



## BEYOND BUREAUCRACY: PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REFORMS AND THE QUEST FOR INCLUSIVE SOCIETIES IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

**Dr. Sawaira Rashid**

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science & International Relations, University of Central Punjab, Lahore

Email: [dr.sawaira@ucp.edu.pk](mailto:dr.sawaira@ucp.edu.pk)

**Dr. Gulshan Majeed**

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of the Punjab, Lahore

[gulshan\\_99@hotmail.com](mailto:gulshan_99@hotmail.com)

**Amina Bibi**

Secondary School Teacher, Dar-e-Arqam School Baigpur Campus, Gujranwala

[aminaraopu@gmail.com](mailto:aminaraopu@gmail.com)

### Abstract

*Public administration in developing countries has long been characterized by rigid bureaucratic structures, centralized authority, and limited citizen participation. While reform efforts have sought to modernize institutions, enhance efficiency, and promote good governance, the deeper challenge lies in transcending bureaucratic inertia to create inclusive and responsive systems. This paper, titled "Beyond Bureaucracy: Public Administration Reforms and the Quest for Inclusive Societies in the Developing World", critically examines reform trajectories across selected developing regions, highlighting both successes and persistent barriers. Through a comparative approach, it explores how decentralization, digital governance, participatory mechanisms, and capacity-building initiatives have reshaped the relationship between state and society. The analysis demonstrates that reforms achieve sustainability and inclusiveness only when they are context-specific, citizen-centered, and embedded within broader democratic transitions. Ultimately, the paper argues that public administration reform must move beyond efficiency-driven models to embrace equity, empowerment, and accountability as guiding principles, offering valuable lessons for building inclusive societies in the Global South.*

**Keywords:** Bureaucracy; Inclusive Governance; Developing World; Decentralization; Digital Governance; Citizen Participation; Accountability; Global South; State–Society Relations.

### Introduction

Public administration in much of the developing world has historically been shaped by the Weberian bureaucratic model, which emphasizes hierarchy, rules, and centralized authority. While this system provided stability and uniformity in governance, its rigid structures often failed to respond to the complex and diverse needs of rapidly changing societies. Over time, bureaucracy in many contexts became associated with inefficiency, corruption, and exclusion. For marginalized groups, especially women, minorities, and rural populations, bureaucracy often acted less as a facilitator of rights and services and more as a barrier to participation and empowerment. This reality has pushed governments, scholars, and international organizations to argue for reforms that move beyond bureaucracy toward models of governance that are participatory, inclusive, and citizen-centered (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2017).

Global governance indicators highlight the magnitude of this challenge. According to the World Bank's Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI), the average Government Effectiveness score in Sub-Saharan Africa is  $-0.74$ , compared to  $1.35$  in OECD countries (World Bank, 2023). Similarly, South Asia records an average of  $-0.52$  on the Control of Corruption index, while the European Union averages  $1.13$ . The Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) 2024 by Transparency International further illustrates the problem: over two-thirds of countries scored below 50 out of 100, with many developing nations struggling to overcome



entrenched patronage and administrative inefficiencies (Transparency International, 2024). Such statistics demonstrate how bureaucratic inertia and corruption undermine not only state capacity but also the inclusivity of governance.

Despite these challenges, reform trajectories across the developing world offer examples of innovation and hope. India's Aadhaar project, which has registered over 1.3 billion citizens, has reduced duplication in welfare programs and streamlined service delivery (Gelb & Clark, 2013). In Rwanda, the Irembo e-governance platform has digitized over 100 public services, reducing transaction costs and increasing accessibility for citizens (Government of Rwanda, 2022). In Brazil, participatory budgeting has allowed citizens, especially from marginalized communities, to directly influence local government spending priorities, thereby enhancing trust and inclusivity (Wampler, 2012). These initiatives demonstrate that administrative reforms, when rooted in citizen participation and technological innovation, can move public administration closer to the ideals of inclusivity and accountability.

At the same time, reforms are constrained by structural and contextual barriers. The digital divide remains a major obstacle: while 79% of Latin America's population has internet access, only 43% in Sub-Saharan Africa enjoy the same connectivity (International Telecommunication Union [ITU], 2023). Capacity deficits in local governments, resistance from entrenched bureaucratic elites, and political instability further complicate reform processes. Without deliberate efforts to ensure equity and access, administrative innovations risk reproducing existing inequalities rather than dismantling them.

This article explores how developing countries can reimagine public administration to transcend bureaucratic rigidity and build inclusive societies. It examines theoretical perspectives on governance reform, highlights reform experiences across different regions, and identifies the structural challenges that hinder inclusivity. Ultimately, it argues that developing countries require a hybrid governance model — one that blends efficiency, accountability, and citizen participation — in order to foster trust, strengthen institutions, and advance the broader goal of inclusive development in the 21st century. To illustrate this, governance indicators from the World Governance Indicators (WGI, 2023) are compared across regions.

**Table 1: Governance Indicators Comparison**

Region	Government Effectiveness (WGI, 2023)	Control of Corruption (WGI, 2023)
Sub-Saharan Africa	-0.74	-0.7
South Asia	-0.52	-0.52
OECD	1.35	1.35
EU	1.13	1.13

Source: Developed by the Researcher

### **Research Methodology**

This study adopts a qualitative, comparative, and analytical research design to examine how public administration reforms in developing countries have influenced the quest for inclusive societies. The methodology combines theoretical analysis with case-based evidence to ensure both conceptual depth and empirical grounding.

### **Research Design**

The research follows a comparative qualitative design, focusing on selected cases from different regions of the Global South (e.g., South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Latin



America). This design allows for cross-regional comparisons to identify reform patterns, successes, and limitations. The emphasis is on contextual understanding rather than generalization, acknowledging the diversity of governance challenges in developing countries.

### **Data Collection**

The study relies primarily on secondary data sources, including:

- Academic literature on public administration, governance, and reform theories.
- Reports from international organizations such as the World Bank, UNDP, and Transparency International.
- Government policy documents, reform plans, and evaluation reports from selected countries.
- Statistical indicators, such as the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI), the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), and the UN E-Government Development Index (EGDI), to provide quantitative context for qualitative findings.

### **Case Selection**

A purposive sampling strategy is used to select illustrative case studies (India, Rwanda, Brazil, Pakistan, and Kenya) representing different reform trajectories. These cases were chosen because they demonstrate a range of reform strategies (digital governance, decentralization, participatory budgeting, and anti-corruption initiatives) and offer insights into both achievements and challenges of inclusivity.

### **Data Analysis**

The analysis is carried out through thematic content analysis, guided by the theoretical frameworks of New Public Management (NPM), Good Governance, New Public Service (NPS), and Inclusive Development Theory. Cases are compared across themes such as:

- Effectiveness of reforms in reducing bureaucratic rigidity.
- Citizen participation and empowerment outcomes.
- Challenges including corruption, elite resistance, and the digital divide.
- Inclusivity impacts on marginalized groups.

### **Validity and Reliability**

To ensure credibility, the study triangulates data from multiple sources—academic works, institutional reports, and statistical indices. Reliability is enhanced through the use of well-established global indicators (WGI, CPI, EGDI) for cross-checking findings. Furthermore, by applying multiple governance theories, the study strengthens analytical rigor and minimizes bias.

### **Limitations**

The study acknowledges certain limitations. Reliance on secondary data may restrict access to real-time insights from grassroots levels. Regional generalizations are also constrained, as reforms are deeply context-specific. Nonetheless, these limitations are mitigated by the comparative approach, which highlights both diversity and convergence in reform outcomes.

### **Ethical Considerations**

As the research is based on publicly available data and secondary sources, ethical risks are minimal. However, care is taken to represent countries' reform experiences objectively and avoid cultural or political bias in interpretation.

### **Research Objectives**



1. To critically examine the limitations of traditional bureaucratic models in the governance of developing countries and their impact on inclusivity.
2. To analyze the role of reform initiatives—such as decentralization, e-governance, participatory budgeting, and capacity-building—in reshaping state–society relations.
3. To evaluate the challenges of implementing public administration reforms, including resistance from bureaucratic elites, political instability, corruption, and the digital divide.
4. To compare reform experiences across selected developing regions, identifying both successful practices and barriers to inclusive governance.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The study of public administration reforms in developing countries requires a solid theoretical grounding to understand the evolution from traditional bureaucracy to contemporary models of governance. Classical bureaucracy, as theorized by Max Weber, emphasized rational-legal authority, standardized procedures, and hierarchical structures (Weber, 1978). While this model provided order and predictability, in practice it often led to rigidity, inefficiency, and exclusion in diverse socio-political contexts of the Global South. To address these limitations, scholars and practitioners have proposed alternative frameworks such as New Public Management (NPM), Good Governance, and the New Public Service (NPS). These approaches offer insights into how reforms can promote inclusivity and citizen-centered governance.

The New Public Management (NPM) paradigm, emerging in the 1980s, emphasized efficiency, performance measurement, and privatization (Hood, 1991). Inspired by market principles, NPM sought to make public administration more results-oriented and cost-effective. However, critics argue that it often prioritized efficiency over equity, sometimes exacerbating inequalities in access to services (Drechsler, 2005). In the context of developing countries, where capacity constraints and weak institutions persist, NPM has had mixed results in promoting inclusivity. The Good Governance framework, advanced by international organizations such as the World Bank and UNDP, emphasizes transparency, accountability, participation, and the rule of law as prerequisites for development (Grindle, 2004). Unlike NPM, this model directly addresses issues of inclusivity by highlighting the need for citizen participation and equitable service delivery. Yet, critics argue that good governance is often externally imposed and donor-driven, raising concerns about local ownership and sustainability.

The New Public Service (NPS) paradigm, articulated by Denhardt and Denhardt (2000), shifts the focus from efficiency to democracy and citizenship. It argues that the role of public servants is not merely to steer or control but to serve citizens through collaboration, dialogue, and participation. NPS aligns closely with the quest for inclusivity in developing societies, as it emphasizes responsiveness to diverse social groups and recognition of citizen voices in policymaking.

Finally, Inclusive Development Theory provides an overarching framework, stressing that governance reforms must actively reduce inequalities and empower marginalized groups. This theory views inclusivity not as an outcome of efficiency but as a deliberate process embedded in public policy design (Kabeer, 2010). It bridges the gap between administrative reforms and broader social justice goals, making it particularly relevant to developing contexts.

### **Table 2: Comparative Overview of Governance Models**



Model	Core Features	Limitations	Implications for Inclusivity
Weberian Bureaucracy	Hierarchical, rule-bound, centralized authority	Rigid, elite-driven, resistant to change	Limited inclusivity; often excludes marginalized voices
New Public Management (NPM)	Efficiency, performance measurement, privatization, managerialism	Market-driven, can exacerbate inequality	Moderate inclusivity; risks prioritizing efficiency over equity
Good Governance	Transparency, accountability, participation, rule of law	Donor-driven, difficult to localize	Strong inclusivity potential if participatory mechanisms are genuine
New Public Service (NPS)	Citizen-centered, democratic participation, collaboration	Requires high capacity and political will	High inclusivity; fosters empowerment and voice
Inclusive Development	Equity, empowerment of marginalized groups, social justice orientation	Difficult to operationalize; resource-intensive	Directly promotes inclusive societies through deliberate design

Source: Developed by the Researcher

### Public Administration Reforms in the Developing World

Public administration reforms in the developing world have largely emerged in response to governance crises, demands for efficiency, and the need for inclusive service delivery. Unlike developed nations, where reforms were often driven by managerial efficiency, reforms in the Global South are frequently shaped by the dual imperatives of development and democratization (Turner, 2015). Over the past three decades, reforms have ranged from decentralization and privatization to digital transformation and participatory governance, each with varying degrees of success.

One of the most significant reform trends has been decentralization, designed to bring government closer to the people. In countries like Bangladesh and Uganda, decentralization was intended to enhance service delivery and empower local governments. Evidence suggests that while decentralization can increase citizen participation, its effectiveness is often constrained by resource shortages and elite capture (Smoke, 2015). Similarly, Pakistan's Devolution Plan (2001) sought to strengthen local governments, but weak political will and administrative resistance undermined its inclusivity potential.

Another prominent reform has been the adoption of e-governance. The UN E-Government Development Index (EGDI) highlights consistent growth in digital governance across all regions. As shown in Figure 1, Africa has improved from an average score of 0.25 in 2003 to 0.43 in 2022, while Asia advanced from 0.35 to 0.65 in the same period. Latin America also demonstrated steady progress, reaching 0.63 in 2022, closely aligned with the world average of 0.60. These advances reflect how technology is increasingly being leveraged to improve accessibility and transparency in public service delivery.

Table 3 provides illustrative examples of key reforms across developing regions, showing their outcomes and inclusivity impacts.

**Table 3: Illustrative Public Administration Reforms in Developing Countries**



Country	Reform	Key Features	Outcome	Inclusivity Impact
India	Digital India & Aadhaar	Biometric ID for 1.3B citizens; digital platforms for services	Reduced duplication in welfare; improved targeting	Expanded access but concerns on privacy & exclusion of undocumented
Rwanda	IremboGov	Online platform offering 100+ services	Reduced time/cost for citizens	Increased accessibility, especially in urban areas
Brazil	Participatory Budgeting	Citizens directly influence local budgets	Improved trust in local government	Enhanced representation of marginalized groups
Pakistan	Local Government Reforms (2001)	Devolution to elected local councils	Some service delivery improvements	Elite capture limited inclusivity
Kenya	Huduma Centres	One-stop service delivery centres	Streamlined government services	Reduced bureaucratic hurdles, broader citizen reach

Source: Developed by the Researcher

These examples demonstrate that while reforms have expanded state capacity and responsiveness, inclusivity remains uneven. Technology-driven reforms, such as e-governance, show promise but risk deepening exclusion where digital divides persist. Decentralization initiatives empower local communities but require strong institutional safeguards against elite dominance. The comparative evidence underscores the importance of tailoring reforms to local contexts and embedding inclusivity at their core.

### **Challenges to Reform**

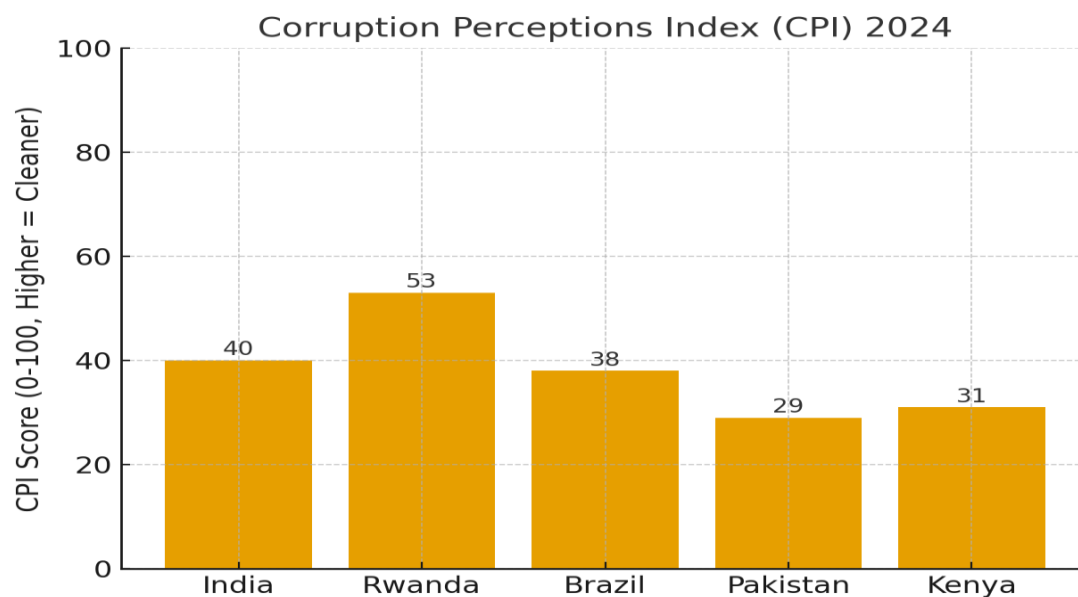
Despite ambitious reform agendas, developing countries face persistent obstacles that hinder the effectiveness and inclusivity of public administration reforms. These challenges are structural, political, and technological in nature, and they often reinforce one another. Understanding them is crucial for designing reform strategies that do not simply reproduce existing inequalities.

### **Resistance from Entrenched Bureaucratic Elites**

Reforms often threaten the power and privileges of established bureaucratic elites. In many countries, bureaucrats resist changes that might reduce their discretionary authority or limit opportunities for rent-seeking. For example, attempts to decentralize authority in Pakistan's devolution plan (2001) faced strong pushback from provincial bureaucracies, which feared losing control over resources (Cheema & Mohmand, 2006). Similarly, in Nigeria, administrative elites resisted anti-corruption reforms aimed at streamlining public procurement systems, thereby undermining efficiency and transparency. Such resistance not only slows reform but also leads to partial or symbolic implementation.

### **Political Instability and Corruption**

Political instability disrupts the continuity of reform agendas. Governments in many developing countries change frequently, often along with reform priorities. The Corruption Perceptions Index (2024) shows that more than 70% of developing countries scored below 50 out of 100, reflecting widespread governance weaknesses (Transparency International, 2024). In South Asia, fragile political coalitions have repeatedly stalled reforms, while in Sub-Saharan Africa, elite patronage networks have often redirected resources away from intended beneficiaries. The combination of instability and corruption creates an environment where reforms are either abandoned midway or used selectively to consolidate power.



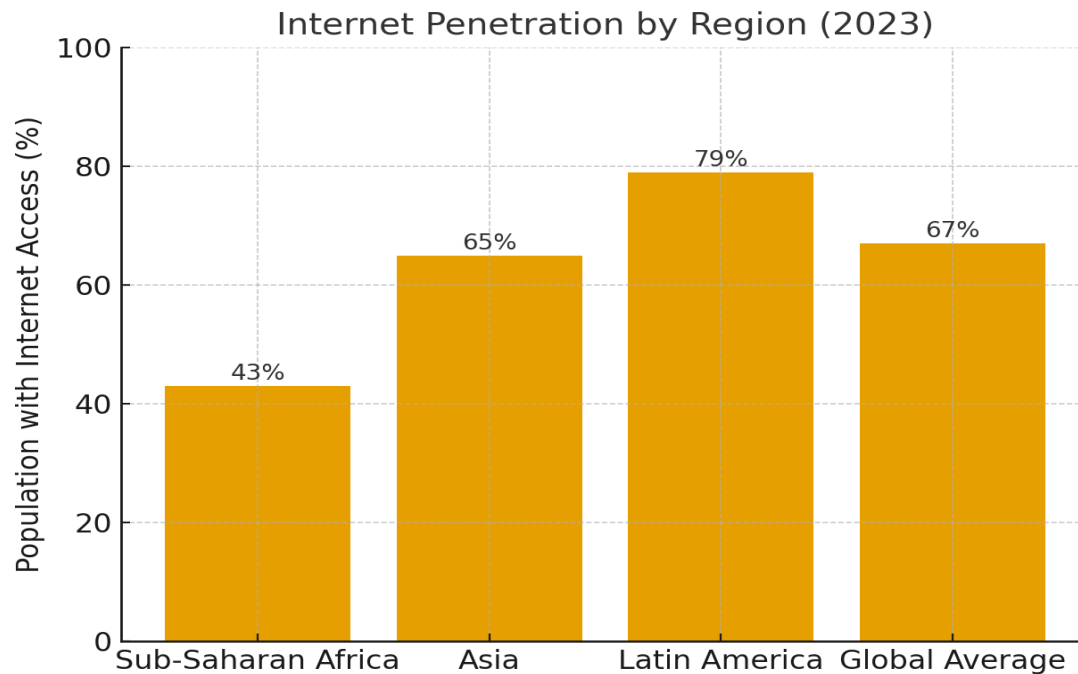
Source: Transparency International, <https://www.transparencyy.org/en/>

### **Capacity Constraints**

Financial and human resource limitations remain a fundamental barrier to reform. Many local governments lack the trained personnel and fiscal resources necessary to manage devolved functions. For instance, in Uganda, decentralization reforms improved formal structures but local councils struggled with underfunding and inadequate staff, reducing their effectiveness in delivering services (Smoke, 2015). Even digital reforms are undermined by weak infrastructure, particularly in rural areas where electricity and connectivity remain unreliable. These constraints make reforms uneven in their impact, with urban centers often benefitting disproportionately.

### **The Digital Divide**

Technology-driven reforms, such as e-governance, promise efficiency and inclusivity but also risk exclusion where digital divides persist. According to the International Telecommunication Union (2023), only 43% of Sub-Saharan Africa's population has internet access compared to 79% in Latin America. Women, rural populations, and the poor are disproportionately affected by limited digital literacy and access. For example, while India's Aadhaar system enabled digital service delivery for millions, rural citizens without internet access or proper biometric registration often faced difficulties accessing benefits. Unless digital inclusion is prioritized, technology-driven reforms risk deepening existing inequalities.



Source: Internet Penetration by Region (2023). Source: ITU, 2023.

### **Risk of Reforms Reinforcing Inequality if Not Inclusive**

Perhaps the most significant challenge is that reforms, when poorly designed, may reinforce rather than reduce inequality. For example, privatization under the New Public Management model improved efficiency in some sectors but also excluded low-income groups unable to afford market-priced services (Drechsler, 2005). Similarly, participatory mechanisms risk being dominated by educated or urban elites, sidelining marginalized communities. If reforms do not deliberately account for social, gender, and regional disparities, they may widen the gap between privileged and disadvantaged groups, undermining the very goal of inclusive governance.

### **Towards Inclusive Societies: Policy Recommendations**

Public administration reforms in developing countries must go beyond efficiency and bureaucracy to actively promote inclusivity, transparency, and equity. While reforms have made progress in modernizing state structures, without a deliberate focus on social inclusion they risk reproducing existing inequalities. The following policy recommendations suggest concrete pathways toward more inclusive societies.

First, strengthening institutional accountability is essential. Independent oversight bodies, such as audit institutions and ombudsman offices, must be empowered with investigative and enforcement authority. Transparency International (2024) reported that over 70% of developing countries scored below 50 on the Corruption Perceptions Index, highlighting systemic accountability deficits. Rwanda offers a notable example where the Office of the Ombudsman has successfully investigated cases of maladministration, contributing to a steady improvement in governance rankings (Chemouni, 2014). Ensuring transparent recruitment and promotion processes within civil services can also help reduce nepotism and patronage, creating a more merit-based system.



Second, reforms must be anchored in political commitment and stability. In many developing countries, political turnover leads to abrupt shifts in reform priorities, undermining continuity. For instance, in South Asia, frequent government changes have disrupted long-term public sector modernization programs (Panday & Rabbani, 2011). By contrast, Chile's civil service reforms endured through multiple democratic transitions, showing how cross-party consensus can secure reform sustainability (Zuwanic & Iacoviello, 2010). The World Bank (2020) emphasizes that countries with stable governance structures are twice as likely to sustain institutional reforms compared to politically fragile states.

Third, capacity-building in administration and human resources remains a cornerstone of inclusive governance. Local governments in many African and South Asian countries lack skilled personnel to deliver devolved services effectively. Uganda's decentralization reform, while ambitious, faltered because underfunded local councils could not manage their expanded roles (Smoke, 2015). Investment in training programs, digital literacy, and fiscal decentralization is therefore critical. Brazil's Bolsa Família program demonstrates how well-trained administrators and targeted financing can deliver social assistance efficiently, lifting over 14 million families out of extreme poverty between 2003 and 2014 (Lindert et al., 2007). Fourth, addressing the digital divide is key to ensuring reforms do not leave vulnerable groups behind. According to the International Telecommunication Union (2023), only 43% of people in Sub-Saharan Africa had internet access, compared to the global average of 67%. This digital gap disproportionately affects women, rural communities, and low-income groups (UNDP, 2022). While e-governance platforms like India's Aadhaar have streamlined welfare delivery for millions, exclusion of individuals lacking biometric registration or digital literacy shows the risks of reform without inclusion (Drèze, 2017). Kenya's Huduma Centers provide a hybrid approach by offering both digital and in-person service delivery, making governance more accessible to citizens regardless of technological capacity (Mwenda, 2019).

Finally, reforms must deliberately embed equity and participation. Social impact assessments should be standard practice in evaluating how reforms affect marginalized groups. India's affirmative action policies in the bureaucracy illustrate how inclusivity can be institutionalized, giving historically disadvantaged groups representation in governance (Jaffrelot, 2006). Similarly, participatory governance models, such as Porto Alegre's participatory budgeting in Brazil, enabled communities to directly influence municipal spending decisions, leading to more equitable distribution of resources (Wampler, 2012). However, reforms like privatization or outsourcing, if not designed with safeguards, can reinforce inequality by excluding the poor from essential services. South Africa's Basic Services Subsidy ensured that privatization of utilities did not deny access to water and electricity for low-income households (Smith, 2004), showing that inclusive design can counterbalance efficiency-driven reforms.

In sum, inclusive public administration reforms demand more than bureaucratic restructuring. They require a deliberate mix of accountability mechanisms, political stability, capacity-building, digital inclusion, and equity-driven design. By adopting these measures, developing countries can transform governance into a vehicle for social justice, bridging the gap between state structures and citizen needs, and ultimately advancing the quest for inclusive societies.

### **Conclusion**

Public administration in the developing world stands at a critical crossroads, where traditional bureaucratic systems, often rigid and hierarchical, have proven insufficient in addressing the complexities of modern governance. The challenges of corruption, political instability, weak institutional capacity, and the digital divide underscore the urgent need to go beyond



bureaucracy. Reform is not merely about streamlining processes but about reshaping governance structures to serve citizens more effectively and inclusively.

Inclusivity must be central to sustainable governance. Evidence from countries such as Rwanda, where investments in digital governance have expanded public service delivery, and Brazil, where participatory budgeting empowered marginalized communities, shows that when reforms are people-centered, they foster trust, equity, and long-term stability. Conversely, reforms that overlook marginalized populations risk deepening inequality and undermining development gains. Thus, inclusive reforms are not an option but a necessity for meaningful transformation.

The way forward lies in a hybrid model that integrates the efficiency of modern administrative tools with accountability and citizen participation. This model requires combining digital innovation with social protection, institutional reforms with transparency, and economic policies with human-centered approaches. By ensuring that reforms are grounded in equity, participation, and sustainability, developing countries can build governance systems that not only manage resources effectively but also empower people.

Ultimately, the quest for inclusive societies demands a paradigm shift in how governance is conceptualized and practiced. Going beyond bureaucracy means embracing adaptability, fostering collaboration between state and civil society, and institutionalizing mechanisms for citizen voice in decision-making. Only through such an approach can developing nations ensure that public administration reforms contribute to inclusive, resilient, and democratic futures.

## References

- Chemouni, B. (2014). Explaining the design of the Rwandan decentralization: Elite vulnerability and the territorial repartition of power. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 8(2), 246–262. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17531055.2014.891800>
- Drèze, J. (2017). *Sense and solidarity: Jholawala economics for everyone*. Permanent Black.
- International Telecommunication Union. (2023). *Measuring digital development: Facts and figures 2023*. ITU. <https://www.itu.int/itu-d/reports/statistics/facts-figures>
- Cheema, A., & Mohmand, S. (2006). Bringing electoral politics to the doorstep: Who gains, who loses? *Journal of Democracy*, 17(3), 132–146.
- Drechsler, W. (2005). The rise and demise of the New Public Management. *Post-Autistic Economics Review*, 33(14), 17–28.
- International Telecommunication Union. (2023). *Measuring digital development: Facts and figures 2023*. ITU. <https://www.itu.int/itu-d/reports/statistics/facts-figures-2023/>
- Smoke, P. (2015). Rethinking decentralization: Assessing challenges to a popular public sector reform. *Public Administration and Development*, 35(2), 97–112. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pad.1703>
- Transparency International. (2024). *Corruption Perceptions Index 2024*. Transparency International. <https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2024>
- Smoke, P. (2015). Rethinking decentralization: Assessing challenges to a popular public sector reform. *Public Administration and Development*, 35(2), 97–112. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pad.1703>
- Turner, M. (2015). Public sector reform in developing countries: Patterns, challenges and opportunities. *Public Administration and Development*, 35(4), 301–310. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pad.1738>



- United Nations. (2022). *UN E-Government Survey 2022: The future of digital government*. UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs.
- Denhardt, J. V., & Denhardt, R. B. (2000). The new public service: Serving rather than steering. *Public Administration Review*, 60(6), 549–559. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0033-3352.00117>
- Drechsler, W. (2005). The rise and demise of the New Public Management. *Post-Autistic Economics Review*, 33(14), 17–28.
- Grindle, M. S. (2004). Good enough governance: Poverty reduction and reform in developing countries. *Governance*, 17(4), 525–548. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0952-1895.2004.00256.x>
- Hood, C. (1991). A public management for all seasons? *Public Administration*, 69(1), 3–19. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9299.1991.tb00779.x>
- Kabeer, N. (2010). Can the MDGs provide a pathway to social justice? The challenge of intersecting inequalities. *Institute of Development Studies*.
- Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and society: An outline of interpretive sociology*. University of California Press.
- Gelb, A., & Clark, J. (2013). *Identification for development: The biometrics revolution*. Center for Global Development. <https://www.cgdev.org/publication/identification-development-biometrics-revolution>
- Government of Rwanda. (2022). *IremboGov: Transforming service delivery through e-government*. Government of Rwanda.
- International Telecommunication Union. (2023). *Measuring digital development: Facts and figures 2023*. ITU. <https://www.itu.int/itu-d/reports/statistics/facts-figures-2023/>
- Pollitt, C., & Bouckaert, G. (2017). *Public management reform: A comparative analysis – Into the age of austerity* (4th ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Transparency International. (2024). *Corruption Perceptions Index 2024*. Transparency International. <https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2024>
- Wampler, B. (2012). *Participatory budgeting: Core principles and key impacts*. *Journal of Public Deliberation*, 8(2), 1–13.
- World Bank. (2023). *Worldwide Governance Indicators (1996–2022)*. The World Bank. <https://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/>