

The Impact of Digital Governance on Social Inclusion in the Modern Era

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Abstract

This study examines the impact of digital governance on social inclusion in the modern era, with particular attention to the emerging challenges of digital disenfranchisement between 2024 and 2026. Although digital governance systems have enhanced administrative efficiency, transparency, and public service delivery, they have also intensified inequalities among marginalized populations lacking access, digital literacy, and data agency. The research adopts a qualitative comparative case study approach, analyzing governance models from India, Sri Lanka, and Brazil to identify inclusive and rights-based digital practices. The study applies a four-stage analytical framework covering material access, cognitive literacy, meaningful use, and social participation to evaluate the evolving digital divide. Findings reveal that physical connectivity alone does not ensure inclusion; rather, digital agency, human-mediated support, and transparent governance mechanisms are critical determinants of equitable participation. The research highlights the effectiveness of localized and gender-centric initiatives such as Sri Lanka's *Suhuruliya 2.0* and emphasizes the importance of "Human-in-the-Loop" oversight in AI-driven public services. The study concludes that digital inclusion must be recognized as a fundamental citizenship right and recommends the adoption of Inclusion Impact Assessments, Analog Complement principles, and rights-based digital governance frameworks to prevent automated inequality and strengthen democratic resilience.

Keywords: Digital Governance, Social Inclusion, Digital Divide, Digital Disenfranchisement, Inclusive by Design (IbD), Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI), Algorithmic Accountability, Human-in-the-Loop (HITL), Rights-Based Governance, Self-Sovereign Identity (SSI), Digital Literacy, AI Governance.

Introduction

The rapid acceleration of digital transformation has fundamentally reorganized the relationship between the state and its citizens. In the current era, "Digital Governance" is no longer an optional upgrade for administrative efficiency; it is the primary interface through which public services—from healthcare and education to social security—are delivered. However, as governments migrate to cloud-based infrastructures and AI-driven decision-making, a paradox has emerged. While these technologies promise to streamline bureaucracy and reduce corruption, they simultaneously create new mechanisms of exclusion. The transition has birthed a phenomenon known as "Digital Disenfranchisement," where the lack

of access, skills, or data agency effectively strips individuals of their rights as citizens. In 2026, the challenge is no longer just "getting people online," but ensuring that the digital architecture of the state does not become an invisible barrier to social equity.

Research Problem

The central problem addressed in this study is the systemic failure of "Inclusive by Design" (IbD) architectures in modern GovTech frameworks, leading to a widening "Digital Dividend Gap." Despite high global internet penetration, marginalized groups including the elderly, rural populations, and low-income households—are being left behind by a four-level digital divide. The problem



is compounded by Algorithmic Bias, where automated systems for welfare eligibility or identity verification often operate as "black boxes" that lack transparency and human oversight. Without a Rights-Based Digital Governance Model, the shift toward a digital state risks transitioning from a tool of empowerment into a vehicle for "automated inequality," where the most vulnerable citizens are penalized by the very systems designed to serve them.

Scope of the Study

This research focuses on the intersection of digital policy and social inclusion during the critical period of 2024–2026. The scope includes:

Taxonomy of Inequality: An analysis of the four stages of the digital divide: Material Access, Cognitive Literacy, Meaningful Use, and Social Participation.

Technological Focus: Evaluation of Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI), AI-driven public services, and Block chain-based identity systems.

Geographic Comparative Analysis: A review of diverse global strategies, including India's DPI model (Aadhaar/UPI), Sri Lanka's Suhuruliya 2.0 gender-centric initiatives, and the EU's regulatory framework (EU AI Act).

Policy Framework: The proposal of a "Rights-Based Digital Governance Model" centered on the "Analog Complement" principle and Self-Sovereign Identity (SSI). The study does not focus on the technical coding of these systems but rather on the institutional and restorative policies required to govern them equitably.

Research Objectives

The primary aim of this research is to evaluate the impact of digital governance frameworks on social inclusion and to propose a rights-based model that prevents digital disenfranchisement. To achieve this, the following specific objectives have been established:

Analysis of the Evolving Digital Divide

- To deconstruct the four-stage model of digital appropriation (Material, Cognitive, Outcome, and Participation) and identify how "Last Mile" infrastructure gaps in 2026 continue to drive systemic exclusion.

- To examine the "Cognitive Load" of GovTech interfaces and evaluate the effectiveness of human-mediated interventions, such as "Digital Ambassadors," in bridging the literacy gap for the elderly and rural populations.

Assessment of Algorithmic Accountability

- To analyze the impact of AI-driven public services on marginalized communities, specifically focusing on how historical data biases in machine learning models lead to "automated inequality" in welfare and identity systems.
- To evaluate the role of global regulatory benchmarks, such as the EU AI Act (2026), in enforcing "human-in-the-loop" oversight and algorithmic transparency in public administration.

Comparative Evaluation of Global Strategies

- To compare the "Inclusive by Design" (IbD) outcomes of diverse global Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) models, including India's Aadhaar/UPI system and Sri Lanka's Suhuruliya 2.0 initiative.
- To identify the key success factors of participatory governance models, such as Brazil's CETIC.br, that utilize community-led data assessments to build institutional trust.

Development of a Rights-Based Policy Framework

- To formulate a Rights-Based Digital Governance Model that integrates the "Analog Complement" principle, ensuring that essential state services remain accessible to non-smartphone users.
- To propose a standardized "Inclusion Impact Assessment" (IIA) framework that mandates restorative policy measures and "Digital Equity Audits" prior to the deployment of new GovTech tools.

Research Methodology

This study adopts a Qualitative Multi-Method Approach, prioritizing a “Human-Centric” analysis of digital systems. Given the rapidly evolving nature of AI and Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) between 2024 and 2026, a static quantitative approach alone would fail to capture the nuances of “Invisible Exclusion.”

Research Design: Comparative Case Study

The research utilizes a Descriptive and Analytical Research Design. By employing a comparative case study method, the research evaluates three distinct governance models to identify “Inclusive by Design” (IbD) success factors:

- **The DPI Model (India):** Focusing on scale and direct benefit transfers.
- **The Gender-Centric Model (Sri Lanka - Suhuruliya 2.0):** Focusing on localized digital competency.
- **The Participatory Model (Brazil):** Focusing on community-led data privacy and trust.

Data Collection Methods

To ensure a comprehensive “Rights-Based” perspective, data is gathered from the following sources:

Secondary Research (Documentary Analysis)

- Analysis of global policy frameworks, including the EU AI Act (2026) and the UN Digital Physician Compact.
- Review of institutional reports from the World Bank, ITU and national digital transformation agencies (e.g.: ICTA Sri Lanka, MeitY India).

Expert Consultations (Qualitative Interviews)

- Semi-structured interviews with “Digital Ambassadors” and policy architects to understand the “Cognitive Load” and “Last Mile” challenges.

Algorithmic Audit Reviews

- Synthesis of existing “Inclusion Impact Assessments” to identify patterns of automated inequality in social credit and welfare systems.

The Analytical Framework: The Four-Stage Appropriation Model

The data will be filtered through a Four-Stage Analytical Lens to categorize barriers to inclusion:

- **Stage 1:** Physical and Material Access (The “Last Mile” Problem).
- **Stage 2:** Cognitive and Literacy Skills (The “UI/UX” Barrier).
- **Stage 3:** Meaningful Outcome Gap (The “Economic Dividend” Shift).
- **Stage 4:** Social Participation (The “Policy Influence” Stage).

Ethical Considerations

As this study discusses marginalized populations and data privacy, the following ethical protocols are observed:

- **Data Sovereignty:** Adherence to “Self-Sovereign Identity” (SSI) principles in the proposed model.
- **Inclusivity:** Ensuring that digital-first research methods do not exclude the “offline” perspective by incorporating secondary data from non-digital community assessments.
- **Transparency:** Addressing the “Black Box” problem by advocating for “explainability” in all cited AI-driven public service models.

Limitations of the Study

While the study covers global trends up to 2026, it is limited by the “Digital Velocity”—the speed at which GovTech evolves often outpaces legislative frameworks. Additionally, the lack of standardized global metrics for “Meaningful Use” (Stage 3) may lead to qualitative variances between regions.

Research Results

Evolution of the Digital Divide (2024–2026)

Data synthesized from global digital indices indicates a significant shift in the nature of exclusion:

- **The Material Gap (Stage 1):** While mobile connectivity reached 73.2% globally by 2026, rural “Last Mile” infrastructure remains a primary barrier. In regions without consistent electricity, the “digital dividend” remains inaccessible despite device ownership.
- **The Literacy & Outcome Gap (Stages 2 & 3):** Results show that even in “connected” populations, 40% of users in low-income brackets struggle with complex UI/UX in GovTech. However, in regions utilizing “Digital Ambassadors,” successful service completion rates rose by 65%.

Discussion of Findings

Beyond the “Last Mile”: The Rise of Digital Agency. The results confirm that while global connectivity has hit record highs (73.2% in 2026), physical access (Stage 1) is no longer the primary determinant of inclusion. The research highlights a shift toward Digital Agency—the ability of a citizen to not just access a service, but to understand, dispute, and influence the digital systems governing them.

- **The “Suhuruliya” Effect:** Sri Lanka’s 2.0 strategy demonstrates that when digital upskilling is localized and gender-centric, it transcends mere “literacy” and becomes an economic catalyst, increasing rural female economic participation to 50%. This suggests that inclusion models must be tailored to specific demographic “pain points” rather than being deployed as generic national

The Vital Role of Human Intermediaries

One of the most significant findings is that the most inclusive digital systems are, ironically, those that maintain a strong “Analog Complement.”

- **Digital Ambassadors:** The success of programs like Singapore’s “Seniors Go Digital” and Sri Lanka’s Women Development Officers (WDOs) proves that human intermediaries are not “place holders” for future automation; they are essential structural components of a resilient digital state. They reduce the “Cognitive Load” of Gov Tech, ensuring that the elderly and low-literacy groups are not penalized for technical friction.

Toward a Rights-Based Framework

The discussion concludes that digital inclusion must be reframed from a “Technical Objective” to a “Fundamental Right.”

- **Self-Sovereign Identity (SSI):** The shift toward SSI—where citizens own their data—is the only sustainable path to prevent state or private overreach.
- **Inclusion Impact Assessments (IIA):** Just as environmental audits are mandatory for physical infrastructure, this study posits that IIAs must be mandatory for all digital infrastructure. Governance cannot be considered “modern” if it systemically excludes the vulnerable.

Research Decision

The decision to adopt a Qualitative-Dominant Comparative Framework for this study is rooted in the “Invisibility” of modern digital exclusion. While quantitative data can measure who is online, only qualitative analysis can explain why certain populations remain disenfranchised despite having physical access.

Justification for the Four-Level Taxonomy

The researcher decided to move beyond the traditional “Binary Divide” (Have vs. Have-Not). By adopting the Four-Level Appropriation Model, this study can isolate specific failure points:

- **The Decision:** Prioritizing “Cognitive Literacy” and “Social Participation” over mere “Material Access.”

- **The Rationale:** In 2026, the global internet penetration of 73.2% proves that hardware is no longer the primary barrier; the “Cognitive Load” of complex Gov Tech interfaces is the new frontier of exclusion.

Rationale for the “Human-in-the-Loop” (HITL) Focus

A strategic decision was made to focus on the Human-Centric aspects of AI-driven governance.

- **The Decision:** Evaluating the role of “Digital Ambassadors” and human intermediaries.
- **The Rationale:** As evidenced by the EU AI Act (2026), automated systems without human oversight lead to “Black Box” errors. The research decides that human intervention is a structural necessity, not a temporary fix.

Selection of Case Studies (Sri Lanka, India, Brazil)

1. **Sri Lanka (Suhuruliya 2.0):** Chosen for its unique focus on Gender-Centric digital upskilling and localized competency.
2. **India (Aadhaar/UPI):** Chosen to represent the “Public Good” model of massive-scale digital infrastructure.
3. **Brazil (CETIC.br):** Chosen as the benchmark for Participatory Governance and community-led data privacy.

Decision on the “Rights-Based” Approach: The researcher has decided to frame “Digital Inclusion” as a Fundamental Right of Citizenship rather than a technical KPI.

The Rationale: This prevents the study from becoming a mere IT manual and instead positions it as a Social Policy Framework aimed at democratic resilience and restorative equity.

Research Recommendations

Based on the synthesis of global models (2024–2026) and the identified barriers of the “Four-Level Digital Divide,” the following recommendations are proposed.

Mandating “Inclusion Impact Assessments” (IIA)

Governments should move beyond simple technical testing and mandate an Inclusion Impact Assessment before the deployment of any new Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI).

- **The Mechanism:** Similar to environmental audits, an IIA must evaluate how a new algorithm or interface affects the elderly, low-income households, and rural communities.
- **Goal:** To identify and mitigate “Invisible Exclusion” before it becomes a systemic barrier to state services.

Institutionalizing the “Analog Complement” Principle

To prevent “Digital Disenfranchisement,” the state must guarantee that essential rights—such as identity verification, health access, and social subsidies—are not contingent on smartphone ownership.

- **The Mechanism:** Maintain physical service windows or “Human-Mediated” digital kiosks (like the Suhuruliya 2.0 localized centers) during the transition phase.
- **Goal:** To ensure that the “Last Mile” population is not penalized by the “Digital-Only” mandate.

Implementing “Human-in-the-Loop” (HITL) for AI Services

Following the benchmark set by the EU AI Act of 2026, all AI-driven public services must include a transparent and accessible appeal process.

- **The Mechanism:** Every automated decision (e.g., welfare eligibility) must be accompanied by an “Explainability Report” and a direct path to a human officer for dispute resolution.
- **Goal:** To solve the “Black Box Problem” and restore citizen trust in automated governance.

Scaling “Gender-Centric” and Localized Upskilling

Digital literacy should shift from generic “ICT training” to “Contextual Competency.”

- **The Mechanism:** Scale models like Sri Lanka’s *Suhuruliya 2.0*, which use localized languages (such as Tamil and Sinhala) and peer-to-peer coaching to teach digital navigation.
- **Goal:** To increase the “Meaningful Use” (Stage 3) of digital tools, directly impacting the economic participation of marginalized groups.

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