrimination. Fifthly, there should be a reasonable consensus on what to do, when to do it and how to achieve it. In this sphere, the parliamentarians which are the direct representatives of the people must not be conscripted or muzzled within the whims and caprices of the executive nor judiciary. Sixthly, Governance process should be equitable and just. Seventh, the available resources should be used effectively and efficiently to provide the best services for the citizens. Finally, accountability takes a high premium in the elements of good governance.

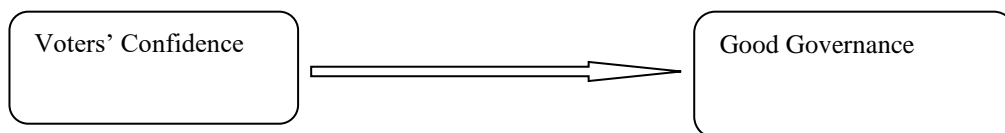


Figure 1: *The Linkage between Voters' Confidence and Good Governance*
Source: PLSM / SPSS Output

The study finds out that voters' confidence is positively related to good governance in any social setting. It shows that voters' confidence are good determinants of good governance in any social setting. Statistically, our flow chat shows the relationships between these latent variables (Voters' confidence, and Good Governance), voters' confidence directly contribute 0.3632 to good governance through

voters' confidence the more confident the voters has in the system of election or electoral system and the better good governance the system produced.

Table 1: *Comparative Analysis of Voters' Confidence in 2015 & 2019 Presidential Election in Nigeria*

S/N	Dimensions Voters' confidence	Of	<u>Kwara</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Ekiti</u>	<u>State</u>	Rivers	<u>State</u>
			2015	2019	2015	2019	2015	2019
1.	Vote Count		350	327	393	271	360	200
2.	Confident With The Electoral Authority Or (E.M.B)		300	250	270	200	380	250
3.	Confident With The Electoral Officials		360	218	269	250	350	208
4.	Confident With The Electoral Outcome		338	324	371	291	363	200
5.	Reflection Of The Popular Will Of The Voters'		355	200	379	108	355	200
6.	Electoral Manipulation		186	340	125	284	150	350
7.	Free, Fair, And Credible Election		332	180	359	170	390	180

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, 2019

Table 2: Measurement of Good Governance in Nigeria 2015-2019

S/N	Dimensions of Good Governance	Kwara State	Ekiti State	Rivers State
1.	The Level of Accountability	230	212	130
2.	The Level of Transparency	230	202	150
3.	Efficiency and Effectiveness in Public Management and Administration	230	220	120
4.	Responsiveness to Human Rights	224	230	110
5.	Observation or Compliance With of Rule of Law	222	300	100
6.	The Level of Infrastructural Development	200	213	260
7.	The Level of Bureaucratic Development	260	206	270
8.	Fight Against Corruption	209	230	150
9.	Performance of The National Assembly (Parliament)	300	202	350
10.	Efficiency and Effectiveness of the Democratic Institutions	400	362	380

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, 2019

Test of Hypothesis

H0: Voters' confidence has no relationship with good governance in Nigeria.

H1: Voters' confidence has relationships with good governance in Nigeria.

R.Q1. What is the nexus between voters' confidence and good governance in Nigeria?

Table 3: *Chi-Square for Kwara State V. C & G. G*

	Value	Df	Asymptotic Significant (2sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10600.514 ^a	9.306	.000
Likelihood Ratio	2025.899	9.306	1.000
Linear- by-Linear Association	23.087	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	400		

(a) 9500 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0.0

Source: SPSS Output/ Researcher's field survey, 2019

In the table Chi-Square Test result, SPSS also tells us that “9500” cells have an expected count less than 5 and the minimum expected count is 0.0 and the Chi-square (2) =10,600.514, $p < 0.05$. This tells us that there is a statistically significant association or relationship between Voters' Confidence and Good Governance in Kwara State, Nigeria. The probability of the Chi-square test statistic (chi-square =10,600.514,) was $p = 0.000$, less than the alpha level of significance of 0.05. Decision and Interpretation: If the probability of the test statistic is less than or equal to the probability of the alpha error rate, we reject the null hypothesis and adopt the alternative hypothesis and we conclude that our data support the research hypothesis, and we also conclude that there is a relationship between the two variables under consideration i.e Voters' Confidence and Good Governance. The research hypothesis that says: Voters' Confidence has no relationship with Good Governance is rejected. We, therefore, adopt the alternative hypothesis that says that: Voters' Confidence has relationships with Good Governance in Nigeria.

Table 4: *Chi-Square for Ekiti State VC & G G*

	Value	Df	Asymptotic Significant (2sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1201.1682 ^a	1.155	.000
Likelihood Ratio	806.617	1.155	1.000
Linear- by-Linear Association	25.766	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	400		

(a)1224 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0.0

Source: SPSS Output/ Researcher's Field Survey, 2019

In the table Chi-Square Test result, SPSS also tell us that “1224” cells have expected count less than 5 and the minimum expected count is 0.0 and the Chi-square (2) =1201.168, $p < 0.05$. This tells us that there is statistically significant association or relationship between Voters’ Confidence and Good Governance in Ekiti State, Nigeria. The probability of the Chi-square test statistic (chi-square=1201.168) was $p = 0.000$, less than the alpha level of significance of 0.05. Decision and Interpretation: If the probability of the test statistic is less than or equal to the probability of the alpha error rate, we reject the null hypothesis and adopt the alternative hypothesis and we conclude that our data support the research hypothesis, and we also conclude that there is a relationship between the two variables under consideration i.e Voters’ Confidence and Good Governance. The research hypothesis that says: Voters’ Confidence has no relationship with Good Governance is rejected. We therefore adopt the alternative hypothesis that says that: Voters’ Confidence has relationship with Good Governance in Nigeria.

Table 5: *Chi-Square for Rivers State V. C & G. G*

	Value	Df	Asymptotic Significant (2sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10500.613 ^a	8.407	.000
Likelihood Ratio	3035.788	8.407	1.000
Linear- by-Linear Association	24.098	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	400		

(a)8500 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0.0

Source: SPSS Output/ Researcher’s field survey, 2019

In the table Chi-Square Test result, SPSS also tells us that “8500” cells have an expected count less than 5 and the minimum expected count is 0.0 and the Chi-square (2) =10,500.613a, $p < 0.05$. This tells us that there is a statistically significant association or relationship between Voters’ Confidence and Good Governance in Rivers State, Nigeria. The probability of the Chi-square test statistic (chi-square =10,500.613a) was $p = 0.000$, less than the alpha level of significance of 0.05. Decision and Interpretation: If the probability of the test statistic is less than or equal to the probability of the alpha error rate, we reject the null hypothesis and adopt the alternative hypothesis and we conclude that our data support the research hypothesis, and we also conclude that there is a relationship between the two variables under consideration i.e Voters’ Confidence and Good Governance. The research hypothesis that says: Voters’ Confidence has no

relationship with Good Governance is rejected. We, therefore, adopt the alternative hypothesis that says that: Voters' Confidence has relationships with Good Governance in Nigeria.

A Comparative Analysis of the 2015 and 2019 Presidential Election in Nigeria

The 2015 Presidential Election was initially scheduled to hold on February, 14th 2015 and was postponed till March, 28th 2015 and it was well administered. The reasons for the postponement were due to security challenges in the country then following a meeting of the council of the state where it was reported that the security chiefs could not assure of security if the election were to be held on an earlier date. While the 2019 Presidential Election which was scheduled for February 16th, 2019 was however postponed to the 23rd of February, 2019 by the INEC around 03:00 am on the original polling day, giving logistical inadequacies in getting election materials to polling destinations.

The number of registered political parties in the 2015 General Election was fourteen (14) and the number of political parties that contested the 2015 presidential election was fourteen (14). While the number of registered political parties for the 2019 general election was ninety-one (91) and the number of political parties that contested for the 2019 presidential election was seventy-three (73). The interpretation of this was that, there was an increased political participation in Nigeria than that in the 2015 Presidential Election. The number of registered voters for the 2015 (General Election) Presidential Election in Nigeria, was 67, 422, 005. While, The total number of voters registered for 2019 Presidential Election was 84,004,084. The total number of voters turn-out of the 2015 Presidential Election was put at 29,432,083 with 43.65%. While the total number of voters turn-out of the 2019 Presidential Election was put at twenty-nine million three hundred and sixty-four thousand, two hundred and nine (29,364,209) with thirty-five-point-fifty-six-percent(35.56%).

The 2015 Presidential Election was transitional, while the 2019 Presidential Election was a consolidatory election. The 2015 Presidential Election was well administered and meet the international standard for electoral integrity as it was adjudged credible by the reports of both domestic and international election observers. On the other hand, another group of respondents with a frequency or response rate of six-hundred and ten (610) with seventy-six-point-three percent (76.3%) declared that

they were confident that the outcome of the 2015 Presidential election reflects the true will of the voters in Nigeria. While the 2019 Presidential Election was not well administered and failed to meet the international standard for electoral integrity. The electoral outcome of the 2015 Presidential Election reflects the true wills of the Nigerian masses or voters' from the result of voters' confidence measurement. On the other hand, another group of respondents with a frequency or response rate of six-hundred and ten (610) with seventy-six-point-three percent (76.3%) declared that they were confident that the outcome of the 2015 Presidential election reflects the true will of the voters in Nigeria. While the outcome of the 2019 Presidential Election does not reflect the true will of the Nigerian masses or voters' from the result of voters' confidence measurement in 2019. An absolute or overwhelming majority of our respondents with a frequency of six-hundred and ten (610) with seventy-six-point-two-percent (76.2%) declared that they were not confident that the outcome of the 2019 Presidential election reflected the true will of the masses of voters in Nigeria.

The 2015 Presidential Election was relatively peaceful considering the reports of both domestic and international election observers in Nigeria. Whereas the 2019 Presidential Election was rancorous and largely un-peaceful considering the voting day report by all domestic election observers reports. As well as international election observers report on the 2019 General Election in Nigeria. Moreover, the gravity of electoral violence reported occurring at pre-election, during the election, and after. The comment in the election observers' reports both domestic and international was positive for the 2015 Presidential Election. While the comment in the election observers reports both domestic and international was negative for the 2019 Presidential Election in Nigeria.

The ballot papers used for 2015 Presidential Election was moderate and easy for voters to understand it was sizable, this can be supported by the opinion pool that declared that five hundred and seventy-three respondent (573) with seventy-one-point-six-percent (71.6%) unanimously agreed that the ballot paper used for 2015 Presidential Election was easy for the voters to understand. Finally, this can also be supported by the number of invalid votes in 2015 in which the figure was put at eight hundred and forty-four thousand five hundred and nineteen (844519). While the ballot papers used for the 2019 Presidential Election were too cumbersome or too long and confusing to the voters especially the illiterate voters in Nigeria. However, this also can be supported by the opinion pool that four hundred and fifty-five respondents (455) with fifty-six-point-

nine-percent (56.9%) agreed that the ballot paper used for the 2019 Presidential Election was too cumbersome for voters to understand. Finally, this can be supported by the number of invalid votes in the 2019 Presidential Election in which the figure was put at one million two hundred and eighty-nine thousand-six hundred and seven (1,289,607). However, this figure was considered higher when compared with the 2015 figure.

The 2015 Presidential Election was better secured by the security agents that were involved in the election then. While the 2019 Presidential Election was not better secured considering the electoral violence that trailed the conduct of the 2019 Presidential Election in Nigeria. The 2015 Presidential Election in Nigeria did not witness or the result was never challenged in the court of law for the first time in the history of election in Nigeria where the opposition party will defeat the incumbent political party and the candidate, as well as the party, will accept defeat without post-electoral violence in Nigeria was never anticipated. While the 2019 Presidential Election result was challenged by both the candidate and the political party in Nigeria was a negative index of electoral integrity measurement worldwide and coupled with the various election observers reports on the 2019 General Election in Nigeria that gave a submission that it failed to meet international standard and lack credibility.

In submission, another criterion for comparison was the opinion pool that argued that four hundred and sixty respondents (460) with fifty-seven-point-five percent (57.5%) declared that fraud does not likely affect the electoral outcome of the 2015 Presidential Election in Nigeria. While four hundred and ninety-four respondents (494) with sixty-one-point-seven percent (61.7%) declared that fraud likely affected the electoral outcome of the 2019 Presidential Election in Nigeria.

DISCUSSION OF FINDING

The research finds out that there is a significant relationship between voters' confidence and good governance in Nigeria between (2015-2019). Voters confidence directly contribute 0.3632 to good governance in Nigeria between (2015-2019). Other than that, the 2015 presidential election meet international standard of election integrity while 2019 presidential election did not or was less transparent.

RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION

To achieve good governance, the paper recommends that the quality of voters' confidence at elections or in the electoral process should be improved considerably. The study has examined the interrelationship between voters' confidence, and good governance in Nigeria between the years 2015-to-2019. Going by the finding and result of the study, it's clear that the research question raised by this study have been properly answered and it can be concluded that there is a significant relationship between voters' confidence and good governance in Nigeria between (2015-2019.) And the study has also made it clear that for any nation to achieve good governance, it has to improve the voters' confidence in the electoral process of the country. The study provides a x-ray and assessment of the quality of elections in Nigeria from independence till date and concludes that of all the elections conducted in Nigeria, the 2015 presidential election was the most generally acceptable to be free, fair, and credible.

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