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E-GOVERNMENT IN NIGERIA: PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS

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Abstract

In the early 2000s, the federal government of Nigeria announced the initiative of the government to go digital to enhance the operation of the government in providing public services in a transparent, effective and efficient means. Sixteen years after the launch of e-government, this paper dwells into investigating the level of Nigeria's e-government progress as well as taking note of the drawbacks that has inhibited its fast development, as well as look into world best practices that Nigeria can adopt and adapt. This is done by carrying out study on the international e-government assessment and research by the United Nations E-government Development Index Survey (EGDI) and web surveys of selected federal government ministries/agencies. The study survey reveals that Nigeria's e-government performance has been a mix of failure and success over the years. From the study, factors responsible for this include reduced budgetary allocation for ICT, power failure, infrastructure challenge, digital divide, etc. To overcome this challenges, this study concludes and recommended that Nigeria needs to adopt and adapt some best practices principles applied in some countries ranked high in egovernment.

Keywords: E-Government, Service Delivery, Public Service

Introduction

In the early 2000s the federal government of Nigeria announced the initiative of the government to go digital and serious concerted efforts were been geared towards its realization. This is to enhance the operation of the government in providing public services in a transparent, effective and efficient means. And since its inception, rapid development has been achieved due to its level of progress and achievements over the years. It is worthy of comparing the time of conception of the project and the level of progress over time.

Ouite a number of government information and services are now available online and provided for electronically. Presently, access to government information is now easier and faster than the days of paper based bureaucracy and quite a number government officials are now responsive to their duties due to the digitalization of their functions which has made their duties easier. Not only the public officials enjoy the benefit of e-government so the citizens and businesses. The advent of e-

government has now made information for the citizens to retrieve easily and enjoy public services with relative ease. Moreover, that digitalization of government is still an emerging innovative trend in the developing world where paper based excessive bureaucracy was a norm, the achievement of Nigeria among the league of developing countries is recognizable and the government is still striving hard to tackle drawbacks inhibiting its development.

This paper dwells into the level of Nigeria's egovernment progress as well as taking note of the drawbacks that has inhibited its fast development, as well as look into world best practices for Nigeria to trail in order to reap the maximum benefits of digital government. This is done by carrying out study on the international e-government assessment and research by the United Nations E-government Development Index Survey (EGDI). Also, web surveys are conducted within selected federal government ministries/agencies to compare in order to draw a logical conclusion.

This study become evidently important in the public

service to determine the true status of e-government in Nigeria and as well help the government in drawing future plans and public policies to strengthen the e-government framework in Nigeria. This will in the long run help the government achieve a reliable, transparent and efficient public service.

Conceptual Clarification E-Government

E-government refers to the use of ICT (Information and Communication Technology) to improve the process of governance (Signore, et al 2005). It is also the use of ICT tools by government agencies to communicate and relate with citizens, businesses and other government arms (World Bank, 2009; Heichlinger, 2004). Likewise, another view of egovernment according to the European Union, it is the use of ICT in public administrations combined with organizational change and new skills in order to improve public services (Molner, 2007). From the definitions above, it can be gathered that egovernment is the use of information and communications technology in the process of governance, public administration and the provision of public services to the citizens, businesses and other government agencies.

Components of E-Government

E-government is composed of three delivery models namely, Government to Citizens (G2C), Government to Business (G2B) and Government to Government (G2G) (World Bank, 2009). G2C is the interaction between the government and the citizens where information about the government programmes and policies are readily available for the citizens. G2C is the relationship between the government and the businesses where the corporate entities relate with the government in a transparent and efficient means usually in tax remittance and policy review. While G2G is the relationship between the open and confidential relationship between different government agencies, levels and arms.

Rationale for the Adoption of E-Government

The rationale behind the adoption of e-government stems from the idea of globalization and a fast changing political atmosphere where government needs to change its mode of interaction with its stakeholders and provision of essential services to the public. Also, the need for the government to share accurate information within a little space of time irrespective of geographical location (Alhabshi, 2011). More so, to make huge and impossible tasks to be more simple and less tedious to perform within the space of short time such as downloading of voluminous information, dissemination of national security information within the government circle.

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From another viewpoint, e-government emerged as an opportunity to employ new technologies in order to transform government to a model best applicable in this 21st century (Pearce, 2004). It is an evolutionary shift away from the defunct public administration system which is highly bureaucratic, costly, ineffective and ineffectual in public service delivery as described in table 1 below (Ndou, 2004). Therefore, e-government as professed by Alhabshi (2011), it is an integral part of New Public Management through its art of reforming operations of the public sector and its service delivery mechanisms.

The activities of the government in this 21st century will almost be impossible to be conducted without ICT. ICT is needed in the communication between government agencies to fast track discussions and policy process. More so, it is needed for communication between different governments of different countries to promote the relations between countries. Also, in the provision of services to the citizens on one hand and the government receiving feedbacks on the other hand. It proves to be a mode of achieving a transparent, effective, efficient and open government which is cost effective to all the stakeholders. Therefore, the overall importance of egovernmentcannot be overemphasized.

However, in a bid to attain a robust and enjoy the overall benefit of e-government, it is dependent upon a multiple factors. Literatures (such as Basu, 2004; Shahzad and Sandhu, 2007; Eynon and Dutton, 2007) concluded that success factors for egovernment are reliant upon standard legal, policy and infrastructural framework, trust building in the system, financial commitment as well as well human capital development. And the absence of any or all of the above factors in the planning and implementation phases could constitute major challenges.

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Table 1: Paradigm shifts in Public Service Delivery

Operation	Bureaucratic Paradigm	E-government Paradigm	
Orientation	Production cost- efficiency	User satisfaction and	
		control flexibility	
Process organization	Functional rationality,	Horizontal hierarchy,	
	departmentalization, vertical	network organization,	
	hierarchy of control	information sharing	
Management principle	Management by rule and	Flexible management,	
	mandate	interdepartmental team	
		work with central	
		coordination	
Leadership style	Command and control	Facilitation and	
		coordination, innovative	
		entrepreneurship.	
Internal communication	Top down, hierarchical	Multidirectional network	
		with central coordination,	
		direct communication	
External communication	Centralized, formal, limited	Formal and informal direct	
	channels	and fast feedback, multiple	
		channels	
Mode of service delivery	Documentary mode and	Electronic exchange, non -	
	interpersonal interaction	face to face interaction	
Principles of service	Standardization, imp artiality,	User customization,	
delivery	equity	personalization	

Source: Ndou, (2004:3)

E-Government Progress Ranking

There are various ranking models that explain e-government growth and process of these growths. There are various organizations and institutions involved in this process with distinct models of measuring growth and progress. Some of these organizations include United Nations; World Bank, Centre for Public Policy, Brown University, USA etc. However, the United Nations model would be used in the context of this study due to its comprehensiveness.

United Nations E-Government Growth Model

The United Nations has four stages model developed by United Nations Online Network in Public Administration (United Nations; 2006). The stages include, emerging web presence, enhanced web presence, interactive web presence, transactional web presence, and integrated web presence. This model run down from the ability of a government agency just providing information on their sites to a Joined-Up-Government (JUG) stage where there are no barriers between agencies, ministries, departments and levels of government.

Based on the United Nations e-government model, a year to year rating is done for countries within the United Nations to measure their level of e-government maturity. The assessment covers all the spheres of e-government (G2G, G2C and G2B) including the level of infrastructure development, access to information and knowledge of e-government as well as human capital development to reflect the true picture of e-government development of every country covered(Alhabshi, 2011). The end result of the assessment produce an e-readiness index of countries based on web measures index, infrastructure index and human capital index.

The web measure assessment measures the ability of the government to provide services online. It based its assessments on the quality of decision making, participatory democracy and citizen empowerment criteria. On the individual level, each ministry, department and agencies within the levels government are assessed based on the same questions to ensure consistency and uniformity. Generally, the web measure index is based on a four-stage model.

a) Emerging Presence Stage: this is the first stage which represent the ability of the

ministries or agencies to present information about themselves online and it remains static without option of feedback nor links to other ministries, departments and agencies.

- b) Enhanced Presence Stage: this is the second stage where information about public policy such as bills, budgets, laws and regulations, newsletters are available on the portal and downloadable. Although, it is still a one-way communication where feedbacks are not allowed but the information available are updated from regularly.
- c) Transactional Presence Stage: this is the third stage which gives room for a two-way channel of communication between the government agency and the citizens and vice versa (G2C and C2G). At this stage transactions are carries out through online payment platform such as the use of debit and credit card. Payments for renewal of licenses, road tax and summons are easily payable online without citizens making physical presence. Also, it covers the G2B segment where businesses are able to bid via an e-procurement portal.
- d) Connected Presence Stage: this is the final and the most advanced stage of the United Nations model. It serves as a point of integration between the government, citizens and businesses (G2G, G2C and G2B) and in inverse manner as well. It entails a two-way channel of communication where e-participation is also a common feature of this stage. Relevant stakeholders on a decision are given the opportunity to contribute their quota in public policy, law and decision making.

The level of infrastructure is the second mode of assessment for the United Nations e-government maturity assessment. The level on infrastructure is based on six indices for every country. These indices express the level of infrastructure development of every country. The indices are PC's/1,000 persons; Internet users/1,000 persons; Telephone Lines/1,000 persons; Online population/1,000 persons; Mobile phones/1000 persons; and TV's/1000 persons. Data for the UN Member States was drawn from the UN International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and the UN Statistics Division, supplemented by the World Bank data.

The third mode of assessment is the Human Capital Index based primarily on education index. This index posits that there is a link between the level of

education and skill in ICT. Therefore, in measuring this index, all forms of formal education are taken into consideration such as adult education, distance learning, primary, secondary and tertiary education.

3.0 E-GOVERNMENT IN NIGERIA

The implementation of E-government in Nigerian was made possible with ICT revolution which started in the early 2001. The objective was to place government services online to enable efficiency, effectiveness, transparency and accountability. Also, the government proposed e-government as the major driver for the vision 20-2020. It is the hope that e-government will achieve public sector efficiency, productivity growth, economic growth and national competitiveness.

To realize the above objectives, two key actors were involved. The establishment of National Information Technology Development Agency (NITDA) in 2003 and National e-government Strategy Limited (NeGST) in 2004. NITDA was established under the Ministry of Communication Technology (formerly Ministry of Science and Technology) to champion e-government implementation under NITDA Act 2007 through a Public Private Partnership (PPP) with the National e-government Strategy Limited (NeGST) which is a private entity.

The Nigerian PPP model for implementing e-Government leverages on Government's economic and civil service reform processes which include deliberate programme to nurture and inculcate the private sector in the e-government development process. The rationale for using a PPP model was to use the private sector as the driving force for infrastructural development and investment creation in the e-government system. Moreover, the collaboration of the two sectors will sustain the egovernment system due to the woeful performance of the public sectors in managing public own enterprises in the past. The three players in this model includes the Government, Private Sector (business) and the Citizens with each player having different roles to play as mentioned earlier that e-government operates on three layers. The government's role is to carry out policies, programmes and reforms to provide better services and good governance. The private sector team up with the government to help implement the policies and programmes through infrastructural development, private investment and capacity building. While the citizens demand from the government the types of services they wish to enjoy from the private sector.

On the rationale to implement e-government in Nigeria, Obasanjo (2004) said "it [public service]

will no longer be business as usual (emphasis mine)" indicating a shift from the old public administration to the new e-government style. He further stressed that his administration has been centered on reorientation and reorganization of the civil service and public officials by changing the business as usual (highly bureaucratic) default system to a transparent, efficient, productive and participatory one. Moreover, he continued that his administration has taken a bold step to reengineer the backroom engine to institutionalize an "effective system through computer assisted modern processes known as e-government" (Obasanjo 2004). A similar view was shared by the former Minister of Science and Technology (Pauline Tallen)who stressed the need for e-government as a change element in the Nigerian public service (Ifinedo 2006).

Since its inception several initiatives have been geared at fast tracking its development. The e-Nigeria project was the first project taken up to connect communities, vital agencies, government institutions as well as educational institutions. The e-Nigeria initiative gave rise to the National Rural Telephony projects which to give opportunities to the rural areas with no GSM service to connect with the urban areas (Vanguard, 2013). Other laudable initiatives like the Nigerian Telemedicine Initiative, Public Service Network Initiative, Internet Exchange point initiatives, State and local Government ICT

facilities loan scheme initiative and wire Nigeria initiative. According to Ekeh (2007), these initiatives are aimed at enabling the rapid development of the Nigerian nation. In addition, and as a matter of necessity, the only skill and tool a nation needs to actualize them (the initiatives) is by making computers affordable and flexible for Nigerians to acquire.

Currently, there is a single portal that can be regarded as a One-Stop Centre (OSC) which links the federal government MDAs together and also serve a guide for citizens to access various e-services. In this portal, information about the government agencies in Nigeria and the missions abroad are readily available. The portal is divided into three categories-Government to Citizen, Government to Business and Government to Foreigner.

The advantages of e-government has brought to Nigeria far outweighs the disadvantages. One of the key advantage e-government stands to improve is the level of efficiency through the reduction of time and cost consumed to carry out services. The manual system is heavily paper based and requires lots of manpower (staffs) to carry out. However, with the introduction of the online system, it required less manpower to handle. Table 2 below shows a comparative analysis of e-services that were previously done manually.

Table 2: Comparison between Manual and Electronic Mode of Government Service Delivery

C	Managaria.	Electronicalles
Government Service	Manually	Electronically
International Passport	Minimum processing time	Minimum processing time
Application	is 90 days and some could	is 1 day and maximum of 3
	last 9 months	days.
Trade Clearance	Requires 7 working days to	1 day to clear
	clear	
National exam registration	Minimum of 7 days	Minimum of 1hour
(WAEC, NECO and		
JAMB)		
Recruitment	2 months	1 hour of online form
		completion and instant
		acknowledgement
Land Allocation	3 to 4 months	1 day with GIS
Tax remittance	7 working days	Minimum of 20 minutes
Voters Registration	5 days to register and get	5 minutes and instant voters
	voters card	card
National Identity	Minimum of 13 to 14	Minimum of 90 days.
Registration	months of processing	

Mohammed Et.al (2010)

NIGERIA E-GOVERNMENT PEROFORMANCE

United Nations E-Government Survey (2004-2014) Nigeria's e-government performance has been dwindling over the years having been classified among the countries with middle E-government Development Index (EGDI) with the likes of Angola and Ghana. In 2004, Nigeria was ranked 141 having scored an index of 0.2485. An upward improvement was recorded one years after in 2005 having moved 2

places upward with a rank of 139 having an index of 0.2758. Similar upward trend occurred in 2008 having moved three places higher than 2005 with a rank of 136 and score of 0.3063. However, in 2012 Nigeria dropped to the lowest in her history in the egovernment survey having been ranked as low as 162. By 2014, a substantive improvement was recorded with Nigeria ranking as high as 141 and an index of 0.290.

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Table 3. Nigeria Year to Year EGDI rating (2004-2014)

Year	Index	Position	Remark
2004	0.2485	141	
2005	0.2758	139	
2008	0.3063	136	
2012	0.1996	162	
2014	0.2900	141	

Source: United Nations E-Government Survey, 2004-2014

Despite been the largest exporter of crude oil in Africa, and the biggest GDP (rebase) in Africa, the country is still ranked below the like of Namibia, Mauritius and Ghana as shown in Table 4. This is to show that the level of income is not translated in the level of e-government development. Egypt and Morocco for example also belong to the lower middle income groups as Nigeria but with a high EGDI of 0.5129 and 0.5060 respectively. The national budgetary allocation for the ICT industry has been declining for over three years partly responsible for the low performance of the country's

e-government development. In 2012, the budgetary allocation was N19.6 Billion, 2013 it reduced to N15.6 Billion and N14.6 Billion in 2014.

It is pertinent to look into the specific areas that build up to form the United Nations EGDI i.e. the infrastructure index, online presence index and human capital index. Nigeria has been progressing in infrastructural development for ICT and online presence over the years but retrogressing in human capital development which is the primary driver for e-government growth as shown in table 4 below

Table 4. Specific Key Indices in E-government Development Survey

Year/ Indices	Infrastructure	Online Presence	Human Capital
			Development
2004	0.013	0.14	0.59
2008	0.049	0.22	0.64
2012	0.127	0.20	0.8
2014	0.19	0.30	0.38

Source: United Nations E-Government Survey, 2004-2014

Web Survey

Table 5. Selected Ministries Web Presence Status in Accordance with the United Nations web presence measurement model.

S/N	Ministry/Agency	Emerging Presence	Enhanced Presence	Transactional Presence	Connected Presence
1.	Presidency			X	X
2.	Ministry of Finance				
3.	Ministry of Health		X	X	X
4.	National Identity				X
	Management				
	Commission				
5.	Nigeria Immigration				X
	Service				

Source: Author Survey, 2015

DISCUSSION

This study sets out to evaluate the present stage of e-government development in Nigeria most especially as regards the federal public service which is the most advanced in e-service delivery within the three levels of government. The main objective of doing this is to assist the public policy makers and implementers in areas necessary and worthy of putting attention to fast track the development of e-government in Nigeria. This will in the long run enable the country to attain a public service that is transparent, effective and efficient in terms of service delivery to the citizens and public policy making.

Having evaluated the present stage of e-government in the country through the United Nations E-Government Development Index (EGDI) and the assessment of the online presence of selected ministries within the federal parastatals. It can be said that Nigeria is yet to attain her best in the drive for a viable, transparent, efficient and effective public service. Only three out of the five agencies surveyed can boast of having reached transactional presence stage where online transactions can take place. And just one of the five have reached the peak which is connected presence stage, a seamless stage where it has links to multi agencies and organizations within and outside its domain.

This lag can be attributed to some factors such as:

a) Epileptic Power Supply

The major technical challenge disrupting the full success of e-government implementation in Nigeria is epileptic power supply. Power blackout is a regular phenomenon in most Nigerian cities, towns and villages with negative impacts on the robustness of ICT. Most base stations are equipped with power generating plants as an alternative source for these

equipment. The cost of procuring these generating plants, maintaining and fueling them have added to the operation cost of these companies and as such the final burden will be borne by the final citizens.

b) InfrastructuralChallenge

Infrastructure problem is another hindrance to the progress of e-government in Nigeria. The problem of infrastructure are multiple which includes: multiple regulations on the same infrastructure, Lack of standard guideline for the procurement of right of way, theft and vandalization of ICT equipment, infrastructural deficit etc.

c) Privacy and Security challenges

Internet privacy and security is important for a successful implementation of e-government (Pedro, 2012). Internet fraud (popularly known as 419) has been a problem that has been troubling the country for a long time due to the lack of cyber security laws which has tainted the country's image at home and abroad. Most e-payment providers in Nigeria have been clamouring for the quick passage of the much awaited cyber security law to clamp down on the activities of the fraudsters (Daily Independent, 2013).

d) Organizational Challenges

Effective communication and organizational skills are sine qua non to an effective e-government implementation. One of the organizational problem that can be contributed to the low progress level of e-government in Nigeria is the lack of cooperation and understanding among the government agencies. Each agency has its own website and just only few have links of other agencies on their sites. Even though, there is a single unified portal.

e) Digital Divide

Digital divide is the difference in ICT access and

usage between different regions that shares similar characteristics. In Nigeria, it can be perceived as the difference in the accessibility and usage of ICT services between the rural population and the urban population. Digital divide in Nigeria is caused by different factors namely: disparity in literacy level between the rural and the urban areas, infrastructural gap in what is obtainable in the urban and rural areas, poverty and high cost of internet connectivity etc.

BEST PRACTICES NIGERIA CAN ADOPT

Despite hurdles which affects successful implementation of e-government across the world, some countries have achieved significant progress which countries lagging behind like Nigeria can adopt their success strategies.

a) Singapore Whole of Government Approach to E-government

Singapore was quick to adopt a Whole of Government Enterprise Architecture approach in implementing and reforming its e-government. Singapore adopted the Whole of Government Enterprise Architecture (WOG EA) approach in 2002 to e-government in a bid to enable the government to enhance its ICT assets by thoroughly analysing and identifying strategic opportunities from its various stakeholders. By virtue of implementing this model, the broad aim was to improve efficiency of government by aligning government investment goal with performance. Moreover, Singapore seeks to achieve an end to end service integration for a seamless government which will lead to creating a synergy between all government agencies with greater efficiency. Also, to enable government agencies utilize a common platform for operation to avoid duplication of efforts (eGov Singapore, 2013).

Through the adoption of this kind of model in Nigeria, it will help overcome the issue of multiple infrastructure for telecom operators, erase duplication of services by government agencies. It will also ensure a seamless integration among the government agencies which will enable all of them to communicate freely and effectively.

b) M-Government Initiative in Australia and South Africa

E-government is a tool that can be accessible by multiple technologies such as PCs, Kiosks, mobile phones and smart TVs. Accessibility through various mediums will enable a fast and efficient approach to e-government. For example countries like Australia, United Kingdom and South Africa have recognised the need to develop m-government which is a means

further simplifying e-government. In Australia, the federal government developed 10 mobile applications in 2011 that can be used during emergency cases. These apps can be used in all kinds of emergencies such as epidemics cyclones, terrorist attacks, heat waves and smog (Proxima 2011).

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In the case of South Africa, the government has launched a number of mobile projects through m-government that will help the government to spread the benefits of e-government across the country. The government is taking advantage of the high teledensity level to reach out to citizens and businesses through mobile health clinics, mobile enquiry of government agency activity, e-participation in decision making (e-democracy) and e-justice where court cases can be filed without going to the court.

c) Malaysia Shared Infrastructural Services To curb the lack of integration and sharing information deficiency between systems and between government agencies, stemming from the agencies' isolated efforts in ICT thus, placing further barrier to their abilities to collaborate and improve on service delivery. Malaysian government identified the need for common and shared ICT infrastructures at the beginning of the e-government programme in the Administrative Centre of Putra Jaya with the launch of Putra Jaya Campus Network (PCN). PCN is the core infrastructure that connects all the government departments and ministries in the various parcels in Putra Jaya. PCN is to save cost of duplicating infrastructure and enable a greater level of coordination, cooperation and sharing of information between the various government agencies (Abdul Karim and Khalid 2003).

Conclusion

This main objective of this paper is to understand the progress of e-government in Nigeria. In the course of implementing e-government in Nigeria, certain obstacles have hindered a full fledge e-government in Nigeria. Therefore, in the course of understanding the present, obstacles inhibiting its growth, we are likely to contend with how to synchronize both to produce a vibrant e-government achievement for the future. Through, this we are able to bring some best practices from countries excelling in e-government as a model for Nigeria to adopt and adapt to further reengineer its e-government potentials.

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ELECTION MANAGEMENT AND DEMOCRATISATION PROCESS IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

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ABSTRACT

Every democracy is usually validated by periodic elections. Election is a key element which makes a polity to be devoid of totalitarian system. The fourth republic elections in Nigeria had showed to a large extent a sustained improvement in the managerial and execution aspects. There are instances of post election violence in Nigeria but none had destroyed the polity. To what extent had the polity suppress post electoral violence in Nigeria? This paper uses the system and decision making theory to analyse the extent of stability in the polity at post election years. Recommendations are focused on peaceful coexistence among the populace regardless of the political party affiliations. Conclusions are premised on good governance and the use of constitutional provisions to resolve electoral disputes.

Keywords: Democracy, Election, Violence, Rule of Law and Election Management

INTRODUCTION

Within the context of a complete break away from one-party and military dictatorships, African countries dived into competitive multi-party elections since the 1990s. Thus, as Ake puts it 'Issues of democratization and human rights are increasingly the world's interest in Africa overcoming a legacy of indifference to the fate of democracy on the continent' (Ake, 1991:32). Many of these African states that allowed elections to be held in them made a mockery of their transition programmes. In fact, Naomi Chazan pointed out the loss of legitimacy that has now characterised African elections when she pointed out that: 'Elections in Africa, after the initial euphoria associated with political stability during decolonization quickly came to be viewed as meaningless political rites...'(Chazan, 1979:136).

While not doubting the increasing nature of democratic transitions in African countries, Lemarchand concluded that, 'there are compelling reasons to fear that the movement towards democracy may contain within itself the seed of its own undoing' (Lemarchand, 1992:98). Celestin Monga identified eight problems with African politics which according to him are: the weakness of political parties, manipulation of the electoral

process, a narrow political field, a constrained civil society, a controlled press, the absence of civility, privatised violence and politicised armies, and international support for dictatorship (Monga, 1997:156). However, Richard Joseph seemed to have captured African politics when he stated that 'of the many factors impeding constitutional democracy in Africa, none appears more significant than the upsurge of political violence (Richard, 1997:3). It seems to us therefore that a proper understanding of political renewal in Africa should pay more attention to the role of political violence.

Thus in Kenya, President Daniel Arap Moi resorted to political violence as a means of retaining power. Similarly Kibaki who succeeded him was guilty of 'daylight robbery and a civilian coup' (Bamgbose, 2008:54). In Zimbabwe, Tsvangirai withdrew from the run-off of 2008 in protest over political violence that killed over 120 people and displaced thousands (Bracking, 2010:1). The April 24, 2005 Togo presidential election triggered off political violence resulting to the outflow of Togolese refugees to the neighbouring countries of Ghana and Benin (Bamgbose, 2009:109). In October 2008, two Belgian demographers, Andre Lambert and Louis Lohle-Tart, were invited by the European

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