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The Dynamics of Public Management Reform: The Transition from New Public Management to New Public Governance in a Comparative Perspective

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Abstract

Public management reform has evolved substantially over the past three decades; however, existing studies have predominantly examined New Public Management (NPM) and New Public Governance (NPG) as distinct paradigms, offering limited insight into how contemporary reforms integrate both approaches across diverse administrative contexts. This study aimed to analyze the evolution of public management reform by examining the transition from NPM to NPG and identifying the institutional factors shaping contemporary governance reform from a comparative perspective. A qualitative approach was employed through a systematic literature review and comparative analysis of scholarly publications, complemented by the foundational works of Pollitt and Bouckaert. The analysis encompassed 12 countries and the European Commission as comparative units and applied thematic content analysis to synthesize recurring reform patterns. The findings demonstrate that contemporary public management reform does not represent a linear paradigm shift from NPM to NPG. Rather, reform proceeds through institutional adaptation, whereby managerial principles remain embedded within increasingly

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collaborative governance arrangements. Administrative traditions, fiscal pressures, institutional capacity, digital transformation, and inter-stakeholder relationships emerged as the principal factors shaping this adaptive process. These findings extend the public management reform literature by demonstrating that governance transformation is driven by the integration of managerial and collaborative principles rather than the complete replacement of one paradigm by another. The study concludes that contemporary reform requires context-sensitive institutional adaptation that balances managerial efficiency with collaboration and public value creation. It contributes a comparative analytical framework for understanding governance transformation and offers practical implications for policymakers seeking to strengthen governance capacity through institutional coordination, digital transformation, and inter-stakeholder collaboration.

Keywords: Comparative Public Administration; Institutional Adaptation; New Public Governance; New Public Management; Public Management Reform

INTRODUCTION

Public management reform has become one of the most significant agendas in contemporary public administration as governments worldwide confront increasingly complex governance challenges, including fiscal constraints, digital transformation, demographic change, climate risks, and growing public expectations for transparency, accountability, and citizen participation (Iacovino et al., 2017). These challenges have fundamentally altered the role of government, requiring public institutions not only to improve administrative efficiency but also to strengthen collaboration across sectors and generate sustainable public value (Eakin et al., 2011). Consequently, public management reform is no longer understood merely as an internal process of bureaucratic restructuring but as a broader institutional transformation involving governments, markets, civil society, and digital ecosystems (Braams et al., 2021).

The urgency of this transformation is reflected in many countries' efforts to modernize public governance through digital government and collaborative governance initiatives (Waheduzzaman, 2019). In Indonesia, bureaucratic reform has been accelerated through the implementation of the Electronic-Based Government System (*Sistem Pemerintahan Berbasis Elektronik* SPBE), which seeks to improve administrative integration, public service quality, and institutional accountability. According to the United Nations E-

Government Survey 2024, Indonesia ranked 64th among 193 countries, improving from 77th in 2022, while the national SPBE Index reached 3.12 (categorized as "Good") in 2024. Although these achievements indicate substantial progress, they also reveal that improving digital infrastructure alone is insufficient to address governance fragmentation, inter-agency coordination, stakeholder participation, and increasingly complex public policy challenges. These developments suggest that contemporary public sector reform requires institutional arrangements extending beyond managerial modernization toward collaborative governance.

This evolution has generated an important theoretical debate regarding the direction of public management reform. For more than three decades, New Public Management (NPM) has served as the dominant paradigm for public sector modernization by emphasizing efficiency, managerial accountability, performance measurement, competition, and private-sector management practices (Iacovino et al., 2017; Krogh & Triantafillou, 2024). However, the growing complexity of public problems has exposed important limitations of purely managerial approaches, particularly in addressing issues that require coordination among multiple organizations and stakeholders (van Gestel et al., 2019). In response, New Public Governance (NPG) emerged as a governance-oriented perspective emphasizing collaboration, governance networks, citizen participation, relational accountability, and public value creation (Qin & Christensen, 2026). Pollitt and Bouckaert (2012) argue that contemporary public management reform should therefore be understood as a continuous process of institutional adaptation rather than as the replacement of one administrative model by another.

Existing empirical research generally supports the importance of both managerial and collaborative approaches but remains fragmented (Lynn, 1998; Young et al., 2020). Studies examining bureaucratic reform in Indonesia have demonstrated that NPM contributes significantly to improving public service performance, organizational effectiveness, and administrative innovation (Aji, 2020; Widowati et al., 2023). Other studies have shown that SPBE implementation strengthens efficiency, transparency, and accountability while simultaneously revealing persistent challenges related to institutional coordination, interoperability, leadership commitment, and organizational capacity (Hartati, 2020; Nubala et al., 2024). More recent research has further emphasized the growing importance of collaborative governance, governance networks, and stakeholder engagement in improving public sector performance (Abidin AS & Rohayatin, 2025; Supriyanto et al.,

2025). Collectively, these studies indicate that contemporary public management increasingly combines managerial and collaborative governance principles.

Despite these developments, three important gaps remain in the existing literature. First, previous studies predominantly examine New Public Management and New Public Governance as separate theoretical perspectives, providing limited explanation of how the transition between the two paradigms occurs within evolving public management reform. Second, existing research largely focuses on specific reform initiatives, such as bureaucratic reform, digital government, or collaborative governance, without integrating these developments into a broader understanding of public management reform. Third, although comparative public administration recognizes that administrative traditions, institutional capacity, fiscal conditions, and governance environments shape reform trajectories differently across countries, relatively few studies have synthesized these contextual factors into a comprehensive explanation of contemporary public management reform. Consequently, current knowledge remains fragmented and provides only a partial understanding of how managerial and collaborative governance interact within changing institutional contexts.

Accordingly, this study aims to analyze the dynamics of the transition from New Public Management to New Public Governance from a comparative perspective by examining how public management reform has evolved from an efficiency-oriented managerial approach toward collaborative governance and public value creation. The analysis further explores the institutional factors shaping this transition, including administrative traditions, institutional capacity, fiscal pressures, digital transformation, and inter-stakeholder relationships.

This study contributes to the literature in three ways. First, it develops a more integrated understanding of contemporary public management reform by connecting fragmented discussions on managerial reform, collaborative governance, and digital transformation within a single analytical framework. Second, it advances the theoretical debate by demonstrating that the relationship between New Public Management and New Public Governance is better understood as a process of institutional adaptation and hybrid governance rather than a linear paradigm shift. Third, the study offers practical insights for policymakers by identifying the institutional conditions that enable governments to balance

managerial performance with collaboration, accountability, and public value creation in designing sustainable public sector reforms.

METHODS

This study employed a qualitative comparative research design based on document analysis to examine the evolution of public management reform from New Public Management (NPM) to New Public Governance (NPG). A qualitative approach was considered appropriate because the study sought to interpret theoretical developments, synthesize institutional perspectives, and explain the dynamics of governance reform rather than test causal relationships among variables (Aprila & Dwiharyadi, 2026). The comparative perspective enabled the study to examine similarities and differences in reform trajectories across diverse administrative contexts while identifying common governance patterns that characterize contemporary public management reform (Andriani, 2024; Aprila et al., 2023).

The analytical framework was primarily derived from Pollitt and Bouckaert (2012), who conceptualize public management reform as a continuous process of institutional change shaped by administrative traditions, political environments, and governance capacity. This perspective was complemented by recent developments in New Public Governance, which emphasize collaboration, governance networks, stakeholder participation, and public value creation as defining characteristics of contemporary public sector reform (Krogh & Triantafillou, 2024).

The study utilized secondary data obtained from academic books and peer-reviewed journal articles addressing public management reform, New Public Management, New Public Governance, collaborative governance, digital government, bureaucratic reform, and public sector transformation.

The principal theoretical reference was *Public Management Reform: A Comparative Analysis* by Pollitt and Bouckaert (2012), which served as the conceptual foundation for the analytical framework. To capture contemporary developments in public management reform, journal articles published between 2021 and 2025 were reviewed. Indonesian publications were included to provide empirical insights into bureaucratic reform and the implementation of the Electronic-Based Government System (SPBE), while international studies were incorporated to examine broader developments in comparative public administration and governance reform.

Documents were selected using purposive sampling based on three inclusion criteria. First, publications had to discuss public management reform, New Public Management, New Public Governance, collaborative governance, digital government, or bureaucratic reform. Second, they were required to provide conceptual, empirical, or comparative evidence relevant to the transition from NPM to NPG. Third, only academic books and peer-reviewed journal articles with direct relevance to the research objectives were included. Publications focusing solely on technical information systems or organizational management without substantive discussion of governance reform were excluded from the analysis.

Data collection was conducted through four sequential stages. The first stage involved defining the scope of the study by identifying the principal concepts related to public management reform and establishing the analytical focus of the research. The second stage consisted of identifying and selecting relevant academic publications according to the predetermined inclusion criteria. During the third stage, each selected publication was examined systematically to extract information regarding theoretical perspectives, research contexts, methodological approaches, governance dimensions, and principal findings. Finally, all extracted information was organized into a literature matrix to facilitate systematic comparison and thematic synthesis across studies.

Analytical Framework

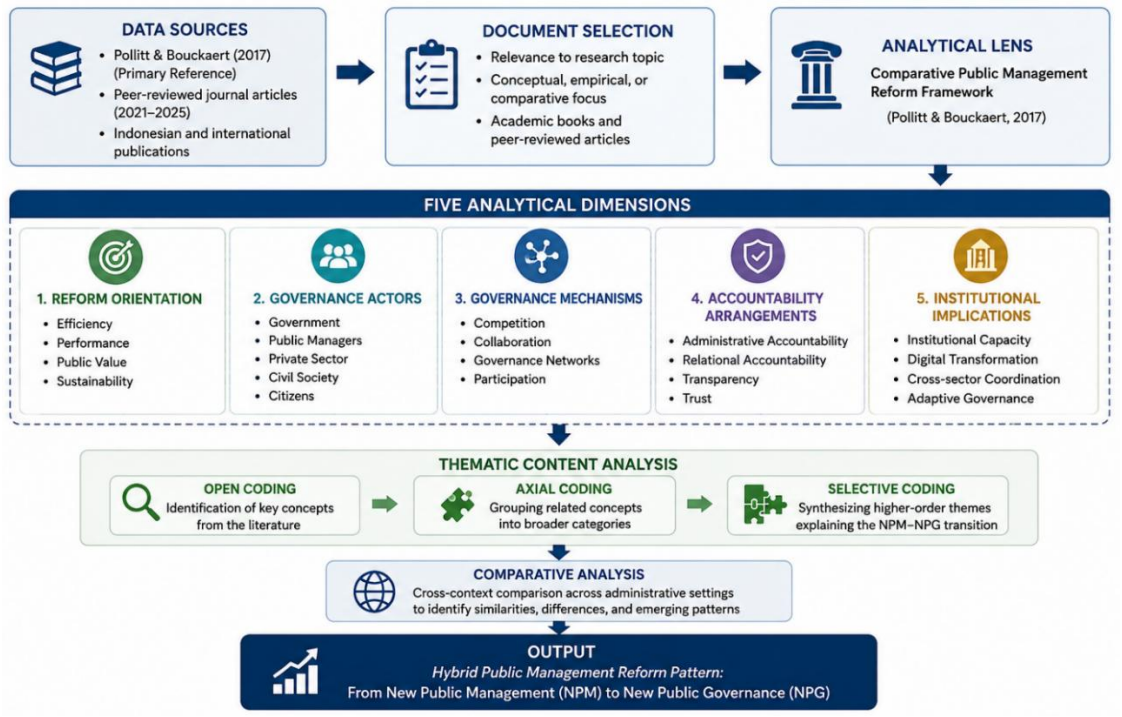


Figure 1. Analytical Framework

Figure 1 illustrates the analytical framework employed in this study to examine the evolution of public management reform from New Public Management (NPM) to New Public Governance (NPG). The framework begins with the identification of data sources, consisting of the seminal work of Pollitt and Bouckaert (2012) and peer-reviewed journal articles published between 2021 and 2025. These documents were purposively selected based on their relevance to public management reform and governance transformation.

The selected literature was subsequently analyzed using the Comparative Public Management Reform Framework developed by Pollitt and Bouckaert (2012), which served as the principal analytical lens for this study. Five analytical dimensions were derived from this framework, namely reform orientation, governance actors, governance mechanisms, accountability arrangements, and institutional implications. These dimensions functioned as the coding categories for organizing and comparing the findings extracted from the reviewed publications.

The analytical process consisted of three iterative coding stages. Open coding was conducted to identify key concepts and recurring issues within the literature. These initial codes were then organized into broader categories through axial coding, enabling relationships among governance concepts to be established. Finally, selective coding was performed to integrate these categories into higher-order themes explaining the transition from NPM to NPG.

The synthesized themes were then subjected to comparative analysis to identify similarities, differences, and recurring reform patterns across various administrative contexts. This analytical process ultimately facilitated the identification of a hybrid public management reform pattern, demonstrating that contemporary public sector reform is characterized by the coexistence of managerial and collaborative governance principles rather than by a linear replacement of one paradigm with another.

The collected documents were analyzed using thematic content analysis combined with comparative analysis. The analysis followed an iterative coding process consisting of three stages.

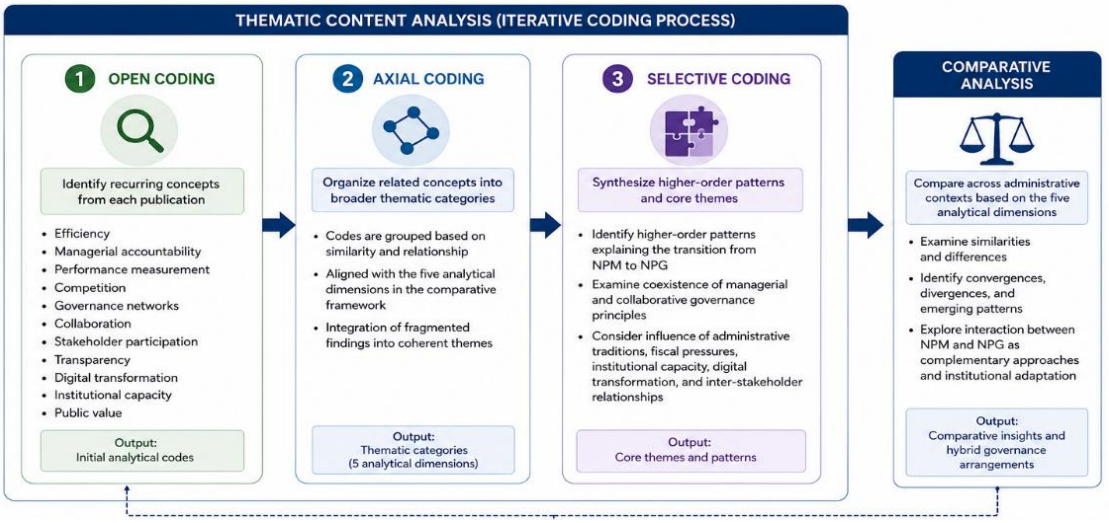


Figure 2. Thematic Content Analysis

As shown in figure 2, The first stage involved open coding, during which recurring concepts associated with public management reform were identified from each publication. Keywords such as efficiency, managerial accountability, performance measurement, competition, governance networks, collaboration, stakeholder participation, transparency, digital transformation, institutional capacity, and public value were recorded as initial analytical codes.

The second stage employed axial coding to organize related concepts into broader thematic categories corresponding to the five analytical dimensions established in the comparative framework. This stage enabled the integration of fragmented findings from different studies into coherent governance themes.

The final stage involved selective coding, during which higher-order patterns explaining the transition from New Public Management to New Public Governance were synthesized. Particular attention was given to identifying how managerial and collaborative governance principles coexist within contemporary public management reform and how administrative traditions, fiscal pressures, institutional capacity, digital transformation, and inter-stakeholder relationships influence the emergence of hybrid governance arrangements.

Comparative analysis was subsequently undertaken to examine similarities and differences across administrative contexts based on the predefined analytical dimensions. Rather than treating New Public Management and New Public Governance as mutually exclusive paradigms, the analysis explored their interaction as complementary governance approaches evolving through institutional adaptation.

RESULTS

Evidence Synthesis of Contemporary Public Management Reform

The thematic content analysis generated five major themes explaining the evolution of contemporary public management reform. Through the iterative processes of open coding, axial coding, and selective coding, the reviewed literature revealed a systematic transformation in the way governments conceptualize and implement public sector reform. Rather than demonstrating a linear progression from New Public Management (NPM) to New Public Governance (NPG), the evidence indicates a process of institutional adaptation in which managerial and collaborative governance principles coexist within contemporary reform practices.

The coding process initially identified recurrent concepts associated with efficiency, performance measurement, managerial accountability, competition, governance networks, stakeholder participation, transparency, digital transformation, institutional capacity, collaboration, and public value creation. During axial coding, these concepts were organized into broader analytical categories representing reform orientation, governance actors, governance mechanisms, accountability arrangements, and institutional implications. Selective coding subsequently integrated these categories into five overarching themes: (1) transformation of reform orientation, (2) emergence of hybrid governance, (3) digital transformation as an institutional driver, (4) cross-actor collaboration, and (5) institutional determinants of public management reform.

Collectively, these themes demonstrate that contemporary public management reform has evolved beyond the traditional managerial paradigm toward a more adaptive governance model characterized by institutional flexibility, collaborative decision-making, and public value creation.

Transformation of Reform Orientation

The comparative synthesis demonstrates that the orientation of public management reform has undergone a substantial transformation over the past two decades. Earlier reform initiatives predominantly emphasized managerial efficiency, organizational productivity, performance measurement, contractual governance, and cost reduction, reflecting the central principles of New Public Management. However, the reviewed evidence indicates that more

recent reforms increasingly prioritize collaboration, governance networks, stakeholder participation, transparency, institutional legitimacy, and public value creation.

This transformation does not imply that managerial principles have become obsolete. Instead, the coding results indicate that efficiency and performance remain fundamental components of public management reform but increasingly operate alongside collaborative governance mechanisms. Consequently, reform objectives have expanded from improving internal bureaucratic performance toward strengthening governance capacity across multiple institutional actors. The comparative characteristics identified through thematic synthesis are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Comparative Characteristics of Contemporary Public Management Reform

Analytical Dimension	Managerial Orientation (NPM)	Governance Orientation (NPG)	Emerging Reform Pattern
Reform orientation	Efficiency, performance, productivity	Public value, legitimacy, sustainability	Integration of managerial efficiency and public value
Governance actors	Government and public managers	Government, private sector, civil society, citizens	Multi-actor governance
Governance mechanisms	Competition, contracts, managerial control	Collaboration, partnerships, governance networks	Collaborative coordination
Accountability	Administrative compliance	Relational accountability and transparency	Multi-dimensional accountability
Public service	Citizens as customers	Citizens as governance partners	Co-production of public services
Institutional implication	Organizational efficiency	Adaptive governance capacity	Institutional resilience

As shown in Table 1, the comparative analysis demonstrates that contemporary reform increasingly combines managerial efficiency with collaborative governance. The transition therefore reflects institutional expansion rather than paradigm substitution.

Emergence of Hybrid Governance

Selective coding identified hybrid governance as the central explanatory theme emerging from the comparative analysis. Across the reviewed publications, managerial principles associated with New Public Management continue to play an important role in improving organizational performance, service quality, financial accountability, and administrative efficiency. Simultaneously, governments increasingly adopt collaborative

governance mechanisms involving stakeholder participation, governance networks, inter-organizational partnerships, and public value creation.

These findings indicate that contemporary public management reform cannot be adequately explained through the dichotomy between NPM and NPG. Instead, reform trajectories demonstrate institutional layering in which existing managerial practices are retained while collaborative governance arrangements are progressively incorporated according to institutional needs and administrative contexts. The synthesis further suggests that hybrid governance enables governments to balance performance-oriented management with collaborative problem-solving, thereby enhancing institutional adaptability without abandoning managerial accountability.

Digital Transformation and Cross-Actor Collaboration

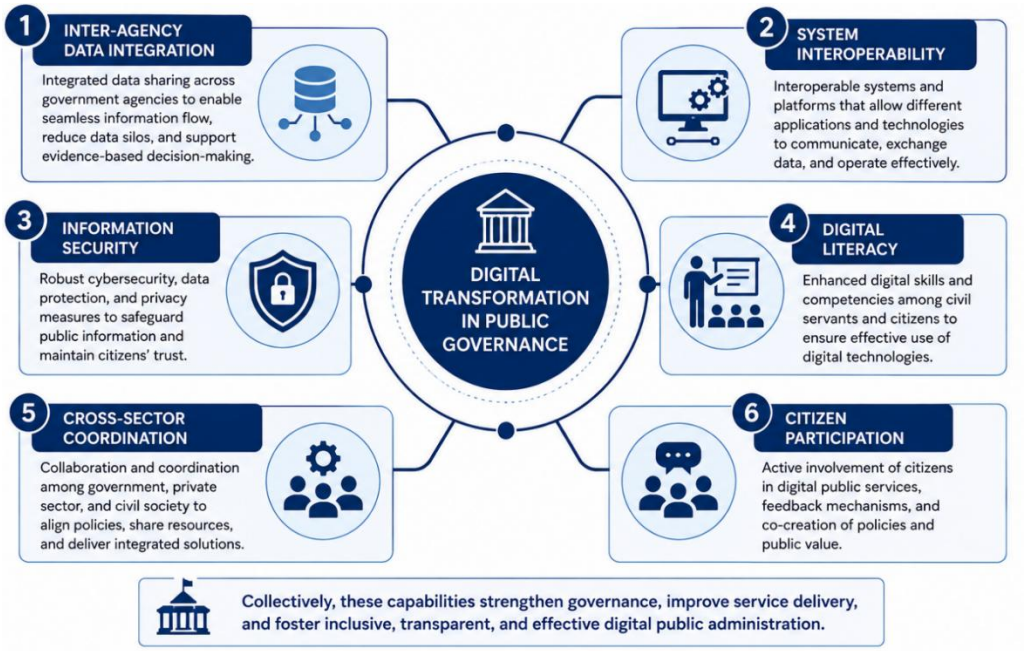


Figure 4. The Six Governance Capabilities

Figure 4 illustrates the six governance capabilities identified through the thematic coding process as the core components supporting digital transformation in contemporary public management reform. At the center of the framework, Digital Transformation in Public Governance represents the overarching institutional mechanism that enables governments to modernize administrative processes while strengthening governance performance. Surrounding this central concept are six interrelated governance capabilities that collectively facilitate the implementation of digital government initiatives.

Inter-agency data integration enables seamless information sharing among government institutions, reducing data fragmentation and supporting evidence-based decision-making. System interoperability ensures that different digital platforms and applications can exchange information effectively, thereby improving coordination and service integration across public organizations. Information security provides the institutional safeguards necessary to protect public data, strengthen cybersecurity, and maintain citizens' trust in digital government services.

The framework also highlights the importance of digital literacy, which enhances the capacity of civil servants and citizens to effectively utilize digital technologies in administrative processes and public service delivery. Cross-sector coordination emphasizes collaborative interactions among government agencies, private organizations, and civil society to align policies, share resources, and improve governance outcomes. Finally, citizen participation demonstrates the expanding role of the public in digital governance through online engagement, feedback mechanisms, and collaborative policy development.

Taken together, these six capabilities indicate that digital transformation extends beyond technological modernization. Instead, it represents an integrated governance capability that strengthens institutional coordination, promotes collaborative governance, improves public service delivery, and enhances transparency and accountability. The findings suggest that successful digital transformation depends on the simultaneous development of technological infrastructure, institutional capacity, and multi-stakeholder collaboration, thereby supporting the broader transition toward hybrid public governance.

Institutional Drivers of Public Management Reform

The comparative synthesis identified four dominant institutional factors consistently influencing the implementation of public management reform across different administrative contexts.

Table 2. Institutional Drivers of Contemporary Public Management Reform

Institutional Driver	Comparative Evidence	Governance Implication
Administrative tradition	Shapes reform trajectory according to national governance systems	Institutional adaptation
Fiscal pressure	Encourages efficiency-oriented reform while constraining implementation	Performance management
Institutional capacity	Determines organizational capability to implement reform	Adaptive governance
Inter-stakeholder relationships	Strengthens coordination, trust, and collaboration	Public value creation

The findings indicate that these institutional drivers do not operate independently. Instead, they interact dynamically throughout the reform process and collectively influence governments' capacity to integrate managerial efficiency with collaborative governance mechanisms. Administrative traditions determine the institutional environment within which reforms are introduced, while fiscal pressures encourage efficiency-oriented modernization. Institutional capacity influences implementation effectiveness, whereas stakeholder relationships facilitate coordination, trust, and collaborative governance.

Overall, the comparative synthesis demonstrates that contemporary public management reform is best understood as an adaptive governance process driven by the interaction of institutional conditions rather than by the sequential replacement of administrative paradigms. The findings therefore support the proposition that hybrid governance has emerged as the dominant pattern of contemporary public sector reform, integrating managerial performance with collaboration, digital transformation, and public value creation across diverse administrative contexts.

DISCUSSION

The findings challenge the conventional assumption that contemporary public management reform can be adequately explained as a linear transition from New Public Management (NPM) to New Public Governance (NPG) (Krogh & Triantafillou, 2024). Rather than indicating a paradigm replacement, the comparative synthesis suggests that reform is driven by governments' increasing need to respond to complex policy problems that cannot be addressed through managerial efficiency alone (Wijayanti et al., 2025). As governance environments become more interconnected, public organizations are required to balance organizational performance with institutional coordination, stakeholder collaboration, and public value creation (Mujahidin & Kusuma, 2025). This finding implies that the evolution of public management reform is better understood as an adaptive process of institutional development than as a simple shift between competing administrative paradigms.

This interpretation extends Pollitt and Bouckaert's (2012) reform framework by demonstrating that efficiency remains an important component of public management but no longer represents its primary objective. Earlier reforms focused on improving organizational productivity, financial discipline, and managerial accountability. However, the

findings indicate that these managerial instruments are increasingly embedded within broader governance arrangements that emphasize collaboration, legitimacy, transparency, and citizen engagement (Hidayat, 2023). Consequently, efficiency should be viewed as an enabling condition for effective governance rather than the ultimate measure of reform success.

An important contribution of this study is the identification of hybrid governance as the dominant pattern of contemporary public management reform. The findings show that governments do not abandon managerial practices when adopting collaborative governance approaches. Instead, performance measurement, accountability systems, and efficiency-oriented management continue to coexist with governance networks, stakeholder participation, and cross-sector collaboration (Hidayat, 2023; Iida, 2024; Mujahidin & Kusuma, 2025). This coexistence suggests that NPM and NPG function as complementary governance logics rather than mutually exclusive paradigms. Such an interpretation provides a more realistic explanation of reform trajectories because governments rarely replace existing administrative systems entirely; instead, they gradually integrate new governance mechanisms into established institutional structures (Iacovino et al., 2017).

The findings also highlight that digital transformation should be interpreted primarily as an institutional capability rather than merely a technological innovation. The six governance capabilities identified in this study inter-agency data integration, system interoperability, information security, digital literacy, cross-sector coordination, and citizen participation demonstrate that technology alone cannot improve governance performance. Digital transformation becomes effective only when supported by institutional collaboration, organizational capacity, and integrated governance arrangements (Azizah, 2021; Rahmadhani et al., 2025). Therefore, technological modernization and governance reform should be understood as mutually reinforcing processes rather than independent policy initiatives.

Similarly, the increasing importance of cross-actor collaboration reflects a broader transformation in the role of government. Contemporary public organizations are no longer expected to function solely as service providers but also as coordinators capable of mobilizing resources, knowledge, and expertise distributed across public, private, and civil society organizations. While collaborative governance enhances policy capacity and public value creation, it also generates new challenges related to coordination, accountability, and institutional trust. These findings indicate that successful reform depends not only on

expanding collaboration but also on developing governance arrangements capable of managing increasingly complex inter-organizational relationships.

The evolution of accountability further supports this interpretation. Traditional accountability mechanisms associated with NPM primarily emphasize organizational outputs, financial control, and performance indicators (Krogh & Triantafillou, 2024). However, the findings demonstrate that contemporary reforms increasingly incorporate transparency, stakeholder participation, public trust, and societal outcomes as integral dimensions of accountability. This shift reflects the recognition that public value is produced collectively through interactions among multiple actors rather than by individual organizations operating independently. Consequently, accountability frameworks should evaluate not only administrative performance but also governments' capacity to facilitate collaborative governance and generate sustainable public value.

From a theoretical perspective, this study contributes to the public management literature by demonstrating that the future trajectory of public management reform is characterized by the integration of managerial and collaborative governance rather than by the replacement of one paradigm with another. This perspective moves beyond the traditional NPM–NPG dichotomy and suggests that governments increasingly require hybrid institutional arrangements capable of simultaneously delivering efficiency, accountability, collaboration, and public value. Accordingly, contemporary reform should be understood as a process of institutional adaptation in which diverse governance mechanisms are combined to address increasingly complex governance challenges.

The findings also have important implications for Indonesia's ongoing bureaucratic reform agenda. While improvements in administrative efficiency and digital government remain necessary, sustainable reform requires stronger institutional integration, interoperable digital systems, collaborative leadership, and meaningful stakeholder participation. Future reform initiatives should therefore prioritize governance capacity alongside managerial modernization to ensure that technological investments and organizational reforms translate into more responsive, transparent, and resilient public governance.

Overall, this study argues that the central challenge of contemporary public management reform is no longer choosing between managerial efficiency and collaborative governance. Instead, reform success increasingly depends on governments' ability to integrate both approaches within adaptive institutional arrangements that strengthen

governance capacity, enhance public value, and improve long-term policy effectiveness. This interpretation provides a more comprehensive understanding of contemporary public management reform and offers a conceptual foundation for future comparative research on governance transformation across different administrative contexts.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that contemporary public management reform is better understood as a process of institutional adaptation rather than a linear transition from New Public Management (NPM) to New Public Governance (NPG). The findings reveal that managerial principles, including efficiency, accountability, and performance management, remain fundamental to public administration but are increasingly complemented by collaborative governance, digital transformation, stakeholder participation, and public value creation. These findings suggest that contemporary reform is characterized by the integration of managerial and collaborative governance within adaptive institutional arrangements capable of addressing increasingly complex and interconnected public sector challenges.

This study contributes to the public administration literature by advancing the understanding of public management reform beyond the traditional NPM–NPG dichotomy. Instead of viewing these paradigms as competing or sequential models, the study argues that they function as complementary governance logics that are selectively integrated according to institutional contexts and governance demands. This perspective extends existing reform theory by emphasizing that governance effectiveness depends not only on organizational performance but also on institutional capacity, collaborative coordination, and the ability to create sustainable public value. The findings also provide practical insights for policymakers by highlighting the importance of strengthening institutional integration, digital interoperability, and cross-sector collaboration alongside ongoing bureaucratic modernization.

Despite these contributions, this study is limited by its reliance on published literature, which does not fully capture the complexity of reform implementation across different administrative settings. Future research should empirically examine how managerial and collaborative governance are integrated within diverse institutional contexts through comparative, longitudinal, and mixed-method approaches. Further studies should also develop more robust measures of governance capability, collaborative performance, and

public value creation to strengthen the empirical understanding of contemporary public management reform and its contribution to sustainable and citizen-centered governance.

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