One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward? Does E-Government make Governments in Developing Countries more Transparent and Accountable?

By Victoria L. Lemieux
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Abstract

Many countries are in the process of transitioning from primarily paper-based administrative systems to digital systems through the application of information and communication technology (ICTs) as part of e-Government initiatives. Though much has been written about the positive power of technology and information to support greater transparency and accountability and, by extension, development, this paper discusses literature exploring the unintended consequences and downside risks for transparency and accountability associated with the way recorded information is produced and managed in digitally enabled developing country public sector contexts. The implications of these risks for implementation of right to information laws is discussed, and a call is made for further research and greater attention to the effects of ICT use in the public sector, especially in regard to digital records and information creation, use, management and preservation and effects upon the operation of transparency and accountability mechanisms.

Introduction

Many countries are in the process of transitioning from primarily paper-based administrative systems to digital systems through the application of information and communication technology (ICTs) as part of e-Government initiatives. Though much has been written about the positive power of technology and information to support greater transparency and accountability (see, for example, Bertot, Jaeger, & Grimes 2010; Jaeger & Bertot 2010) and, by extension, development, this paper discusses literature on records management, archives administration and transparency exploring the unintended consequences and downside risks for transparency and accountability associated with the way recorded information is produced and managed in digitally enabled public sector contexts in developing countries. By doing so, the paper seeks to draw attention to an issue that has received relatively little attention in the wider literature on e-Government. As the body of literature explored in this paper suggests, in many countries introduction of ICTs has brought about deterioration in the quality, management and accessibility of recorded information with concomitant negative impacts upon transparency and public accountability mechanisms, such as the operation of right to information laws.

Conceptualizing Transparency and Accountability
A broad international consensus has developed around incorporating four key principles—accountability, transparency, participation and inclusion—into the policy, programs and operations of international development organizations in recent years. Carothers and Brechenmacher (2014) argue that the emergent consensus began in the 1990s with an “opening to politics” and the notion that institutions and governance matter in the context of international development.

Transparency has been characterized in many ways, but essentially it is an element in the ecosystem of accountability. As a metaphor, it serves as a public value that citizens demand from government (Ball 2009, Greiling and Spraul 2010). It can be understood as an institutional relation of monitoring and oversight, as information exchange over decisions and actions, and as a means of understanding how governments work and what they achieve (Meijer 2013, 430; Heald 2006, 30).

Accountability has also been defined in many ways. As noted in Migliorisi and Wescott (2011), it has a number of different definitions, including many that use the same or similar terminology (e.g., “hierarchical accountability”) in quite different ways. This paper uses accountability in the sense of the process of holding to account, overseeing and keeping in check those persons who are entrusted with public responsibilities in the fulfillment of their tasks or functions (see Schedler 1999; Migliorisi and Wescott 2011), and focuses on literature from the fields of records and information management, archives administration and transparency research that discusses the extent to which state institutions and citizens have the capacity to hold public institutions or branches of government accountable through transparency. Following Lemieux (2002) and Yates (1993), the argument is made that transparency—in the sense of access to trustworthy information about decisions and actions—is critical to the effective functioning of accountability mechanisms of all kinds, as well as to maintaining internal control needed for the efficient operation of organizational functions and delivery of services.

The Rise of E-Government and the “Digitalization”¹ of Government

A surge in the use of ICTs by government, variously called e-Government, e-Governance, i-Governance, and Digital Governance, among other labels, started in the late 1990s with the, then, primary aim of improving government efficiency and the subsequent aim of making improvements in service delivery and accountability (see, for example, Heintze and Bretschneider, 2000; Lee and Perry 2002; Grönlund & Horan 2005; Heeks 2006). Indicative of these drivers for e-Government is this statement in a 1998 paper by Richard Heeks, "If 'electronic government' means anything, it means the use of IT to help deliver the goals of public sector reform. These

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¹ This paper uses the term "digitalization" here as a short-form to denote the increasing use of ICTs in government operations. Digitization, on the other hand, is used elsewhere in this paper to refer to the technique of transforming information in analog form, such as paper records, into new digital surrogates.
goals can include decentralisation, higher quality public services ... and increased accountability that will make public servants more accountable for their decisions and actions” (Heeks 1998, 1). Wong and Welch (2004, 276) write that e-government is often viewed and promoted as a positive channel for enhancing government accountability and empowering citizens, with the logic being that “more information delivered in a more timely fashion to citizens is expected to increase transparency of government, empowering citizens to more closely monitor government performance (Redburn & Buss 204). The enhanced interactivity of technology is also expected to improve government accountability as it makes government more responsive to the needs and demands of individual citizens.” Tolbert and Mossberger (2006), writing about the effects of e-Government on public trust and confidence, for example, make the argument that it can increase process-based trust by improving interactions with citizens and perceptions of responsiveness.

Development reforms associated with e-Government have typically centered on the introduction of solutions to improve the performance of core public financial management systems (FMIS, Tax/Customs, HRMIS/Payroll, e-Procurement), sector applications (education and health MIS, pension systems, social protection, payment systems, and more), and e-Services through reliable and sustainable ICT solutions and governance structures. The World Bank alone has funded somewhere in the order of 122 financial management systems in 66 countries since 1984, and since 2003 98% of public sector governance activities have included ICT components (World Bank 2014a). Wong and Welch (2004) note, that in 2000, there were 168 national governments that had their own websites. In more recent times, this agenda has broadened to also include a focus on citizen participation in democratic processes and inclusiveness (see, for example, UNDP 2010; World Bank 2014b), reflecting the merging of the development agenda on accountability, transparency, participation and inclusiveness with e-Government. This shift has led the e-Government agenda to go beyond the use of websites to embrace the use of social media and mobile platforms to promote participation and inclusion, with a number of projects incorporating this technology to increase citizen engagement (e.g., the use of mobile technology in participatory budgeting in South Kivu, Democratic Republic of Congo or for citizen feedback on power service delivery in the Dominican Republic (World Bank 2014b).

As a result of e-Government initiatives and increasing “digitalization” of government operations, public sector authorities have come to rely upon a growing array of communications technologies to create, exchange, and store information – from traditional paper-based filing systems, to structured databases, “unstructured” content management systems, social media platforms, web technologies, and mobile platforms (Katuu 2012a, Van Garderen 2002, Wamukoya & Mutula 2005, Pederson, 2008, Luyombya 2011; Mampe and Kalusopa, 2013). Management of the information created and contained in these systems has been another matter, with a generally inverse relationship between the age of the technology used to create, exchange and store information and the capability of public sector authorities to effectively manage
and preserve the information in a trustworthy and accessible form, a key point to which this paper will return.

**Information, Not Technology is the Important Driver**

Though technology has often been seen as a key driver of transformative change in governance and generally has played a prominent role in development programming, development specialists have also recognized - to varying degrees - the importance of information. As early as 1998, Heeks wrote, “. . .IT is not a necessary part of the accountability equation. The recent mass movements behind government accountability in India, for instance, have involved citizen meetings, typed reports and, at their most high-tech, the use of photocopiers - but not a computer in sight. Why? Because it is information, not technology, that is essential to accountability. Information about the performance of services and programmes, decisions and actions must flow from public servants to those who would hold them accountable. But these information flows do not have to be supported by IT” (Heeks 1998, 2).

A related line of thinking emphasizing information, not technology, has most recently been articulated in the UN Secretary-General's Independent Expert Advisory Group on a Data Revolution for Sustainable Development (IEAG) culminating report *A World That Counts: Mobilising The Data Revolution for Sustainable Development*, which argues that the data revolution – arising from an explosion in the volume of data, the speed with which data are produced, the number of producers of data, the dissemination of data, and the range of things on which there is data, coming from new technologies such as mobile phones and the “internet of things”, and from other sources, such as qualitative data, citizen-generated data and perceptions data – drives “more empowered people, better policies, better decisions and greater participation and accountability, leading to better outcomes for people and the planet”(UN 2014b, 6). The World Bank's report on *Big Data in Action for Development* echoes this sentiment (World Bank 2014c, 19), and its strategy on Citizen Engagement recognizes the availability of timely, user-friendly, reliable, and comprehensive information as a necessary (but not sufficient) enabling condition for citizen engagement.

Though few would argue with the importance of ICT in current times, the emphasis on information rather than technology remains important. However, the interconnectedness of technologies, such as the Internet, with contemporary forms of recorded communication, and the “embeddedness” of recorded communication in other socio-political and economic processes makes study of the effects of ICTs versus information created, processed and stored using these technologies in the context of e-Government initiatives a challenging prospect. This is not least because of the difficulty of isolating the effects of different variables, such as whether outcomes result from technology or the often-associated business process re-engineering that has accompanied the introduction of new technology solutions.
Weak Records and Information Management Capacity in Governments

If information drives transformations in public accountability and transparency, then the state of the government’s administrative records – the containers of the necessary information – must be investigated. There is certainly plenty of evidence to suggest that the state of records and information is problematic. For at least the last 15 years, there have been regular warnings about the impact of the loss of control of records relating to the full range of government functions, coming from the press, auditors, academic researchers, and records professionals. In addition, studies of barriers to effective implementation of right/access to information laws consistently emphasize that poor records and information management prevents governments from responding to requests or, if able to respond, slows down the timeliness of the responses (see, for example, Neuman and Calland 2007). A series of twelve case studies and a recent report on drivers of effective implementation of Right to Information Laws in twelve countries (see Trapnell 2014 and Trapnell and Lemieux 2014) underscores previous findings on this point.

ICTs seen as Further Weakening Government Records and Information Management

Though government recordkeeping was weak in many countries before the introduction of ICTs, and existing paper-based recordkeeping systems remain weak, with evidence of a concomitant negative effect on transparency and accountability, there is mounting evidence to suggest that the situation has worsened, not improved, with increased use of technology in the conduct of government business. This is not to make the Luddite’s case that governments would be better off without ICTs. Rather, the argument is that it may be a case of “one step forward, two steps back,” as ICTs may not have successfully solved information problems within public authorities in many developing countries, as some suggest they have, and may, on the contrary, in a number of cases have made the task of gaining control over recorded communication to ensure that it is accessible and has integrity much more challenging. This evidence runs counter to received wisdom that e-Government initiatives, such as the introduction of IFMIS systems or government portals, which largely focus on improvements in the efficiency of the execution of specific functions, such as financial transaction processing or delivery of specific services, generally can have or has had a beneficial effect in relation to the governance agenda (see, for example, Redburn and Buss 2004, 163). While the efficiencies of these specific functions may well have seen improvement, there is evidence that in many cases these projects have not delivered (see, for example, Wong and Welch 2004; Heeks and Bailur 2007) and signs that the overall impact of introducing ICT systems on transparency and accountability may be less than clearly positive.

Contra the general trend, almost from the outset of the e-Government wave, Richard Heeks (Heeks 1998) raised concerns about records management. Heeks’ wrote then:
Where public managers lack a clear records management strategy, computerisation has often been associated with diminution or even loss of paper records-keeping. Yet computer records, because of their intangibility and malleability are a far poorer basis for accountability than paper records.

'The medium is the message’ and the message of electronic media is one of truth, objectivity and credibility. So, when often-inaccurate public sector data is produced by computerised accountability systems it gains a mask of objectivity and an aura of credibility that it does not deserve. Recipients can be led to believe in the validity of invalid accountability information, thus undermining the process of accountability.

Heeks’ observations pulled back the veil on two assumptions that underpin the notion that technology and digital information support transparency and accountability and, therefore, can drive sustainable development: firstly, that information will be available for as long as it is needed and, secondly, that it will have sufficient integrity to be able to support the goals of accountability and transparency.

Both of these assumptions are open to challenge. There is a significant body of evidence from a wide range of sources that indicates that in large parts of the world the most basic information management structures and controls are not in place in either the paper or the digital environments and that the essential enhanced structures, controls, and skills necessary to manage digital information to ensure long-term accessibility and integrity have not been introduced. This is as true in well-resourced countries (see, for example, a report by the Committee on the Future Career Opportunities and Educational Requirements for Digital Curation (2015) commissioned by the US National Science Foundation) as much as in less-resourced countries, though the challenge is greater in the latter.

As an example of the growing problem in developing countries, Justus Wamukoya’s (1996) study on records management and administrative reform programs in Kenya was among the first to offer evidence of the problem. Wamukoya’s study linked record keeping and accountability with policy and programming in the area of public sector reform, and argued that poor record keeping had negative repercussions for economic development in the country. In the same year, Piers Cain’s (1996, 163) paper in Information Technology for Development shone a spotlight on the issue. Cain wrote:

Wherever computers are used to carry out a function, records are being generated either electronically or as hardcopy output. Records are a subset of the wider information universe. Their unique quality is that they are the sources of information that provide the evidence base for accountability. This makes the maintenance of good record keeping systems of particular significance to public sector reform. Computers are rapidly being introduced in every area of public administration to enhance control of key resources,
notably finance and personnel, and to improve efficiency. National and donor
governments alike have come to view computers as the solution to the
management of the information required to deliver effective public services.

If public sector reform is to be a reality, this thinking needs to be modified. Too
often, managers regard technology as a panacea for the shortcomings of the
existing record systems, procedures and communications infrastructure. Of
course, computerised systems offer significant advantages over conventional
manual methods because they can manipulate information with great speed
and precision, but they have limitations. Computers make excellent
information systems because that was the original purpose of many computer
applications, but they are much less suited to be record keeping systems. Data
on a computer can easily become corrupted for one reason or another. Not
every country accepts computer generated data as evidence in a court of law,
but those that do, do so only on strict conditions... Information systems
analysts must remind themselves that computerisation alone rarely solves
problems.

Pino Akotia (1997) has also written on the management of public sector financial
records and their implications for good government. His work focused on Ghana,
showing once again how poor records management can undermine public sector
reform. Barata and Cain (2001) studied the deterioration of records systems that
underpin financial management in the context of Anglophone African countries.
Ironically given that these systems were introduced as part of strategies adopted by
donor agencies and developing countries to promote better financial management
accountability and to reduce the spread of economic crimes, these researchers argued
that such systems, in fact, contributed to the decline of recordkeeping systems needed
to provide trustworthy evidence for accountability purposes. Lemieux (2002)
explored the theoretical and empirical dimensions of the relationships among
records and information, competitive viability and accountability in the context of the
Jamaican financial crisis of the late 1990s and found that poor record keeping had
undermined internal management, as well as external public, financial and political
accountability throughout the Jamaican banking system. Though the Wamukoya,
Akotia, Cain & Barata and Lemieux studies were not all exclusively focused on e-
Government nor the management of information in digital environments, these
studies all mention the unintended side effects that introduction of ICTs have had on
public accountability and transparency.

Nor have these issues been limited to Africa or the Caribbean. As one example, an
article by Lim, Chennupati and Pitt (2003) discusses similar issues in Singapore,
noting the challenges associated with preservation of new digital forms of records
and how to guarantee electronic records’ reliability and authenticity in the future. The
authors suggest that the combined problems of immense volume, unstable storage
media, and obsolete hardware and software present major difficulties and called for
greater attention to and action on the issue. Henriksen and Andersen (2008) describe
a similar scenario in the Punjabi province of Pakistan, but end rather more
optimistically with a case study of successful implementation of an electronic document and records management system (EDRMS) to address the issues. Studies conducted in Latin America (Argentina, Chile, and Ecuador) and South (Uttar Pradesh, India) and East (Vietnam) Asia by the International Records Management Trust between 2002-2004 reveal similar challenges (IRMT 2015).

More recently, a study conducted Kwatsha (2010) of records and information management within the Presidency of South Africa discusses information problems within this office brought about by diverse modes of records creation and keeping, including those enabled by the introduction of ICTs. Kwatsha notes, “The Presidency . . . inherited various different filing systems, which could all be linked back to previous changes in Presidential administration. Correspondence was mainly managed in several Microsoft Access databases that were used to register received documents. Electronic documents were generally received and dispatched daily via E-mail within the Presidency. Most official E-mails were dealt with by their recipients, who did not save them but simply deleted them at their own discretion.” The study focused on implementation of a system designed to improve management of records and information with a view to increasing compliance with public records and right to information legislation, and helping the government meet its commitment to transparency and democratic accountability (Kwatsha 2010, 10).

David Luyombya (2011) conducted a review of the state of digital records management in the government of Uganda. His study, which included empirical research findings based on 23 Government of Uganda (GoU) ministries applying both quantitative and qualitative analysis approaches, concluded that despite the existence of the ICT-related policies, a digital records management implementation strategy was lacking in Uganda. The Records and Information Technology Department (RITD), which fell under the Ministry of Public Service but with statutory responsibility for public records across ministries, had not provided advice and leadership in relation to record-keeping best practices and the management of public archives. As a result, digital records were being handled at individual ministry level with unregulated metadata to describe their content, structure and context, leading, the study noted, to considerable difficulties in planning for digital records management. The study also noted that senior managers interviewed were not concerned about digital archives management.

From 1997 to the present day, the International Records Management Trust has been conducting research into the relationship between good governance and record keeping. Like Wamukoya and Akotia’s research, its study of the management of public sector financial records in sub-Saharan Africa shows how poor record keeping practices undermine accountability and public sector management. The IRMT’s Evidence-based Government Project, which ran from 2002-2004, involved consultations with government officials and records professionals from 38 developing countries through face-to-face, electronic and video conference meetings. It also carried out 13 case studies and developed two assessment tools: the Records Management Capacity Assessment System (RMCAS) and the E-Records
Readiness Tool to be used in conjunction with existing e-Government assessment tools. One of the major findings of this project related to the effects of ICTs on records. The authors of the report (IRMT 2003, 1-2) wrote ten years ago now:

Records in electronic form are becoming especially critical as developing countries embark on e-government strategies . . . . The management of electronic records poses special challenges that include:

- the lack of awareness about the importance of e-records and the dangers associated with their loss (e.g. the loss of evidence, risks to entitlements);
- the lack of accountability for the management of e-records (who is responsible for protecting their integrity and authenticity?);
- complex, fragmented and incompatible information systems and standards (e.g. computer systems, metadata standards);
- fragile, quickly changing record media, formats and storage systems (the e-preservation challenge);
- unconnected or poorly integrated paper and electronic records and duplicated e-records (where is the complete file, the right version?);
- the lack of e-records skills (among both users and information managers);
- limited collaboration among information professions (records managers, archivists, librarians, IT specialists, web content managers, etc.)

These challenges, noted the IRMT, are greatest in countries where resources are scarce, records management systems are weak and technology tools (e.g. electronic records management software) are unavailable (IRMT 2003).

The Evidence-based Government Project was followed, from 2006-2008, by a project that focused on fostering trust and transparency in Governance, which produced a set of training modules related to the management of electronic records (IRMT 2007 & 2008), and a third project on Managing Records as Reliable Evidence for ICT/ e-Government and Freedom of Information in East Africa (IRMT 2010 – 2011), which found that records management issues are not being addressed in relation to the ICT/ e-Government and Freedom of Information initiatives that are being planned and implemented within the region, and that the gap placed these initiatives at risk. The research consisted of a high level exploration of the extent of integration between national ICT/ e-Government and Freedom of Information initiatives and records management (IRMT 2011, 2). The study’s brief to senior management concludes that:

Poor records management threatens all government programmes and processes, including e-government and other service delivery activities, economic development initiatives, health care programmes, land reform initiatives, environmental projects, and initiatives designed to enhance citizen rights. At the core of these issues is the erosion of trust in government
programmes and decision-making where records cannot be found, the accuracy of the information in the records cannot be trusted, or the records are lost or destroyed.

Concerns about records management are being exacerbated in the current environment in many countries because of a growing dependency of governments on records in electronic form (e.g., increasing use of email and text messaging). Electronic records are fragile, and their integrity is dependent upon a quickly changing array of hardware and software. Unless records are carefully managed and protected, governments will be unable to guarantee their availability, authenticity and usability over time and across sites.

While the problem is not unique or new to e-Government, there is growing evidence to suggest that e-Government, or the rising use of digital technologies for the creation, communication and storage of information has created new challenges that exacerbate previous weaknesses in record keeping systems constraining the availability and integrity of information for transparency and accountability.

**Records and Information Management Strategies in the Digital Era**

Though many countries have undertaken extensive digitization programs to convert old analog (e.g., paper) records into digital formats that can be more easily processed and exchanged (e.g., Bayissa, Ketema, & Birhanu 2009; Ramathakwana 2009; Hamooya & Njobvu 2010), it is important to note that this technology, in itself, is not a technology for management and preservation of records and information (Katuu, 2012b). The mistake of thinking that digitization alone solves information problems has led to a number of poor outcomes for countries, such as loss of access to trustworthy original records of transactions, uncertainty about the integrity of digital surrogates, and even loss or irretrievability of digital copies of records (Bayissa, Ketema, & Birhanu, 2009; Ramathakwana 2009; Hamooya & Njobvu, 2010). Digitization has proven to be no panacea. Nor has it addressed the need to manage new records and information generated in native digital formats.

With the rise in new digital forms of creating, exchanging and storing “born digital” recorded communications, new technologies have emerged to manage and preserve this information. Katuu (2012a) documents the evolution of two main types of technologies designed for the management and preservation of digital records and information. The first of these is Enterprise Content Management. These systems (and the various evolutionary iterations thereof, including Electronic Document and Records Management Systems) capture, manage, store, preserve and deliver content and documents related to organizational processes and generally comprise modules for Document Management (DM), Records Management (RM), Workflow or Business Process Management (BPM), Collaboration, Portal, Knowledge Management (KM), Imaging, Digital Asset Management (DAM), Digital Rights Management (DRM), and Web Content Management (Katuu 2012a.; CMS Watch 2010, 21-86; Kampffmeyer
In the main, public sector organizations have had muted success with deployment of ECM applications to manage and preserve the array of digital information they produce and use in their operations. Many ECM systems, even after great effort and expense, have not been successfully implemented (Heeks 2002; Kwatsha 2010). Moreover, the scope of these systems is often limited to specific types of digital information thus leaving large swaths of recorded communications unmanaged and, ultimately, unreliable and/or inaccessible.

The other main type of technology for management and preservation of digital recorded communications is Digital Curation (Katuu 2012a). These technologies consist of a suite of standards, services, protocols and storage platforms and other technology infrastructure designed “to ensure that digital objects of value to society...can be meaningfully reproduced over time, despite evolving representations, mechanisms, rapidly advancing technologies, and continually emerging user expectations” (Foscarini et al 2010). One of the key elements of such technologies is the so-called Trusted Digital Repository (Katuu 2012a). With respect to digital curation, so few public sector organizations have recognized the need for it and put it in place that it fair to say that long-term preservation of digital records and information in most countries in the world is at serious risk.

**Impact of Weak Digital Records and Information Management on Public Accountability Mechanisms – The Case of Right to Information**

The Right to Information (RTI) is a facet of government transparency, or open government, which is embedded in the administrative operations of the public sector, compelling all public officials to consider their roles as caretakers of information, rather than owners (Trapnell and Lemieux 2014). The successful implementation of Right to Information (RTI) laws, also called Freedom of Information or Access to Information laws in some contexts, is dependent upon governments’ ability to create and maintain – and ultimately make available – trustworthy information about government actions and decisions. The British Lord Chancellor’s Code of Practice on the Management of Records (issued under the Freedom of Information Act 2000) states “FOI is only as good as the quality of the records and information to which it provides access. Access rights are of limited value if information cannot be found when requested or, if found, cannot be relied on as authoritative, or the arrangements for their eventual destruction or transfer to an archives, are inadequate (cited in Lowry 2013, 25). There is questionable benefit in increasing the number of countries with RTI laws if governments are unable to produce information when it is requested or to proactively disclose good quality information. Yet, this appears to be precisely what is happening in many countries around the world. The weak state of records management has created a very serious barrier to the right to information. In India in 2014, as just one example, government officials in the Union Home Ministry were unable to respond to a request for information having destroyed the approximately 11,000 files that would have enabled them to respond to the request. They also were unable to produce even a list of the files that had been destroyed (“Our
Representative” 2014). Lowry (2013), reporting on a research project on Freedom of information and government records in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, observes widespread records and information management weaknesses in these countries, and the absence of policies and strategies to address them, concluding that these weaknesses prevent effective implementation of existing and planned right to information laws. Scholarly research on the implementation of right to information confirms that poor records and information management practices have been preventing effective implementation of RTI laws. Confirming these findings, a recent survey of information commissioners points to an increasing number of denials of request for information on the grounds that the information cannot be found or that it is too costly to produce (ICIEN 2014; Taillefer and Elliot 2015).

As digital technologies have transformed the way in which public officials communicate with one another and how such communications are recorded and preserved (e.g., increasing use of social media to communicate) uncertainty prevails about whether these new forms of recorded communication fall within the scope of public records and RTI laws, and, if so, how they should be treated. If a member of the public tweets a public authority does the tweet become a public record and is it in scope of RTI? Do public officials comply with the records management policies of their agencies when using such electronic communications, or are they able to ignore or by-pass them?

Most records and information management policies are built around a framework of physical documents with inadequate attention to digital recorded communications. In the US, critical updates to the policy framework have come only after years of litigation on the question of how emails and other digital forms of recorded communication should be dealt with under the US Federal Records and Freedom of Information legislation (Wallace 2001; Baron 2004, 2014; Jimerson 2007). In most developing countries, however, legislative frameworks have not been similarly updated and remain inadequate to address digital records and information management concerns. This leads to great uncertainty about how to treat such forms of communication in relation to requests for information under RTI laws. Information commissioners and those responsible for implementing RTI laws are often at a loss as to how to capture and make available digital information that is responsive to a legal request for information (ICIEN 2014; Taillefer & Elliot 2015). In a recent international survey of information commissioners, for example, commissioners were asked whether requests made using social media would be valid in their countries. Thirty-five percent felt that generally such requests would be valid, and 30 percent said they could never be valid. Many commissioners had not yet had to deal with an appeal regarding refusal of such a request, which perhaps explains why 25 percent said they did not know if they were valid or not (ICIEN 2014).

Given recent developments in the use of digital forms of communication to conduct government business, especially with the growth of e-Government, there is a need for information commissioners to have better guidance on how digital information should be captured and treated under public records and RTI legislation. A clearer
understanding is needed as to whether national records laws provide sufficient
guidance to public officials on the treatment of digital recorded communications as
public records and to what extent the use of newer forms of recorded communication,
such as email, texts, and social media fall within the meaning of information in RTI
laws and related policies. A better understanding also is needed of whether public
officials, national archives officials and information commissioners have sufficient
authority and capacity to make digital communications accessible and to address
poor recordkeeping practices by public officials by, for example, conducting
independent investigations and taking measures to strengthen laws and policy
guidance when necessary.

Records as Boundary Objects and Sites of Contestation

In October 2003, as reported by Wamukoya and Mutula (2005), a meeting of
Ministers responsible for records and archives management in East and Southern
Africa held in Cape Town, South Africa, underscored the importance of good records
and archives management practices and called for a collaborative action in a number
of areas relating to the management of records and archives including the need to
build electronic records capacity. As Wamukoya and Mutula (2005 69) note, “The
Ministers affirmed the need for governments, records management and archival
professionals, multilateral organizations and donor agencies to give full support to
endeavours of national and other archival institutions to better manage official
records irrespective of media.” In spite of this call, very little has changed in the
intervening years and broader support for improvements to digital records and
information management has not been forthcoming.

Why is management and preservation of new forms of digital recorded
communications not being addressed? The literature on the topic suggests a number
of reasons. The availability of the technical solutions for digital records management
was a barrier early on (see for example, the reports produced by the IRMT for its
Evidence-based Governance project, 2002-2004 [IRMT 2015]). Now, however, the
necessary technologies exist to achieve these objectives (Katuu, 2012b; Thurston,
2015) even if they continue to evolve. Mutiti (2001 & 2002) points to the fact that
many countries may have no specific legal or administrative framework within which
to operate an electronic records management programme. Another obvious reason is
lack of resources. Ngoepe and Keakopa (2011), in their comparative analysis of the
state of records and archives management in South Africa and Botswana cite studies
by Mnjama (2005), Kemoni and Ngulube (2007), Keakopa (2007), Tough (2009) and
Lovering (2010) that point to archival institutions in the East and Southern African
region a being seriously under-resourced. “This under-resourcing of archival work,”
the authors note, “resulted in inadequate and unintegrated planning; a low skills base
among personnel, inadequate records management in government ministries and
departments and absence of clear career paths for staff . . . The findings of research
by scholars . . . point unambiguously to archival systems that are under severe strain
in the ESARBICA region.” (Ngoepe and Keakopa 2011, 146). This lack of capacity
resulting from chronic under-resourcing is also noted in Wamukoya and Mutula (2005). However, lack of resources is not universally seen as the major barrier (see, Aas 2014). Some hold that view that resources could be obtained if the management and preservation of digital records and information were seen as a national priority.

One factor that may explain the lack of priority accorded records and information management and the preservation of digital information relates to increasing distance between public agencies and officials with responsibility for public records management, on the one hand, and those with authority for decision-making concerning government spending on digital technologies, on the other hand. The above-noted survey of Information Commissioners suggests that digital recorded information has become a “boundary object” (Yeo 2008) between two distinct sets of actors operating within two distinct institutional frameworks – records and archival professionals and IT professionals. According to Yeo (2007, 2008):

If a report or a procedure manual can be seen both as a record and as an information product, it can be denominated a “boundary object.”

Sociologist Susan Leigh Star developed the concept of boundary objects in the 1980s. They are entities shared by different communities of practice. Each community may interpret or use them in a different way, but “the acknowledgement and discussion of these differences . . . enable a shared understanding to be formed . . . The boundary object serves as an interface among these communities” (cited in Yeo 2008, 131). Yeo continues:

The status of a boundary object need not be limited to items claimed by the recordkeeping and information management disciplines. Boundary objects straddle many different communities of practice; any given object could be claimed by two or more communities. A website is a boundary object because it could be interpreted as (among other things) a record, a computing resource, a sales platform, a corporate management tool, and a manifestation of contemporary culture; a visual item could be interpreted as a record, a photograph, an artifact of aesthetic design, a symbolic object, and an economic asset. Each community brings its own perspective to the table (Yeo 2008, 131).

The institutional world of records – where recorded information, at least in theory, is controlled in a way designed to support accountability, and thereby, transparency, participation and inclusion - still tends to operate quite separately from the world of data, the IT world - where recorded information is processed, but not necessarily managed or preserved with a view to providing trustworthy evidence of government policies, decisions, and actions (for example, see Wamukoya and Mutula 2005).

The relationship between records and information professionals and IT professionals is a complex one. Records and information management officials rely upon IT officials to provide the technology to help them manage and preserve records and information; but at the same time, they must compete with them for budgetary
resources in public sector contexts. Indignation often runs high on the part of records professionals, who may perceive their traditional role as being threatened by the shifting ground of technologies and institutions for the production, communication, use and storage of recorded information. The threat is not without some basis in fact: a 1996 survey showed that in 71% of developing countries the national archives had an active role in the management of records in government agencies (Roper 1996). Fast-forward 20 years, and the picture looks very different, at least anecdotally, with responsibilities for the management of recorded communications falling less to traditional actors (e.g., national archives) and much more to ICT authorities. At times, records and archival professionals perceive IT officials as casting them in an anachronistic and “non-technical” light, and obstructing any perceived encroachment into ICT territory with jargon that many within the records and archives world do not comprehend (White 2004; ARMA 2009). For many IT officials and senior government decision-makers, records and archival professionals are simply invisible. These officials exhibit little awareness of their legal obligations under, for example, the public records laws and policies which national archives administer, and the priorities and concerns of managing and preserving records (see, for example, Wamukoya and Mutula 2005; Liu and Murphy, 2014; Jordan and de Stricker 2014).

The schism between the two groups is made manifest and visible in the organizational structures of many governments. Typically, IT is managed by one agency, and the national archives by another, with functions concerning the management of current records sometimes falling to one or another of the existing agencies concerned with recorded information or into a third “middle ground” between the two. For example, in Estonia – where digital records and information management is recognized globally as being very good - IT is within the purview of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Communication, whose Deputy Minister functions as the government’s Chief Information Officer. The National Archives, which is the body responsible for the enabling legislation overseeing the country’s public records, falls within the Ministry of Education and Research. A department of Information Society Services, established in 2011-2012, sitting within the Ministry of Economic Affairs is now responsible for the establishment of guidelines related to information services and governance (Thurston 2015). Ngoepe and Keakopa (2011, 157) note the following with respect to organizational placement of the records and archives function in South Africa and Botswana:

The results of the survey also indicate that in South Africa the archives services resort [sic] under the Department of Arts and Culture whereas in Botswana it resorts [sic] under the Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture. These placements compromise the transversal regulatory role of services provided by public archives in both countries. For example, the corporate identity of the institutions is hidden within the departments. As a result, the exercising of authority by the heads is diminished and frustrated by bureaucracy and adherence to hierarchical controls.

This organizational records/data schism constitutes a new form of “digital divide.”
Yeo also observes that the boundaries between different categories – like records and data and the institutions they represent - are fuzzy, and serve as points of contact between worlds. This may cause dissent, according to Yeo. There is some anecdotal evidence of such dissent in reported cases of contestation between records professionals seeking to establish control over new digital objects to ensure their preservation and integrity, and those who, for various reasons seek to resist such controls by denying that the digital objects they have created or that are found within their information systems are records (see, for example, Lemieux 2001 1980; Baron 2014; Fares 2015) These contestations express enactments of power relations between the two worlds, complete with border skirmishes (Lemieux 2001; Foucault 1980). Indeed, the subject line of one recent post on the records management listserv concerning whether a particular object should be considered a record read: “This is war!” (Fares 2015). Often under-resourced and increasingly marginalized records managers and archivists seeking to fulfill their official mandate as keepers of the record in a digital world, feel besieged as they engage in efforts to gain control over new forms of digital recorded communication.

Such statements signal a second factor that may be in play as a barrier to addressing management and preservation of digital recorded communications: incentives. In many contexts, politicians and senior government officials have a vested interest in maintaining a status quo that makes it difficult (or at least not easy) to find the information needed to hold them accountable for their decisions and actions. The issue is illustrated by a recent report about missing Cabinet documents from Jamaica (Goffe 2015) where a commission of enquiry into a security operation that had led to the deaths of over 70 people drew attention to practices around the handling of ministerial, Cabinet records and investigative records. Terrance Williams, Commissioner of the Independent Commission of Investigations, is reported to have commented that there was a history in Jamaica of documents related to cases of prosecutions of the police disappearing by the time the case reached court, with such disappearances being attributed to rats, fires or water damage (Goffe 2015). Further testimony before the commission suggested that problems with records were widespread throughout the Caribbean region. The Jamaican case is not unique, nor is it limited to the paper-based records featured in the report, as a recent Canadian case involving alleged destruction of digital records responsive to a request under a provincial right to information law attests (Taillefer and Elliot, 2015).

**The Need for Good Data to Study the Effects of e-Government on Records and Information Management in relation to Transparency and Accountability**

Much of the evidence about the negative side-effects of increasing use of ICTs as part of e-Government initiatives on recordkeeping and, by extension, government transparency and accountability, derives from professional literature in the field of records and information management and archives administration, with some further evidence coming from transparency research. This body of literature has the
advantage of being written by practitioners very close to the ground of what is happening within the public sector. It remains largely qualitative in nature, however, and geographically uneven in coverage. Consequently, it is very difficult to generalize from the findings of this literature: robust claims about effects and causality are difficult to make. To advance the discussion, comparative data is needed about the state of records and information management in countries that could be used to analyze the relationship between the quality of recordkeeping, on the one hand, and levels of ICT usage in public administration and other governance and development indicators, on the other hand, in order to allow more robust conclusions about effects. Currently, no such up-to-date comparative data exist. In 1995, the International Council on Archives (ICA) undertook an “International Survey of Archival Development,” gathering statistical and qualitative information from national archives around the world (Roper, 1996). This survey is now nearly 20 years out of date, and was completed before many countries began digitization programs or to create and store records in digital form. The study by Ngoepe and Keapoka (2011) covers only East and Southern Africa. There is thus a need to establish a baseline picture of the current state of records and information management and archives administration in countries as a first step to identifying how such systems have been changed by the introduction of ICTs and what effect this is having on public accountability and transparency.

**Conclusion**

This paper has discussed literature on the unintended consequences and downside risks associated with the way recorded information is produced and managed in digitally enabled public sector contexts, with particular focus on developing countries and the international development agenda. The literature has been drawn primarily from research conducted in the fields of records and information management and archival administration, as well as from research on transparency. Though the paper discusses a wide body of literature, it is not a bibliometric analysis and thus makes no claim to comprehensiveness or robust generalizable conclusions about the coverage of the literature on this issue. Such a study is still needed. In addition, there is also a need for research that collects and analyzes comparative quantitative data about the effects of e-Government initiatives records creation, use, management and preservation, and, by extension, transparency and accountability, as such research would support more generalizable and theoretically robust conclusions. Even based on the available evidence, however, it is possible to observe that the introduction of ICTs as part of e-Government initiatives has had unintended consequences and introduced downside risks for records and information management and preservation. These risks, in turn, have tended to undermine the evidence base needed for the operation of effective transparency and accountability mechanisms such as right to information regimes.

With discussions on the post-2015 Strategic Development Goals now underway, which includes the goal of promoting peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable
development (United Nations 2014a & 2014b), providing access to justice for all and building effective, accountable and inclusive institutions, the conclusions to be drawn from the research discussed in this paper suggest that it will be difficult to achieve progress on development if evidence to bring bad actors to justice is missing and if public officials continue to create and keep digital records and information as they have done in the past and are doing now. In light of this evidence, it would seem overdue to move the creation and handling of records up the global development agenda by gathering data to better understand the effect that technology is having on recordkeeping in developing countries, provide more support to governments to strengthen records laws and bring records – especially new digital ones - under effective control, and to clarify the status of all types of records and information vis a vis requirements to preserve and make them available in the public interest.

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