

Electoral Integrity and Good Governance in Nigeria: A Comparative Analysis of 2015 and 2019 Presidential Elections

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Abstract

Most scholars of electoral politics regard election as the institutionalised means of mass political participation by citizens of a country and a basic means by which people in a democracy hold the government accountable. At the turn of the new millennium, countries around the world have been confronted with major challenges in meeting international standards of electoral integrity. There is a widespread and growing concern that elections globally are marred by serious problems. Nigeria as a country is not immune from these global challenges that have whittled down the integrity of the electoral process. This research examines the relationship between the variables of electoral integrity, and good governance in Nigeria. As a bi-variate study, the research adopts the mixed research method in which both primary and secondary sources of data were qualitatively and quantitatively analysed. The study has a population of 1200 respondents from three states in Nigeria (Kwara, Ekiti and Rivers) using the Taro Yamane statistical formulae. To complement this, forty-five interviewees were purposively selected for both Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and Key Informant Interviews (KII). The study is situated within the prisms of the Principal-Agency-Theory. Findings from the study revealed significant impact of electoral integrity on good governance in Nigeria. Other findings from the study show *that the preponderance of post election violence in the 2019 presidential election is attributed to deficiency in electoral integrity*. The study recommends the need for significant improvement in the integrity quotient of elections as precondition for the global desire for good governance.

Keywords

Elections, electoral integrity, good governance, democracy, Nigeria

Background to the Study

Elections in a democracy are considered by scholars as the means to engender mass participation of the people in taking decisions about how they are governed

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in a given democratic system. Given the antecedent of Africa as a colonial creation of the European powers, democracy was a later phenomenon that was introduced as the colonial masters granted independence to the majority of African countries beginning from the 1940s to 1960s. These were in the first phase. The second phase was in the 1970s and 1980s while the 1990s constituted the third phase of democratisation. In all of these countries, elections became the sole means of changing political power by legitimate means. In contemporary times, elections have become a popular democratic practice around the globe. Despite the worldwide popularity elections has gained, its conduct has become a source of worry, insecurity and violence particularly in new and developing democracies of Africa (Omotola, 2010).

In the pre and post-colonial era in Nigeria the electoral process was marked by exclusion of Nigerians in the election to the legislative council in 1910, followed by the prescription of income as a determinant of franchise in the 1922 Clifford constitution in which the Northern protectorate was not represented. Subsequent constitutional developments in the Richard, Macpherson and Lyttleton constitutions also had different deficiencies that promoted lack of confidence and integrity in the electoral system. It was also laced with electoral violence (Oyedele *et al.*, 1997). It would be recalled that democratic dispensations after independence, that is, the First, Second, and the aborted Third Republics were truncated by military coups and counter-coups. The Fourth Republic which commenced in 1999 after the conclusion of the 1999 general elections has been the longest stable in the country's electoral history. From independence to the present Fourth Republic, Nigeria has witnessed nine different presidential/general elections. However, since 1999 elections have been stable and are conducted on regular basis. From 1999 till date the country's electoral body has organised and conducted six different general elections. These are 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015, and the 2019 general elections. The standard of these elections is, however, a source of worry to political actors and observers both local and international. For instance, the 2003 general elections were characterised by discontent from political contestants, voters, and observers. The 2007 general elections were described by some analysts, election observers, and political actors as the worst in the country's electoral history (Omotola, 2010). This was reflected in the series of litigations that trailed the announcement of results and declaration of winners, nullification of results, and ultimately election-related violence which occurred at all the stages of the electoral process (Nwolise, 2007). The 2007 general elections apart from being characterised by all sorts of electoral vices were accompanied by a high degree of electoral violence (Omotola, 2010). Finally, Nigeria has been clamouring for good governance and appeared like a myth. These among others were the propelling forces for this research topic (Amao, 2022). This paper is divided into seven sections namely, background to the study, statement of problem, objective of the study, research question, research hypothesis, research methodology, conceptual clarification and theoretical framework, test of hypothesis, a comparative

analysis of the 2015 & 2019 Presidential elections, discussion of findings, recommendations and conclusion.

Statement of the Problem

Post election violence has occurred in many countries and in all the continents of the world. It has occurred in Asia, India, 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 they 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). 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 developed democracy such as in the Al Gore versus George Bush presidential election elections in 2004 when the manual recount of votes was stopped. This ultimately gave Bush victory (Hasen, 2012; Buckley, 2011). The problems 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 have not resulted in electoral violence, unlike developing nations (Omotola, 2010).

In the literature, there is a strong line of argument that electoral integrity boosts voters' confidence and improves the quality of governance. However, this assertion has not been empirically tested and validated, or refuted within the Nigerian context. This oversight is surprising, given the fact that Nigeria has undergone the two faces of electoral integrity: the good and the bad (Sakah, 2019; Amao, 2019). 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. However, with the series of electoral reforms initiatives by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) that culminated in improved integrity of 2011, 2015, and 2019 general elections in Nigeria, one would have expected good governance in Nigeria. To ascertain the veracity or otherwise of this assertion the study sets out to achieve the following objectives.

Objectives of the study

- The main objective of this research work is to examine the nexus between electoral integrity and good governance in Nigeria. (2015-2019).

- To comparatively analyse the 2015 and 2019 Presidential Elections in Nigeria.

Research Questions

This study shall be guided by this question:

- What is the nexus between electoral integrity and good governance in Nigeria?
- What differences or similarities exist between the 2015 and 2019 presidential elections in Nigeria?

Research Hypotheses

H₀:- Electoral integrity has no relationship with good governance in Nigeria.

H₁:- Electoral integrity has a relationship with good governance in Nigeria.

Research Methodology

This research examined the relationship between and among the variables of electoral integrity, and good governance in Nigeria. As a bi-variate study, the research adopted the questionnaire and interview method of data collection as well as secondary sources such as articles, official documents, textbooks, Newspaper internet sources etc. Therefore, the study used a mixed research method in which both primary and secondary sources of data were qualitatively and quantitatively analysed. The study drew a population of 1200 questionnaire respondents (400 each) from three states in different geo-political-zones in Nigeria namely (Kwara, Ekiti and Rivers) using the Taro Yamane statistical formulae. Kwara state and Rivers state were from the Nigeria twelve state structure, while Ekiti state was created in 1991. To complement these, forty-five interviewees were purposively sampled or selected for both Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and Key Informant Interviews (KII). Furthermore, the verbal statement of the interviewees/ participants/respondents were dully transcribed, classified and analysed thematically. Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS), Partial Least Square (PLS) and Chi-square was used to carry out Regression, Correlations of the two variables, and test of hypothesis respectively and the results were interpreted in qualitative form. However, the adoption of the mixed method of data analysis helps to increase our understanding of the nature and dynamics of Electoral Integrity and Good Governance in Nigeria.

Conceptual Clarification and Theoretical Framework of Analysis

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, 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, election has become a tool for legitimising government leadership even when the government has not adopted democracy in principle and practice. Whenever there are controversies in electoral politics, judiciary mediation is inevitable.

Election is a deeply rooted requirement in a democratic society that is enshrined in the constitution of the country. Usually, an electoral body or commission that would oversee elections is also instituted. In Nigeria, the 1999 constitution section 153(f) stated that elections must be organised by INEC. In modern states, elections are held periodically and the period varies from one country to another (Ejue & Ekanen, 2011; Birch & Muchlinski, 2017). 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 is 18 in many cases and 21 in some countries like India, and Australia. The political parties field candidates and the electorates shall have the freedom to vote for 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). The critical requirement for an election in the best global practice is that it should be free, fair and credible.

The Concept of Electoral Integrity

Scholars like Birch, S. (2011) on this issue concentrated more on what integrity is not, rather than what it is. On the one hand, Schedler (2002) and Birch (2011, p. 6) believe that the behaviour of the incumbent government on the seat in trying to manipulate the choice of electorates by setting legal framework and influencing electoral umpires to design a slanted system which compromises the principle of fair play and puts a stain on electoral integrity. On another hand, the Inter Parliamentary Council (1994) asserts that organising a free and fair election where the electoral procedure is followed amounts to what electoral credibility connotes. This includes an up-to-date register of voters, free expression of

franchise by all citizens that have attained the prescribed age of adulthood, vote sorting and counting without hindrance and announcement of results fairly.

Norris (2014), Elklit & Svenson (1997) and Bishop & Hoeffler (2014) are in alliance that when elections agreement are held and concluded without intimidation and violence and the citizens are convinced that their votes translate into the results that are announced then it would be said to have credibility. They opined that when elections conform to the prescription of the United Nations (UN) and it is acclaimed by the political actors, the electorates, journalists and scholars, it would be said to uphold integrity. They insisted that conformity to the processes and procedures of the elections is what constitutes integrity. Some scholars including Alvarez, Atkeson & Hall (2012), Munck (2009) and O'Donnell (2001) contend that the legal framework and domestic regulations that guide the election procedure as well as the general conduct and administration of the elections constitute the yardstick to measure integrity. Electoral integrity can be defined "as a holistic or comprehensive observance of the electoral laws guiding electoral conduct of a country throughout the electoral cycle through which a collective will of the people can be achieved and upon which the election can meet the international standard". What is most significant in these definitions is that it encompasses the nomination process and election cycle leading to good governance (Amao, 2022).

Election Process & Election Administration

1. Legal framework of the Election Management Bodies (EMBs)/Electoral Acts
2. Election Management
3. Constituency and Polling District Demarcation
4. Voter's Education
5. Voter's Registration
6. Access to and design of Ballot nomination and Registration of Political Parties and Candidates
7. Campaign Regulations
8. Polling
9. Counting and Tabulation of Votes
10. Resolving Election Related Disputes and Complaints, Verification of Final Results. Certification
11. Election Results Implementation
12. Post-Election Procedures

Source: David (2005)

When the entire twelve legs/process of legal framework of EMB; elections management; constituency and polling district demarcation; voters education; voters registration; access to and design of the ballot, nomination and registration of parties and candidates; campaign regulation; polling; counting and tabulating the votes; resolving election-related disputes and complaints, verification of final

results, certification; election results implementation and post-election procedures are followed painstakingly and justifiably, the electoral process would be said to be credible.

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 (Amao, 2020).

Table 1: Measurement of Electoral Integrity in 2015 & 2019 Presidential Elections in Nigeria

S/N	DIMENSIONS OF ELECTORAL INTEGRITY	KWARA 2015	STATE 2019	EKITI 2015	STATE 2019	RIVERS 2015	STATE 2019
1	Application of Electoral Laws	355	320	371	300	380	355
2	Electoral Procedures	900	900	850	800	800	800
3	Electoral District Boundary	245	250	352	260	300	300
4	Voters Registration Procedures (V. Register)	294	300	360	330	355	360
5	Party Registration & Candidates Selection	551	608	512	650	560	700
6	Media Coverage i.e. Political broadcast & Advertisements	300	230	291	250	300	250
7	Political Party Campaign Finances	360	380	328	370	380	360
8	Voting Process Procedures	363	230	310	220	363	208
9	Vote Count (Election Monitors: Domestic and international)	380	300	326	336	900	400
10	Post-Election (Electoral Outcome & Electoral Dispute Settlement)	504	664	501	638	800	900
11	Electoral Authority/ Election Administration (EMB)	320	250	365	296	350	250
12	Electoral Security	327	250	375	250	300	250

Source: Researcher Field Survey, 2019

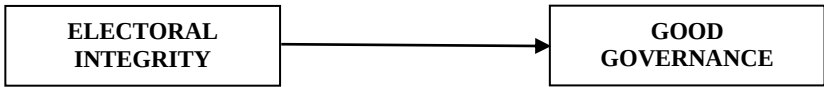
Table 2: Measurement of Good Governance in Selected States in Nigeria 2015-2019

S/N	DIMENSIONS OF GOOD GOVERNANCE	KWAR A 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

The importance of the above tables tells us the nexus between the two variables under investigation and fully discussed below.

Figure 1: The linkage between Electoral Integrity, and Good Governance



Source: PLSM/SPSS OUTPUT/Researcher’s field survey, 2019

There is a significant relationship between electoral integrity and good governance in Nigeria. While electoral integrity is also positively related to good governance. It shows that electoral integrity is one good determinants of good governance in any social setting. Statistically, our flow chat shows the relationships between these latent variables (Electoral integrity and Good Governance). Electoral integrity contributes 0.777 to the model, out of 0.777, 0.4138 has a direct contribution to good governance and indirectly contributes 0.3632 to good governance. The higher the quality of electoral integrity the higher confidence the voters have in the system of election or electoral system and this will ensure good governance in the system produced in any social settings (Amao, 2020).

Theoretical Framework of Analysis: The Principal-Agent-Theory

Jensen & Meckling (1976) who pioneered the theory, viewed it from the perspective of a principal that engaged an agent to perform a task or duty on their behalf. Furthermore, Eisenhardt (1989) stated that the principal engages the agent on the basis of his ability to do the job. In their assessment, the agent is

expected to fulfill the responsibility devolved to it to achieve the good result(s) (Bendor, Glazer & Hammond, 2001; Kivisto, 2008; Moe, 1984; Watermark & Maier, 1998). This theory identified the government as the principal in the political system while the EMB is the agent saddled specifically to conduct elections on behalf of the government and society at large. Therefore, the EMB is essentially working upon the delegated constitutional responsibility of the government. This explains why members of EMB are nominated by the President or head of government. In addition, the laws that spell out the powers, duties and responsibilities of EMB (electoral laws) are made by the government through the legislature (Alvarez & Hall, 2006; Waterman and Maier, 1998). To reinforce the relationship between a principal and agent (James, 2013; Kapucu, 2007) contended that this theory would also be applied to assess the synergy between EMB and its ad-hoc staff during elections. The latter can only operate with the voters register; designated points of polling booths; smart card readers; ink and other paraphernalia supplied, designed and approved EMB. Similarly, it was in their stead to propose sanctions for electoral offenders as well as compensation for outstanding performers (Nitta, 2007, p. 2).

One major assumption of this theory was that there is the principal who decided what happened and there is the agent who carried out the instruction of the principal.

There is a popular saying that whoever plays the piper dictates the tune. Since the chairman and members of the EMB were appointed by the government, which in turn appoints the polling officers and other adjunct staff, there is a tendency for the government to exert a measure of influence on them. After all their funding and other paraphernalia of operations including offices, and vehicles would also be borne by the government from a budget that shall be proposed and approved between the executive and legislative arms of government. With specific reference to Nigeria, while the clamour for the independence of INEC is vociferous, how much it can be autonomous can only be a matter of conjecture (Amao, 2020).

Test of Hypothesis on Research Question one

H_0 : Electoral integrity has no relationship with good governance in Nigeria.

H_1 : Electoral integrity has relationships with good governance in Nigeria.

R.Q.1. What is the nexus between electoral integrity and good governance in Nigeria?

Table 3: Chi-Square Kwara State E.I. & G.G.

	Value	Df	Asymptotic Significant (2sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10, 299. 176 ^a	1.0528	.000
Likelihood Ratio	2024.654	1.0528	1.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	31.980	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	400		

(a) 10735 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0.0

In the table Chi-Square Test result, SPSS also tells us that “10735” cells have an expected count less than 5 and the minimum expected count is 0.0. We can see here that Chi-square (2) =10,299.176, $p<0.05$. This tells us that there is a statistically significant association or relationship between Electoral Integrity and Good Governance in Kwara State, Nigeria. The probability of the Chi-square test statistic (Chi-square=10,299.176) 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. Electoral Integrity and Good Governance. The research hypothesis that says: Electoral Integrity has no relationship with Good Governance is rejected. We, therefore, adopt the alternative hypothesis that says that: Electoral Integrity has relationships with Good Governance in Nigeria. However, the relationship was positive.

Table 4: Chi-Square for Ekiti State E.I. & G.G.

	Value	Df	Asymptotic Significant (2sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1219. 508 ^a	1.295	.000
Likelihood Ratio	827.198	1.295	1.000
Linear- by-Linear Association	24.310	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	400		

(a) 1368 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0.0

In the table Chi-Square Test result, SPSS also tells us that “1368” cells have an expected count less than 5 and the minimum expected count is 0.0. We can see here that Chi-square (2)=1219.508, $p<0.05$. This tells us that there is a statistically significant association or relationship between Electoral Integrity and Good Governance in Ekiti State, Nigeria. The probability of the Chi-square test statistic (Chi-square=1,219.508) 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. We also conclude that there is a relationship between the two variables under consideration i.e. Electoral Integrity and Good Governance. The research hypothesis that says: Electoral Integrity has no relationship with Good Governance is rejected. We, therefore, adopt the alternative hypothesis that says that: Electoral Integrity has relationships with Good Governance in Nigeria. However, the relationship was positive.

Table 5: Chi-Square Rivers State E.I. & G.G.

	Value	Df	Asymptotic Significant (2sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11, 299. 167 ^a	1.0682	.000
Likelihood Ratio	3034.564	1.0682	1.000
Linear- by-Linear Association	41.890	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	400		

(a) 11357 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 “11357” cells have an expected count less than 5 and the minimum expected count is 0.0. We can see here that Chi-square (2) =11,299.167^a, $p<0.05$. This tells us that there is a statistically significant association or relationship between Electoral Integrity and Good Governance in Rivers State, Nigeria. The probability of the Chi-square test statistic (chi-square =11,299.167^a,) 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. We also conclude that there is a relationship between the two variables under consideration i.e., Electoral Integrity and Good Governance. The research hypothesis that says: Electoral Integrity has no relationship with Good Governance is rejected. We, therefore, adopt the alternative hypothesis that says that: Electoral Integrity has relationships with Good Governance in Nigeria. However, the relationship was positive.

A Comparative Analysis of the 2015 and 2019 Presidential Elections 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. While the 2019 Presidential Election which was scheduled for February 16th, 2019 was however postponed to the 23rd of February, 2019 by the INEC giving logistical inadequacies as their reason. 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 the 2019 presidential election was seventy-three (73). The interpretation of this is 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 the 2019 Presidential Election was 84,004,084 (INEC Reports, 2015 & 2019.)

The total number of voters turn-out in the 2015 Presidential Election was put at 29,432,083 with 43.65% while the total number of voter turn-out in 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%) (INEC Reports, 2015 & 2019). The 2015 Presidential Election was transitional, while the 2019 Presidential Election was a consolidatory election. The 2015 Presidential Election was well administered and met the international standard for electoral integrity as it was adjudged credible by the reports of both domestic and international election observers (CDD, IRI, 2015 & 2019). 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 will 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' reports on the 2019 General Election in Nigeria. Moreover, the gravity of electoral violence was reported to occur pre-election, during and after the election. 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 the 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 respondents (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 (844,519), 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 but the 2019 Presidential Election was not better secured considering the electoral violence that trailed the conduct of the 2019 Presidential Election in Nigeria (Amao, 2022).

The 2015 Presidential Election in Nigeria did not witness or a result was never challenged in a 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, it was a negative index of electoral integrity measurement worldwide, 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 lacked credibility. In submission, the 2015 Presidential Election was more credible than the 2019 Presidential Election in Nigeria.

Discussion of Findings

There is a significant relationship between electoral integrity and good governance in Nigeria.

The 2015 presidential election had a higher level of integrity than the 2019 presidential election in Nigeria. Electoral integrity is positively related to good governance, which shows that electoral integrity is one good determinant of good governance in any social setting. Statistically, our flow chart shows the relationships between these latent variables (Electoral integrity and Good Governance), Electoral integrity contributes 0.777 to the model, out of 0.777, 0.4138 has a direct contribution to good governance and indirectly contributes 0.3632 to good governance. The higher the quality of electoral integrity the more confident the voters have in the system of election or electoral system and the better good governance the system produced. This can also be corroborated by the findings of Ojukwu *et al.* (2019) that the 2019 general elections have been particularly disastrous because they were characterised by so many lapses such as results falsification, ballot stuffing, multiple voting *e.t.c.*, in the conduct of the 2019 election that betrayed the bias of the EMB and the security agencies. The outcome, therefore, was a subversion of the voting pattern of the people whose choice was denied in the leadership they preferred. This can be corroborated by public comments and election observers' reports that the 2019 general election (presidential election) did not meet up with the records of the 2015 elections. Nigerians were dissatisfied with the management of the elections by Election Management Bodies (EMB) and the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). INEC battled with logistical problems and administrative deficiencies that impacted negatively on the quality of the election. The logistical challenges caused a sudden postponement of the presidential election six hours before its commencement on 16 February, 2019. The postponement significantly dampened public expectations about the prospects of the electoral system. The elections were followed with reports of disenfranchisement as a result of the arbitrary cancellations of poll results, over spurious or frivolous reasons by the EMB. This is more problematic as most of the cancellations occurred in areas considered strongholds of the opposition parties (Onapajo, 2020). Adebisi (2021) concluded that the 2019 presidential election was not perfect in all ramifications as there were operational shortcomings, electoral security and low turnout.

In conclusion, the study also found out that the 2019 general elections have a credibility deficit as they generated petitions and litigations. The study also found that the processes of conducting the 2019 general elections were characterised by harassment and oppression of persons by the political office holder to those belonging to the opposition parties or considered to be critical of their mismanagement of the electoral process with the use of law enforcement agencies. There was a massive deployment of police and armed forces which frightened and threatened voters. The widespread militarisation of society by those in power during elections undermined the credibility of the 2019 general

elections. In essence, incumbents control and manipulate the electoral system to their advantage which eroded the credibility of the 2019 general elections in Nigeria.

Recommendation and Conclusion

Electoral Integrity has relationships with Good Governance in Nigeria. However, the relationship was positive. Therefore, the paper recommends that to achieve good governance, the quality of electoral integrity should be improved considerably in Nigeria. The paper concluded that there is a significant relationship between electoral integrity and good governance in Nigeria. And the study has also made it clear that for any nation to achieve good governance, it has to improve the electoral integrity of its electoral process in the country. Finally, the 2015 presidential election was better and met the international standard for electoral integrity. The paper also concludes that 2019 presidential election was not perfect in all ramifications as there were operational shortcomings, electoral insecurity and low turnout.

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