Is Democracy in Crisis with the ICT? A Comparative Analysis of Political Cultures of Norway and Republic of Turkey

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Submitted to the
Institute of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
International Relations

Eastern Mediterranean University
July 2021
Gazimağusa, North Cyprus

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ABSTRACT

Is Information and Communication Technology (ICT) democratizing states or is democracy in crisis? The use of ICT in governance processes has advanced and several case studies have been conducted on how internet, mobile telephones, and SMS influences political activities. The aim of this study is to compare the impact of internet on the 'digital democracies' (E-democracy/ Internet democracy) in Norway and Turkey and impact of internet to democratic freedoms in 1992-2021. It will analyze the influence of Information technology (IT) on digital democracies. Norway is selected as a case because it is identified as the most democratic state in the world according to some credible sources such as Chatham House democratic index and Freedom House. While Turkey is ranked lower in the list, it is also determined by various sources as one of the states which can be a model to the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). In addition, Turkey was chosen for this study because it is listed among the countries that experienced the greatest freedom decline in the last ten years according to Freedom House, and because it connects Europe and Asia, its population has a different political culture. The study is a comparative analysis and it will make use of qualitative methodology. Hence primary and secondary sources will be utilized. As a result of this study, the relationship between digital culture and state identity will be elaborated from a constructivist perspective and the research will question whether both states can address the challenges and manage the technological developments in the 21st century.

Keywords: Digital, democracy, ICT, Turkey, Norway

ÖZ

Bilgi ve İletişim Teknolojisi (BİT) devletleri demokratikleştiriyor mu yoksa demokrasi krizde mi? Yönetişim süreçlerinde BİT kullanımı ilerlemiştir ve internet, cep telefonları ve SMS'in siyasi faaliyetleri nasıl etkilediğine dair çeşitli vaka çalışmaları yapılmıştır. Bu çalışmanın amacı, internetin Norveç ve Türkiye'deki 'dijital demokrasiler' (E-demokrasi/İnternet demokrasisi) üzerindeki etkisini ve internetin 1992-2021 yıllarında demokratik özgürlüklere etkisini karşılaştırmaktır. Bilgi ve iletişim teknolojisinin (BİT) dijital demokrasiler üzerindeki etkisini analiz etmektir. Norveç, Chatham House demokratik indeksi ve Freedom House gibi bazı güvenilir kaynaklara göre dünyanın en demokratik devleti olarak belirlendiği için vaka olarak seçilmiştir. Türkiye listenin alt sıralarında yer alırken, çeşitli kaynaklar tarafından Ortadoğu ve Kuzey Afrika'ya (MENA) model olabilecek ülkelerden biri olarak da belirlenmiştir. Ayrıca Türkiye'nin bu çalışma için seçilmesinde ki neden, Freedom House'a göre son on yıl içerisinde en büyük özgürlükte düşüş yaşayan ülkeler arasında gösterilmesi ve Avrupa ile Asya'yı birbirine bağladığı için nüfusunun farklı bir politik kültüre sahip olmasıdır. Çalışma karşılaştırmalı bir analizdir ve nitel metodolojiden yararlanacaktır. Bu nedenle birçok birincil ve ikincil kaynaklardan yararlanılacaktır. Bu çalışmanın sonucunda, dijital kültür ve devlet kimliği arasındaki ilişki konstrüktivist bir bakış açısıyla ele alınacak ve araştırma, her iki devletin de 21. yüzyıldaki zorlukların üstesinden gelip gelemeyeceğini ve teknolojik gelişmeleri yönetip yönetemeyeceğini sorgulayacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dijital, Demokrasi, BİT, Türkiye, Norveç

DEDICATION

To my family and all my loved ones

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The thesis will seek to find out whether democracy have failed in the 21st century? The definition of representative democracy has been used to 'rule of people' democracy, which infers from the Greek word demos, or individuals, is characterized, essentially, as government in which the incomparable control is vested within the people, however in this thesis the world democracy is used only for the liberal democracies of the Western world. Liberal democracy is also called Western democracy and it is a political philosophy and a government form which implies the liberal principles. The objective of this study is to understand how democracy face with the challenge by digital revolution. In this regard, Norway and Turkey will be analyzed in order to seek to find out the influence of IT on digital democracy in two different states with different identities and culture. The reason why Norway is selected as a case is because Norway is identified as the most democratic state in the world according to some credible sources such as Chatham House democratic index and Freedom House. While Turkey is ranked lower in the list. It was also regarded as one of the states which can be a democratic role model to the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). The study will use qualitative methodology, hence primary (official documents and protocols as well as interviews) and secondary sources (books, reports and articles) will be utilized to compare and analyze the two cases from a constructivist perspective. As a result of this study, seeks to find out the relationship between digital democracy and culture;

whether both countries can address the challenges and adapt to the technological developments in IT and become 'digital democracies.

The second chapter will explain how representative democracy emerged. The third chapter will address the challenges that have been faced in the 21st century with the developments in the IT. In chapter fourth, the methodology is explained using, comparative analyses of population, education, digital report and political culture of Norway's and Turkey's. Also, comparison of e-government development index and e-participation index. The research method used in this study was comparative data of Norway and Turkey. The results were collected with different methods to provide a better result about the manage by governments and possibility of digital transformation of democracy. The results that were collected has been reflected qualitative. Fifth chapter will question whether successful digital democratization will be possible in both states.

Individuals who do not like to leave their safe zone are worried about the security of their rights while witnessing this change in democracy. First, while security problems can occur even within democracy, problems are inevitable in a digital world. States have a duty to protect the rights and freedoms of their citizens. For this reason, they should prioritize protecting rights and freedoms in the process of transition from democracy to digital democracy today. Secondly, the fact that internet usage has increased in the last decades does not mean that every individual in the world has access to it and knows its use. Some countries are not capable (enough) of making this change in subjects such as education, economy, and technology. For this reason, classified as one of the most democratic state in the world according to various credible sources, Norway will be compared by a less democratic state namely Turkey over the

period of 1992 to 2021 by observing the relationships between measures related to democracy and Internet prevalence. Briefly, research questions will be:

a) How to measure democracy and is digital democracy possible in all states?

b) How can states manage the transition from today's democracy to digital democracy?

c) Can rights and freedoms be secured in digital democracy?

The aim of this project is to seek to explain the evolution of digital democracy. A detailed explanation of the difference between state and human security will be explained. For this study, the feasibility of digital democracy for the whole world will not be the limit, but only for states that are democratic states today. It is necessary to understand the difference between human and state security as well as educational economic, and technological competencies of states for possible democracy development will be elaborated. In sum, the thesis will attempt to answer the following questions besides research questions:

- Whether it is possible for democracies to evolve into digital democracies?

- How can states manage digital democracy without violating the rights of their citizens?

A comparative approach will be adopted to seek to understand how to address the challenges of the digital age. Various primary and secondary sources will be used to achieve the purpose of this study. In addition, semi-structures interview technic will be utilized.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 What Is Democracy?

What comes to your mind when we talk about democracy? Freedom of choose or human rights? For some people digital democracy is the best political system. On the other hand, digital evolution if it is placed in the hands of bad administrators, it can even turn into a weapon by authoritarian states. In order to define the term democracy politicians, theorists and researchers, have gone in depth to look at its etymology and also have looked at its given meaning by taking a look at its custom. The word democracy is made of two parts which is originated from Ancient Greek. Demos and Kratos / Kratein. Demos in Greek means "people". Conversely Kratos means power. Which is related to the power of sovereignty and government. It is also possible to assess democracy as the sovereignty of the people and the power of the people, just by looking at its etymological source. If we are to make this definition Cambridge University as a form of government which the citizens have the right to choose their own rules within the country. Webster's New Encyclopedic Dictionary (1995) defines democracy as a government in which the highest power is given to people and is implemented directly or indirectly by nations through demonstrations.

Andrew Heywood mentioned that, democracy is controlled by people which is referred to both the people and the government of the public of interest and can take many different forms. On the other hand, Dr John Hirst described democracy as a culture

led by citizens in which they control the government through elections. The actual owner of sovereignty is the individual itself and also the people living within the border of the country. According to Lindell, and Scott (Liddell & Scott, 1999), the term originates from the Greek word (demokratia) "rule of the people" which was coined from (demos) "people" and (kratos) "power" or "rule" in the 5th century B.C. However, Touraine mentioned that democracy is the way that gives humans the freedom and protects mainly depends on more on a political culture. For Touraine, Bir democracy is based not only on laws but more on a political supplement.

Although the definition of democracy has been explained by various scholars, there is no exact and easy way to define democracy. For the reason that the term of democracy is flexible which it is placed on the context: time; place; and conditions of its use. Nevertheless, the real usage of democracy has been misinterpreted throughout history and by people and also it has also been misused. Even the firmest managements in history have been able to use the word democracy for their own form of government.

The civilization can be shown as the founder of a state and the individuals who have a say or right in the vote or indirectly administration, can see that the state is based on democratic fundamentals.

According to this, it would be misused if we define democracy as a system where the only authority is the government. The real reason that democracy actually exists is because of the fact that there are specific principles that outline it in the academic and political literature.

Participation of the public in the selection and mixture of process in order to regulate and develop relationships between individuals and the society, protecting the individual rights and freedoms of citizens, certifying equality of opportunity for all actors or members making up the society regardless of who they are, distinguishing universal human rights that individuals have fundamentally taken by each actor principles such as the freedom of founding of political parties with opinions, the independence of the judiciary by independent courts, and the freedom of thought and press in connection with human rights can be shown as general principles of democracy.

If we take the concept of international relations the term 'power' has always been fixated with the powerful class system which comes from the past and continued until today. Many theories have been put into practice and also been produced. Thanks to democracy power was given to the people which they hadn't received before. When we take a look at history, we can see that the power was in the hands of a majority of people rather being with individuals. We can call this power as sovereignty. Even though we have perceived that many single persons or groups such as oligarchy, theocracy, aristocracy, plutocracy, or theocracy dominate, it is hardly ever encountered that the people are dominant, that is, the democratic form of government. Nowadays, Vatican is an example of what has been going on today and what was applied in Ancient Egypt in the past, and the sovereignty of the aristocracy in the Athens City State in the past. Today, many European countries, like the United Kingdom, still have aristocratic titles. These titles no longer have a function however they can often express that a person is glorified and also has a precise background or is wealthy. Examples show that where power is in the hands of a single person or a group can be multiplied,

but when it comes to the sovereignty of the people, these examples only emerge from the eighteenth century.

2.2 History

In the literature there is no exact definition of what democracy is, however, there were some common decisions made about the subject. The term democracy initially originated from the Greek origin. In the 5th century the Greek adopted it after the Romans embraced this type of government. Democracy has survived for a long period of time and has evolved throughout the century through different civilizations.

Throughout the history the common factors of democracy can be seen through people. However, people were not defined as the people living in a country as of today means. For some time, people of Athens were known as wealthy men who had served in the army. Conversely, slaves and women had no right to speak or right to vote. Also, people were considered to be Athenian but met the conditions also had no rights and were not able to speak out. There were many other examples like the black race which was located in the southern states in the USA, where women in most countries were not seen as "demos" and did not seem eligible to vote. By looking at the past it can be said that "demos" can be considered majority in a country, not all the people in a country. Subsequently democracy takes the self-government of the people it can be put that the majority, but in short terms it can be defined as the sovereignty of the whole people. In this vast system they vote for the majority of people who will represent them. The majority can come to this choice through direct referendum or indirectly through demonstrations.

In ancient periods democracy was born within the city-states of Ancient Greece. The mentioned system was defined as the Athens democracy which was seen rather close with the direct democracy. The population of Athens in the 4th century BC is probable to be 250,000-300,000 people, a very small population associated to that time. Within the conditions of theta period women which were non-native and considered as slaves did not have the right to vote in Athens.

During the Roman period just like the Athenians era, democracy was also favored as a form of government. Unlike the democracy held in Athens, the democracy presented in Rome was rather as a representative democracy. The power was in the hands of the elite and the democratic rights were given out according to the socio-economic status.

Another example of representative democracy can be seen in some regions of Ancient India (Indoi). The existence of the caste system in India is a suggestion that power is wealthy and in minority as seen in the Roman Empire.

Nevertheless, things were different in the Middle Ages. The main change for democracy in this period was the Magna Carta Libertatum was declared in June 1215. This contract restricted the powers of the king on behalf of the ministry and the people. For example, Magna Carta Libertatum's Article 39 clearly limited some of the judgments the king could give.

In the election after 1265 was the first choice after this election. Nonetheless, as a result of the restrictions of Magna Carta only small number of people were able to take part in the elections.

The examples of democracy are not only for this country. In the management of many different states, organization systems alike to democracy have been applied. Then again, in general, participation in democracy in all of them was not offered by the whole demos, but by groups who were men and could pay a definite amount of tax.

Democracy gained importance in the 18th and 19th Centuries and this was due to the French Declaration of Human and Citizen Rights and the American Declaration of Independence Democracy was seen as a form of government implemented by states with great populations, somewhat than as a form of government that was mentioned to as direct democracy and permitting to small populations, as in the Athenians.

As it is known slaves had no rights and also, they could not express their thoughts. The American Revolutionary War (1775-1783) was gained in 1788 by the United States Constitution, which secured Americans' rights and freedoms. During the colonial period the majority of the North American groups had democratic characteristics. Although this did not make them fully democratic. In spite of this, there were many different democratic characteristics presented in the colonies the common points were that the people were not living in the same country, rather than white men who were able to pay a specific amount of tax and had evident titles, would be considered as people, that is, demos, and have the right to vote and be elected.

The first liberal steps were taken with the rights given to slaves. After the American Civil War, which took place between April 1861 and May 1865, with the variations made in the years after, the slaves were given the right to vote and freedom. The French Declaration of Human and Citizen Rights was issued on 26 August 1789, presenting the democracy and freedom that established the French Revolution, and this

declaration still has an important place today. In the same year that the declaration was distributed, a constitution was recruited, which assigned power between a parliament elected by the people and the king. The election of the parliament was made with the votes of adult and taxable men. On the other hand, with Napoleon, it is seen that the organization moved away from democracy and transferred to Bonaparte's.

Due to the changes in the 20th century made an important impact within the development of democracy. All through the Great Depression, which started in 1929, dictatorships begun in many countries, examples of which are European, Latin American, and Asian countries, but non-democratic but not dictatorships came to power in the Baltic and Balkan countries and similarly between 1918-1989 is known as the dictatorship period.

Though there was not much development about democracy at the beginning of the century. The end of colonialism after World War II and the development of many new independent states subsequently introduced democratization movements and the after then the dictatorships of Adolf Hitler in Germany and Tojo Hideki in Japan were ended, and they followed the aim of becoming a prosperity with the effect of the agreements signed. The war for democracy in the 20th century increased motion with the cold war between the USA and Soviet Russia. The cold war which initiated between the Soviet Bloc and Western democracies can be seen as the war of communism and liberal democracy. This controversy ended in 1989 and the new world order attempts started. Likewise, Francis Fukuyama, mentioned in his article "The End of History?" (1989), (Fukuyama, 1989) with the end of the Cold War, reports that liberal democracy has achieved strength and will expand all over the world. After these

democratization developments, Georgia's Rose Revolution the procedure regenerated with the Revolution and the Orange Revolution in Ukraine.

Nevertheless, in the 21st century the situation is a little different. After the 2nd World War, a rivalry started between the capitalist and socialist, communist, and liberal democracy. The conflict which started on earth then moved to the space age. The bipolar world that desires to be hegemon has moved into space. The states that advanced after the war also improved their technologies in order to enter the space age. This prodigious technological development was particularly in the computer and communication sectors, and these alterations were seen as the indication of social development. There were many theorists who supported these developments. Academics such as Daniel Bell (Bell, 1973), Yoneji Masuda (Masuda, 1981) and Alvin Toffler (Toffler, 1981) are examples of this. They claimed that the information society appeared with the advancing technology in the agricultural and industrial societies familiar from the past. They needed to show that information technology is more successful than humans and is more dominant than the human mind. With these technological improvements, a more radical effect has been created in social relations. (Splichal, 1994). These changes in information and communication technologies have an influence on many human activities and it can be seen in on politics.

2.3 Types of Democracy

Since democracy has existed, it has come up with different types in different states. Consequently, it would not be incorrect to expression that there are many models of democracy. The way democracy is applied produces these differences. They differ in their implementation and methods of types of democracy. It can be applied directly, representationally, and semi-representationally. There are five different types of

democracy in generally which can be reproduced further, which are classical democracy, protective democracy, developmental democracy, liberal democracy, and popular (direct) democracy.

2.3.1 Classical Democracy

First the practice of classical democracy seen in Ancient Greek city-states. Classical democracy is also called Athenian democracy because it was the most powerful city and best enforcer in the early days. In the classical democracy implemented in Athens, the decisions were taken by the Ecclesia, that is, the people's assemblies, in which all citizens were members. The people were recruited as public servants in these assemblies by drawing lots or alternately at short intervals. On the decision-making committee there was a council of five hundred citizens. Fifty people took part in the committee that prepared a proposal for the council, and the person elected chairman of this committee served only one day. Nevertheless, on military matters, ten generals could be re-elected. The most characteristic feature of this type of democracy is the high participation rate of citizens. The slavery system, which contrasts with democracy, was the most prominent factor in the multiplicity of these participation rates. For the reason that the only people who could vote were men over the age of twenty, from Athens, and most of their daily responsibilities were carried out by their slaves. Correspondingly in this type of democracy, women, non-Athenians, and slaves did not have the right to vote or express an opinion. This management system, which is easier to implement in small city states due to the population, is more difficult to implement in large countries and is therefore not preferred. Currently, the people's assemblies in small towns of Switzerland can be given as an example of this type of democracy. General features are as follows:

    • The people take direct part in the legislative and judicial bodies,

- Ecclesia, the people's assembly, has a sovereign power,

- This sovereign power of the people's assembly includes all common affairs belonging to the city,

- There is more than one selection method for candidates who want to be appointed to public office. Direct selection, draw or rotation are examples of this,

- There is no distinction between public officials and ordinary people,

- Except for military areas, a person cannot undertake the same task more than twice,

- The election period of the officials is short, the selection takes place at short intervals,

- A certain amount is paid for public services.

2.3.2 Protectionist Democracy

A second model of democracy is protectionist democracy. This model of democracy was more common in the Middle Ages. European peoples, who wanted to protect themselves from the tyranny of the government, wanted to get out of the administrations in their own countries and applied this way. Unlike classical democracy, it has been adopted as the way people participate in politics and as a protective force against governments' interventionist attitudes. This understanding of democracy, in which the first liberal thinkers showed itself, aimed to guarantee the widest protection area for the freedom of individuals. The people, who need the rulers to protect and maintain the existence of the state, have expressed many times what to protect themselves against the overly intrusive attitudes of the rulers.

"Quis Custodiet Custodes?"

"Who watches the watchmen?"

This question, which has become a popular saying in ancient Rome, belongs to Decimus Iunius Iuvenalis, known as Juvenal, who lived between the 1st or 2nd century. This view apprehensions John Locke, one of the 17th century philosophers with Juvenal. Locke inclined to evaluate people's right to vote and to express opinions within the scope of natural rights. But John Locke argued that this natural about could only belong to the owners of the property. For this reason, although he has a democratic attitude, it cannot say that he is a democrat in modern standards. In this context, it can be seen as limited and indirect democracy model as a protective democracy. The consent of the people is provided by elections, so that the leaders can account for the administered. However, voting rights alone are not sufficient for democracy. It has to meet other than the principles of democracy, for illustration, the establishment of a system with a separation of powers created by the legislature, the executive and the judiciary in order to protect individual freedoms.

As a result, this model of democracy aimed to give people the opportunity to live as they choose. In this way, it has a structure that coincides with laissez-faire (let them do) capitalism. It inspired classical liberals and the New Right with its emphasis on the freedom of individuals and their responsibilities to social and economic conditions. General features:

- Sovereignty belongs to the people and this sovereignty is exercised through representatives elected within state institutions.
- The elected managers must be accountable to the public. This accountability is done through elections held at regular intervals, secret ballot, conflict between parties, and institutional arrangements.

- The basis of the state should be determined by institutional arrangements and should be divided into functions such as legislation, executive and judiciary.
- Constitutionalism is of central importance. Speaking must guarantee freedom and all rights, including freedom of expression, assembly, election, and conscience. This constitutionalism also prevents bliss.
- There is a difference between the sphere of the State and the sphere of civil societies for the social-political organization that this type of democracy envisages. In this political organization, every citizen has its own special areas from the risk of violence, negative social behavior, and unwanted state intervention.

2.3.3 Developmental Democracy

The developmental democracy model sees the development of individuals and societies as core. Jean-Jacques Rosseu is the most radical advocate of this model of democracy. Rosseu mention that, if individuals contribute to the formation and development of their society, they will also feel free.

According to John Stuart Mill, who advocates a more moderate developmental democracy model than the radical advocate Rousseu, individuals can strengthen their understanding and sensitivity by doing politics, which is the greatest benefit of democracy to an individual. Mill argues that everyone should have the right to vote, regardless of gender or economic discrimination. But this argument, which Mill defends, has a negative side. According to Mill, there are voting differences between people. For instance, there is a difference of votes between unskilled and skilled workers. While the voting right of the unskilled worker is one vote, the skilled worker must vote well. In this way, he thought that the majority that could be formed in a

democracy could escape the fear of tyranny. In other words, he stated that everyone should have votes, but the decisions made by the majority could be wrong from time to time. The general features of developmental democracy are as follows:

• Individuals have universal suffrage, and the sovereignty of the people is essential.

• There are representative governments elected by the people, representing the sovereignty of the people.

• It has a brake-balance system. The lifestyle of the individual is guaranteed by the laws. (Freedom of thought, freedom of publication and discussion etc.)

• The functions of elected representatives and experts should be separate from each other. It is important that the parliamentary public bureaucracy is not in its mark.

• Citizens' participation in elections to express their opinions by voting is very important.

2.3.4 Liberal / Western Democracy

There is a debate about the order of importance of individual freedom and sovereignty in democracy and it is also called Western democracy. Many theories have been produced so that these two phenomena can come together and stay in balance. Liberal democracy is a model of democracy that can respond to this debate, which has been habitual throughout history. Liberal democracy is quite successful in bringing these two facts together. With the term liberal and its application, freedom represents equality with the political equality that its principles encompass. In this context, liberal democracy can be explained as a system of government in which the rulers are determined by the people and these rulers restrict individuals to individual freedoms.

In liberal democracy, elections are held on the basis of a tolerant and open-minded competition and political equality.

2.3.5 People's Democracy

A developed type of democracy found in communist regimes is popular democracy. People's democracy is in opposition to liberal democracy models. Although he defends political equality, he also argues that it is necessary to ensure social democracy and economic equality. For countries with popular democracy, it is criticized that the uncontrolled and uncontrolled power of parties overshadows democracy. Karl Marx argued that, after the possible collapse of capitalism, it would temporarily leave its place to the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, and then the proletarian democracy model would create communist societies. However, we can say that the idea of democracy seen in these communist states was Lenin rather than Karl Marx.

2.4 Stages of Democracy

Although there are many types, the ideal democracy understanding has not been reached today. Though many countries are formally governed by democracy, there is quite a difference between the ideal democracy and the democracies that take place today. Dahl defined this situation as polyarchy and, in turn, argued that this difference should be eliminated (Dahl, Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition, 1971)**.** The closer to the ideal, the higher the quality, efficiency, and quality of democracy.

Lipset (Martın, 1960, pp. 9-35), Schumpeter (1970: 269-282) (Schumpeter, 1976), and Huntington (Huntington & Özbudun, 1993, s. 3-10) define one-dimensional democracy as a form of government that takes place through free elections and is necessary for making political decisions. The existence of elections elected democratic units and the right to be elected are enough to define a regime as democracy, in which

the people will be governed and again for the people to elect freely. This approach is also called procedural democracy. Accordingly, the democratic form of government consists only of elections (Schumpeter, 1976, pp. 269-272).

Dahl adds the dimension of political freedom to this definition under polyarchy and argues that democracy does not consist solely of elections. Dahl defines democracy as a regime in which people can express themselves as they want, based on the foundations of equality and freedom, taking into account political freedoms, freedom of the press, freedom of expression, and civil / political association, rather than being procedural (Dahl, Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition, 1971). As can be seen here, Dahl treats democracy in two dimensions as opposed to a one-dimensional procedural approach. Nevertheless, Dahl's two-dimensional understanding of democracy has also been evaluated in the literature within procedural, that is, one-dimensional democracy (Schmitter & Karl, 1991). This minimalist type of democracy is also defined as Schumpeterian democracy or liberal democracy, which does not allow individuals to participate in political processes other than political elections (Przeworski, 1999).

In addition to these democracies, democracy approaches that dimension the concept of democracy in a deeper and broader scope were also needed. These approaches have been named as consolidated democracy, qualified democracy or substantive democracy. These approaches, which defend that there should be a participatory and deliberative management approach in addition to democratic conditions, explain that democracy will be permanent and qualified when the determined principles are realized. Lijphart associates the concept of the quality of democracy with principles such as accountability of states, equality and participation, and explained that with

these principles, a system evaluates whether a democracy is qualified or not. (Lıjphart, 2011).

Morlino (2011) examined qualified democracy in three stages as procedure, content and result. The procedure dimension includes the way democracy functions as a political system, the realization of noble democratic elements such as the content dimension, equality and freedom, and the result dimension includes how effectively citizens participate in political decision-making processes and how much the government applies to executive activities. In this respect, Morlino sees democracy in three dimensions. In order for democracy to be of good quality, a government or ruling class that takes office according to democratic principles must be politically accountable, have a ruling class that takes decisions with active participation of citizens and political equality. The active participation of citizens is the most fundamental condition for a qualified and quality democracy. In this context, the quality of democracy has many political and social consequences. (Morlino, 2011) (Morliona & Diamond, 2004).

Although democracy has so many dimensions, it is a fact that three-dimensional democracy is more related to e-democracy. By ensuring the active participation of citizens in the political process together with the technology required by e-democracy, the realization of a three-dimensional democracy can be observed. Because, thanks to e-democracy, the ruled class is enabled to participate actively in the administration along with democratic election processes. In this context, citizens will be effective in the decisions taken and necessary steps will be taken for the existence of a qualified democracy. Responding to the wishes and expectations of citizens is the most visible indicator of the value and quality of democracy. At this point, it is seen how important

digital democratization is because in representative democracies, a well-executed e-democracy will strive for the quality of democracy.

The common feature of all democracies is the participation of the people. It is not possible to talk about democracy without the participation of the people. Because the people are the building blocks of the system. Liberal democracy, in which the state is an organization providing services to individuals and its activities are restricted by laws, has begun to shake with globalization. Because globalization is gathered under 3 main headings, these are political, cultural, and economic components. (Held, 2000); (Laclau & Mouffe, 2014); (Dworkin, 2006).

Economic developments affect the system of the new world order, and therefore the existence of the nation-state and the decision-making mechanism which must be independent are weakened. (Held, 2000); (Hardt & Negri, 2011); (Laclau & Mouffe, 2014) As a result, it can be said that democracy has been shaken, but it is still generally accepted as the best form of government.

2.5 Why Democracy is the Best Political System?

Democracy, which means the management of the people, is regarded as the best form of government in many ways while there are those who argue that democracy is an atrocious management system, there are more who argue that it is the best one. Democracy, which has many different types, stands out in management systems with its different applications and diversification. When democracy examine, there are two different theories are mentioned as normative and empirical or realist. Normative theory reflects what it should be, taking democracy directly as defined in the dictionary. However, such a management method has not been encountered

throughout history, it can be said that it is utopian (Erdoğan, 1999). Democracy's theory and its practice have often been different. Democracy can also be used as a purely communal term which is Tocqueville's "Democracy in America" book is an example of it.

Sartori mentions that, ideal democracy and applied real democracy are not the same. There is a difference between what is and should be. If the relationship between these two events is not understood, the benefit that can be obtained from the difference between what is and what should happen will progressively reduce and disappear. (Sakai, Shimizu, & Shiba, 1993).

Contrary to the normative theory of democracy, realist or empirical theories of democracy reflect real democracy. These theories try to reveal the similarities and differences of the general common features of the forms of government accepted as democratic. The characteristics of these regimes are that they are able to show democracy and respond to the demands of the citizens for a long time rather than the democracy that should be (Özbudun, 1989). The minimum conditions for democracy to exist were determined by Robert Dahl as seven separate principles (Diamond & Plattner, 1995):

1- A constitutionally selected figure should be assembled above the decisions taken by the government that regulates the state policy.

2- Elected components should be selected at short intervals and virtuous elections, and these elections should be made in environments where oppression is rare.

3- Contrary to Athenian democracy, practically all adults should have the right to vote elected actors.

4- Citizens of the country should be able to express themselves freely about political events.

5- Alternative broadcast sources should be protected by laws and citizens should have the opportunity to access them, individuals should have freedom of choice.

6- Citizens should be able to participate in the elections and have the right to be elected.

7- Citizens should have the right to form and develop political parties and independent institutions or organizations.

These principles are the minimum conditions for Robert Dahl's democracy or polyarchy to occur. As far as understood, in general, democracy in its own character includes, freedom, equal right to elections, freedom of coalition between parties, and regular election or attendance of leaders thanks to the right to vote.

Habermas argues that democracy should not mean that in the bureaucratic modern state it can only be controlled by the principle of "rule of law". The existence of a phenomenon that ensures subordinate control in states and ensures public participation in decision-making processes is one of the necessary conditions for a democratic government that can be established in the relationship between the state and society. As it can be understood from here, the relationship based on dialogue and communication between the state and the individual is a support for the legitimacy of the modern state power that sets legal authority into practice. According to Habermas, the state should express what the people have -in the framework of the rules- in a legal construction. (Habermas, 2002, p. 24).

Democracy is unquestionably the best form of government in terms of guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of the majority. Elections held in America, France, and Britain in pre-democracies today freed society from the power to determine the actions of the monarchy and the aristocracy. These elections freed the power of the monarchy and the aristocracy in the 'rights-determining actions of the age'.

Even democracy accepted as it is best political system ever and it has many advantages, today it is in crises. In 2018, Michael J. Abramowitz, the president of the Freedom House mention that, democracy faced its most thoughtful catastrophe in periods in 2017 as its basic beliefs and it is including guarantees of free and reasonable votes, the constitutional rights of subgroups, liberty of the media, and the rule of law. (Abramowitz, 2018) So, this means that, democracy under attack in worldwide. It is inevitable that, with digitalization this siege of democracy will increase. Also in 2021, Sarah Repucci and Amy Slipowitz mention that, with the pandemic, many areas effected and indirectly this situation affected democracy more than 2018 and the effect of the enduring democratic failure has turn out to be progressively worldwide, extensive to be touched to individuals living below the harshest authoritarianisms, as well as by people of enduring democracies. (Repucci & Slipowitz, Democracy under Siege, 2021)

However, there are also those who foresee the opposite as well as those who defend it. Since the foundations of philosophy and democracy are based on the Ancient Greeks, there is an important relationship between these two phenomena. Therefore, Plato produced many ideas on democracy. Plato mention that a real state with vigorous foundations can never be created with democracy. Even the versatility of democracy

and its appearing to be the best system of governance does not lead to a true state (Plato 2006: 557 c, d).

Freedom House has also stated that democracy, which has advantages and disadvantages, is in crisis today. Despite these developments, democracy has managed to be the most effective management system throughout history. Western states have also switched to this successful management system for certain reasons.

2.6 Developments Causing the Transition of the Western States to Democracy

Athens Democracy was underestimated by the aristocrats and named as the populist/ non-elitist form of government. The fact that its people have the right to be in the parliament brought the Athenian democracy to an important place in democracies (Dahl, On Democracy, 2001). All citizens could express their opinions in the general assembly, with the businessmen (the person who came the city for trade) being observed in the large councils. On the other hand, to be considered a citizen, one should not be slaves, women, children, or foreigners.

In Rome, the situation was a slightly different. Rome was governed by a "belonging to the people" form of government, merging with the concept of republic. Dahl (Dahl, On Democracy, 2001) argued that these popular governments in the Romans and Greeks should not be confused and compared with modern representative democracy. However, these public administration systems have prepared an important infrastructure in the formation and institutionalization of Western democracies. After the Migration of Tribes, the Roman Empire disintegrated, and with it, small and separate administrative units were formed in Central and Western Europe. As leaders

there emerged lords, subordinate serfs, and these units formed the center of the social structure. Conversely, no lord's rule and rule were permanent. Serfs had the right to elect lords. Although this may seem like an actual primitive situation, it laid the foundation for the development of the understanding of being an individual in the West as an option for ordinary people to select the people who will manage themselves (Mahçupyan, 2008) . In addition, the fact that the Church has its own independence outside the state in the West has provided the necessary environment for its autonomy in civil society. The thought of limited power also laid the foundations of modern constitutionalism with the limitation of the state sovereignty of these civil organizations.

Geographical discoveries defined as the Age of Enlightenment, Renaissance and reform ideas provided this age, along with positive sciences, led to the birth of democracy and democratic institutions along with the rights and freedoms of individuals. According to some researchers, cities enriched with geographical discoveries and passed to capitalist society. In this case, it has developed the consciousness of superiority in individuals. Later, with the development of mercantilism with trade, peoples increased their economic welfare level, which enabled people to develop more (Şenşekerci, 2005). These reforms and Protestantism, which started in the 16th century, individualized religion by taking the church between God and individuals. Thus, they took the church under their control. This domination and the withdrawal of the Church between man and God led to the emergence of Secular Europe by individualizing religion.

The Age of Enlightenment refers not only to the developments in scientific fields in the 18th century, but also to the philosophical, political, and social process that was

felt throughout America and Europe. The Age of Enlightenment can be shown as the greatest obstacle to the darkness of the Middle Ages. According to Kant (Uyanık, 2004) with this enlightenment, people were able to show the courage to use their mind in charge of their own essence.

The "Bill of Rights" published in England in 1689, as Kona (Kona, 2005) argued, has an important place in the development of capitalism and the birth of national consciousness in terms of protection of rights and freedoms. These developments in England also triggered the industrial revolution. It has caused changes in the fields of production and economy. Thus, placed the validity of states in the political sphere on the philosophy of fundamental rights. This industrial revolution has led to change and transformation in many aspects. In addition to technological and scientific developments in Western European countries, liberal thought and practices have started to dominate. Moore (Moore, 2012) argues that the reason why Britain is a more liberal society even than the United States is that aristocrats have a big share.

France "Declaration of Human and Citizen Rights" published in 1789 touched upon many issues such as equality, immunity of property, freedom, and brotherhood. As a result of these revolutions, the struggles for independence in Europe gained strength and the republic became a more preferred system than other forms of government. Thus, the establishment of democracy is related to the formation of the necessary conditions for this process to be experienced. In this context, this democratization process that Western states have gone through in the past has created an economic and political structure as liberal and pluralist today (Tilly, 2005).

This process, which creates an economic and political structure as liberal and pluralistic, has begun to take on a new structure with the transition process of democracy to digital democracy.

To understand this process, it should be known what is the meaning of the digital democracy and why it is needed or is not needed. For this reason, next chapter will address the challenges that have been faced in the 21st century with the developments in the IT and will explain digital democracy.

Chapter 3

DIGITAL DEMOCRACY

3.1 What is Digital Democracy or E-Democracy?

The rapid development of digitalization has brought about the transformation of many different fields. In this context, the transition from the industrial society to the information society has accelerated today with globalization and has affected many political, economic, social and cultural areas. The excessive use of information communication technologies by individuals has enabled them to penetrate daily life and has brought the use of technology to a large place in a wide area including political activities. When technology is viewed from the political sphere, it is seen that it has become a great mechanism that enables citizens to participate in democratic decision-making processes in every field possible. Bringing the public, private and civil sectors together at a common point, it carries features such as governance, accountability, transparency and efficiency to the electronic environment. In addition, democracy is being transferred to the digital environment.

3.2 Digital Democracy

Information and communication technologies affect countries in administrative, political, economic, and socio-cultural ways. Among the new formations that come with ICT, digital democracy has its own place. In general, we can define digital democracy as the use of information technologies together with democracy and it is also called e-democracy. It also plays an important role in making democracy more transparent and accountable.

There are authors who define digital democracy as a democracy where new technological applications and experiences are used. For example, Hague and Louder, Shane, Solop, Margolis and Riano. According to Solop, the purpose of digital democracy is to inform individuals about the policies of governments by using information and communication technologies, to mobilize online by providing political and political participation in cyberspace, and to help citizens integrate with the tools of the state and democracy with online voting (Solop, 2002).

The Council of Europe mentions that, digital democracy is generally defined as the use of information and communication technologies at all levels, local and regional, of different actors involved in political processes. (Europe, 2009).

According to Macintosh (Macintosh, 2004) the basis of e-democracy is interpreted as the use of the internet, in other words information and communication technologies, in order to ensure citizen participation, support decision-making processes and strengthen representative democracy.

E-democracy has three aims on its basis. Increasing transparency in democratic political processes and clarification of information within the system is shown as the first goal. The second goal is to develop individuals' citizenship education and mentality. The last goal is to increase the participation of individuals in the direct democratic process (Moreira, Moller, Gerhardt, & Ladner, 2009, s. 25)

According to Rik Panganiban, e-democracy is the convergence of information and communication technologies to traditional democratic process (Panganiban, 2004, p. 6).

For Clift, democratic actors realize ICT and the strategies they implement within digital democracy. These democratic actors include many actors such as citizens, governments, political parties, media, non-governmental organizations, and international society organizations. Clift also listed many activities as the application areas of digital democracy, such as political campaigns carried out in the digital environment, political party activities, governmental organizations and representative institutions (Clift, 2004, pp. 2-3).

The Council of Europe has listed e-democracy in categories such as e-petition, e-participation, e-mediation, e-environment, e-justice, e-survey and e-parliament application areas:

• **E-petition:** Commonly, official requirements made to a government agency or authority are called petitions. People have the right to petition their government, parliament or other public institution, and in most liberal democracies this is legalized in the application of constitutional law. In these developing information and communication technologies, the petition application has turned into an e-petition. E-petitions are divided into formal and informal. While official petitions are approved by public institutions, unofficial petitions are petitions created by non-governmental organizations (Mosca & Santucci, 2009).

• **E-participation:** it is the participation of individuals / citizens together with information and communication technologies. Participation of individuals with ICT tools to practices in cyber environment and requiring public participation is called e-participation. According to research, it has been determined that the connection between governments and citizens is strengthened thanks to e-participation. The purpose of e-participation is to strengthen individuals' access to information and public

services that benefit both individually and the whole society, and to encourage citizens to participate in the policy-making process.

- **E-mediation:** Also defined as online mediation. It is a type of mediation used to solve problems that may arise from data stored in the cyber environment or e-discovery. In this context, it means resolving conflicts using web-based support systems (Druckman & Koeszegi, 2017).

- **E-environment:** Storing, managing, and accessing environmental data and information through a system with an information and communication technology base. In this way, a more sustainable environment and resource use is aimed (ICTs for e-Environment, Guidelines for Developing Countries, with a Focus on Climate Change, 2008).

- **E-justice:** The use of ICT to handle administrative practices and provides many opportunities during and after the implementation of justice. It can be defined as an online application to streamline and accelerate justice (e-Justice, n.d.).

- **E-questionnaire:** Chambliss & Schutt e-poll defines as a poll where answers and questions are sent via the internet (Chambliss & Schutt, 2009).

- **E-parliament:** "E-Parliament or Digital parliament is defined as the use of ICTs to develop and strengthen the basic functions and operations of the parliamentary institutions."

- **E-voting**: Refers to the process of citizens voting over their own computers over the internet to be sent to a main computer (Vedel, 2000, pp. 25-31).

- **Discussion groups:** ICT technology creates environments where users can freely and unlimitedly express and share any topic they want; through the internet it contains. In these discussion groups, each citizen can freely express his / her own ideas and create a common knowledge base with people who share their views.

In addition, it recommends that member countries make legal regulations on digital democracy and then bring e-democracy to a viable level (Europe, 2009, s. 15). As with the principles of democracy, this digital democracy, which we can count as a subclass of democracy, must also have its own principles. In 2008, the European Council determined the principles of e-democracy. According to this:

1- Taking advantage of the opportunities offered by ICTs to strengthen democracy, democratic institutions and democratic process is defined as e-democracy.

2- It is not right to concern e-democracy only with technology, it is also largely related to democracy. For this reason, the evolution of e-democracy should be done according to democratic management principles and practices.

3- Digital democracy carries risks such as digital divide and e-discrimination. Therefore, a strong risk assessment, including risk management measures and ongoing monitoring and improvement systems, must be addressed by political will.

4- Digital democracy helps to restore declining citizen interest in political and democratic processes.

5- Thanks to e-democracy, people find a place for themselves at every stage of the democratic process.

6- Digital democracy acknowledges the existence of a basic democratic platform, that everyone can exercise their rights and freedom of expression, that they can safely access the internet, and that their personal data are protected by confidentiality principles. People will only be able to overcome the trust problems that may arise against digital democracy

when they are sure that their personal data and information will not be used against them.

The formation of e-democracy has taken place with the increasing interest of the people in the openness and accountability of the people and institutions within the state. The first requirement for digital democracy to be usable is internet access. As it is known, internet access is related to variables such as technology, economy and education. A second necessary condition is that citizens and elected persons should have a culture that places emphasis on participation. It will take a long time for people who do not have an information culture to adopt digital democracy (Şahin, Temizel, & Temizel, 2004). For this reason, it will be inevitable that the transition stages of countries with today's understanding of democracy to digital democracy will differ from each other.

In addition to these, e-government understanding is also developing with e-democracy. These two phenomena, which constantly affect each other, rise together, and adapt to our system.

It is seen in our today's system that today's democracy is applied together with the traditional understanding of the state. However, in the electronic state process realized with the new world system, we see the e-democracy model. Among these changing models, individuals are also affected by cultural, social and economic aspects.

3.3 E-Democracy Approaches

There are multiple models of the concept of e-democracy that emerged in the transparent and accountable period of politicians and governments elected by the people. E-democracy, which we can consider as a philosophical subclass of today's

democracy, emerges with the effect of ICT democratic process. Thanks to information and communication technologies, a more transparent relationship is established between the state and the individual. Therefore, e-democracy is an important and huge field. (Loftstedt, 2005, p. 45).

As in the concept of democracy, digital democracy has many approaches. In this part of the study, firstly Astrom's (2001) e-democracy approaches, then Caldow's (2004) digital democracy model and finally Nair's (2007) e-democracy model will be examined.

3.3.1 Astrom's (2001) E-Democracy Approaches

Examining the concept of e-democracy under the weak, strong, and quick classes, Astrom explains his approach as follows:

• Weak e-democracy sees citizens as a customer who has any government service over the Internet. In this approach, it is emphasized that politicians or candidates can introduce themselves to citizens through the internet during the election process.

• Strong e-democracy considers the evaluation of decisions by playing an important role in political decision-making rather than voting processes of individuals.

• Quick e-democracy aims at the direct participation of citizens in the decision-making mechanism. Participation here takes place through the votes of citizens cast electronically. Thus, individuals can quickly and fully demonstrate their freedom of thought and expression (Astrom, 2001).

3.3.2 Caldow's (2004) E-Democracy Approach

Caldow's model is realized in 4 stages and these levels show that the e-democracy studies of the leaders will adapt to e-government applications both tactical and strategically:

- **Stage I:** States that make information on legislative bodies, international organizations, and political parties accessible to citizens through the internet realize the first step in e-democracy steps. It has passive, one-way simultaneous and this stage include research information, legislation and monitoring representatives.

- **Stage II:** Elements in this stage work to open two-way mutual communication, but units with two-way communication are still largely not synchronous. In this stage, e-mail, online public, online survey, e-mail alerts and e-voting methods included.

- **Stage III:** In this level, which increases the interactive power, the units are still largely non-synchronous, but mutual communication and cooperation steps are seen. Dynamic monitoring of the internet and media, coordination, fundraising, online forum and digital divide included in this stage.

- **Stage IV:** It is the highest e-democracy tier. At this level, there are units that focus on the right stakeholders and the judiciary or local audiences (Caldow, 2004). This stage is interactive and strategic that have e-petition, e-consultation, policy, diplomacy, transparency and digital divide.

From the stage I to Stage IV, the accountability and the impact is increasing. This is why the improve stages is important in Caldow's E-democracy approach.

3.3.3 Nair's (2007) Digital Democracy Approach

Nair's e-democracy approach, like Caldow's model, consists of 4 stages:

• Disclosure of knowledge is considered as the first step. At this stage, Public organizations share and disclose information on political issues on the Internet. In this way, citizens are encouraged to think by quickly accessing information.

• Consultation is the second stage. Here, after the information sharing in the first stage, the thoughts of the citizens who have access to the information are conveyed to the state institutions through public websites.

• Online Negotiation is the third step. At this stage, public units and citizens can communicate and discuss political issues in line with the information they mutually share.

• The last stage is online decision making. After the rapid communication between individuals and state institutions, the participation of citizens in democratic processes is fully realized (Nair, 2007)

3.4 Why Digital Democracy Is Needed?

The internet is used in many different ways in e-democracy and political communication. For instance, European countries' parliaments, political parties, and individual politicians benefit greatly from the internet revolution (Dai, 2008). In this sense, we see e-democracy that progresses in parallel with technology.

E-democracy, which has strategic and tactical aspects, offers many advantages in these aspects. In its tactical aspect, e-democracy is providing faster access to information than traditional information technology tools. As it is known, equipped and informed citizenship understanding is one of the basic principles of democracy. In this context, digital communication established with e-democracy is successful in informing the

citizens of many states. Despite this, it cannot be said that all states vigorously inform and equip their citizens, but there are many actions to be taken in this regard. When we look from this perspective, we see the strategic dimensions of e-democracy (Caldow, 2003; 1).

3.4.1 Why Is It Needed?

As stated, there are many reasons for using digital democracy. With the development of technology and the increasing use by people, digital applications have become more preferred. Through the transition to the use of digital democracy,

> 1- Politicians and state institutions can be closer to the public thanks to social media. Thus, a direct communication channel between the public and officials will be opened.

> 2- It helps citizens with like-minded opinions share ideas for political actions.

> 3- Digital media spreads people's messages and voices cheaper and faster. It also ensures that these news or messages are repeated continuously. According to a study by Edelman (2012), for the same message to be credible, it must be heard by citizens three to five times.

> 4- Digital networks allow crowdsourcing. In this way, information can be obtained about the general opinion of the citizens, which can influence politicians. When politicians know about the opinions of the masses, they can plan their strategies accordingly.

> 5- Thanks to digital networks, citizens can be the real decision-making mechanism.

According to Ismael Pena-Lopez, the benefits of e-democracy for citizen sortable as: Having a well-defined and well-managed digital identity, possibility to be the first to

speak out in the political assembly, greater opportunity for democratic participation and responsibility, increased interaction with the public, a shift towards participatory democracy, increased opportunity to debate on political issues, participation in agenda setting becomes possible, focus more on local policies and access to information from sources. Also, there are many benefits of e democracy for political parties. Some of them are, access to new corporate resources, changing the way cyber policies and cyber activism spread information and communication technologies, a new role of the professional politician within the party and between the party and the citizen and development of public responsibilities. Another advantage of e-democracy is for states/governments. Providing more requirements and more tools to achieve transparency, providing more requirements and more tools to fulfill accountability, digital data and digital activities becoming more traceable an ability to answer citizens' problems regarding the state through open communication channels and data (Pena-Lopez, 2011)

In short, digital democracy establishes a direct link between citizens and politicians, enables politicians to be closer to citizens, enables political action, ensures rapid transmission and repetition of messages, and facilitates access to the ideas of the masses.

To put it briefly, seeking opportunity from technical developments in information and communication technology is one of the main reasons for the existence of e-democracy. In addition, voter turnout in most democratic countries is very low. The need to increase this has increased the orientation towards e-democracy. This 21st century technology can accelerate voter participation in government. (Backhouse, 2007; 110).

3.4.2 Why Is Not?

Despite these positive aspects, there are quite a lot of people who defend the negative aspects of digitalized democracy. According to those scholars;

1. Selection mistakes can happen and thus become vulnerable to corruption or cyberattack. Physical voting, which is the traditional voting system, allows the citizen to vote in secret and to have the votes of the citizens examined in accordance with the rule. However, digital democracy can be subject to all kinds of cyberattacks, which can greatly affect elections.

2. With virtual democracy, democratic processes may not be taken seriously and cease to be public experience of the benefit of society. Thus, the selection process can be transformed into a push-button. Therefore, there may be a risk of consumer choice instead of democratic citizenship status.

3. Besides, new communication technologies are not universal. Today, there is still a segment that cannot even reach drinking water, but unfortunately internet connection cannot be mentioned. Therefore, the use of e-democracy can lead to inequalities between societies. Thus, new knowledge-rich and knowledge-poor models will emerge. Unless every citizen has access to the internet, there should be no choice in the digital environment.

4. Although it is assumed that every individual has internet access, it is a fact that, thanks to fast communication, they will grow stronger in their anti-democratic powers. Groups that share racially and religious views of hate and citizens with political extremism can also use this new technology to spread their ideas and opinions quickly.

5. In addition, because people will come together with people who share the same views with their own ideas, they will move away from people with opposite views. In this direction, a polarized political environment will emerge.

6. As can be seen, digital democracy has many positive and negative aspects as in today's political systems. However, in this information age, where technological developments are inevitable, the future of e-democracy and the problems it will encounter will be overcome by citizens with the help of governments.

In order to e-democracy to be adapted to societies, societies must have the necessary technological infrastructure, sufficient education level and culture. The necessary trainings should be provided by the states to their citizens to spread the use of technology, which varies according to the culture and structure of the generations, in all age groups. For example, people born in 2000 are called Generation Z. These people are individuals born in the internet age and it is unthinkable for them to lack technology. However, most of the individuals who were born between 1946 and 1964 and called Baby Boomers are quite unfamiliar with technology. So much so that the difference between these two generations reveals the difference in technology usage by age. While the generation Z perceives technology as a natural standard of living, the Baby Boomers generation generally has tools such as radios, newspapers, or turntables.

In order for e-democracy to be realized positively or negatively, states must first move their political mechanisms to the internet environment. In this direction, in addition to e-democracy, the understanding of e-government should also be examined and taken into consideration.

3.5 What Is E-Government?

For the realization of e-democracy, state institutions must also adapt to information and communication technologies. Many different e-government definitions have been made in the literature, and when the definitions are examined, it is understood that e-government is an application that solves all problems by expressing a wide meaning (Al & Alodalı, 2008, s. 1206).

According to Devadoss (Devadoss, Pan, & Huand, 2003, p. 253), e-government is the provision of citizen-oriented services to citizens through the internet using information and communication technologies of governments.

Layne and Lee (Layne & Lee, 2001, p. 123)define e-government as the use of web-based internet technology for governments to serve citizens, business partners, other organizations, and public institutions, as well as to access public information quickly and easily.

Fang (Fang, 2002) defines e-democracy as a method used by governments to provide opportunities for individuals and business world to reach public services quickly and easily, and to participate in democratic institutions and processes by using information and communication technologies.

Ndou (Ndou, 2017)shows the use of information and communication technologies as e-government in reshaping the relations of the state-owned sectors with the business world and citizens by mutually internal and external ways.

With Al and Alodalı (Al & Alodalı, 2008, s. 1206) e-government means the provision of services electronically and access to information electronically. In addition, e-government is the reciprocal relationship between the state-citizen, state-business world, state-non-governmental organizations, and public institutions in bureaucracy with the public functioning.

As can be understood from the definitions, e-government is seen as a phenomenon that solves all problems by expressing a deeper and broader meaning than the traditional state understanding, that is, the industrial age state understanding.

3.5.1 Comparison of the Conventional State (Industrial Age State) and the E-Government

The difference between the two approaches is primarily due to the age difference. Although the production of material products is prioritized in industrial societies, the use of information and communication technologies and knowledge production are at the forefront in the information society. This difference also leaves a mark on the understanding of the state. In this context, in today's age, that is, in the information age, the traditional understanding of the state has transformed into an e-government understanding and tries to improve its service quality and increase its performance. In the table below, a comparison is made between the understanding of the state in the industrial age and the understanding of the state realized on the internet.

UNDERSTANDING OF GOVERNMENT IN INDUSTRIAL AGE	UNDERSTANDING OF GOVERNMENT IN INFORMATION AGE
Bureaucratic controls	Service to the individual and empowerment of society
Isolated administrative functions	Integrated sourcing services, open and transparent government
Paperwork and filing	Electronic service delivery
Time consuming processes	Fast and serial business processes
Hand-held financial contracts	Electronic funds transfer
Strange reporting systems	Flexible access to information
Disconnected information technologies	Integrated network solution
Executive election every term	Genuine, participatory, and sustained democracy
Government -citizen understanding	Government-customer understanding

Figure 1: Comparison of Government in industrial age and government in information age

Source: Ali Şahin; Handan Temizel and Metehan Temizel; (2004), "Problems encountered during the transition from Democracy to E-Democracy in Turkey", 3. National information, economy and management congress proceedings book, p.347 (Şahin, Temizel, & Temizel, 2004)

The state moved to the electronic environment still has a traditional definition of the state in terms of meaning. In this sense, e-government is not considered as a new state understanding. It is the provision of the same service that only state institutions provide to the citizens more efficiently and quickly by using information and communication technologies. In this context, the only difference is how the e-government performs its functions differently from the traditional state and by which means. E-government is a set of infrastructures that changes the way traditional government services are delivered (Baştan & Gökbunar, 2004, s. 71-89).

Traditional government	E-government
Passive citizen	Active customer-citizen
Paper-based communication	Electronic communication
Vertical/hierarchical structuring	Horizontal/ coordinated network structing
Management data upload	Citizen data upload
Employee response	Automated voicemail, call center, etc.
Staff assistance	Self-help/ expert assistance
Employee-based control mechanism	Control with automatic data update
Cash flow/ check	Electronic funds transfer
uniform service	Personalized/ differentiated service
Segmented/intermittent service	Holistic/ continuous/ one-stop service
High transaction costs	Low transaction costs
Unproductive growth	Efficiency management
One-way communication	Interaction
Nationality relationship	Participation relationship
Closed state	**Open state**

Figure 2: Comparison of Traditional Government and E-government
Source: Özgür Uçkan (2003), "E-government, E-democracy and E-governance Model: Freedom of access to information as a principal priority", Monthly E-Journal of Strategy and Analysis 5, p.5. (Uçkan, 2003)

As can be seen in the table above, the difference between the two states is that the implementation of public institutions is above the quality. E-government applications have more positive effects on service and communication quality. In the traditional state model, while the victims of the citizens and the high workload of the public institutions create problems in the system, such a situation is not encountered in the e-government.

In order to that, it is not possible to make a fast and reliable transition to the digital democracy of today's democracy without transitioning to the e-state model of the traditional state model.

3.6 E-Government and E-Democracy Relationship

The use of information and communication technologies by states and the creation of an e-state understanding will facilitate and increase citizens' participation in the democratic process. Providing easier access to public information, offering wide service channels to elections, and ensuring transparent monitoring of political processes will provide a better service to citizens. Thanks to e-government, citizens' participation in democracy will deepen and develop. This will help establish E-democracy. In addition, the flow of information from inside and outside the state will be ensured, thus an important step will be taken in the democratization of the society. (Ulusoy & Karakurt, 2002). According to Şat (Şat, 2009) , e-state is the only way that well-informed citizens can be effective in democratic structuring.

Although the concepts of e-state and e-democracy are seen as similar to each other, they are quite different in terms of meaning and application. E-government can be affected by central and local government. It is also the case that the internet facilitates the administration of the society. It is the use of the internet and technology to convey relevant public information or public services to citizens. However, e-democracy is considered as the facilitation of political processes. It provides citizens with the opportunity to be involved in all political matters and, in situations where voting is required, they can easily cast their votes from their home or from a place where they can access electronic media. Consequently, e-democracy is necessary for the further strengthening and development of democracy and thus carries an e-government perspective (Yıldırım, 2010, s. 29-31).

E-government focuses on delivering public services to citizens, maximizing the efficiency of public institutions and cost savings when using ICT. In addition, e-government focuses on facilitating official processes and public structures through ICT. On the contrary, e-democracy prolongs political decision-making processes and brings new costs to political processes. E-democracy aims to establish relations and communication among citizens and between citizens and the state. In short, e-government is about efficiency, e-democracy is about empowerment (Panganiban, 2004, p. 7).

E-democracy is a target for e-government. In order for the e-government to achieve this goal, ICT must be available to all segments of the society. It must be provided equally and fairly to the whole society. Otherwise, the so-called digital divide or digital divide arises. So much so that the lack of access to ICT means that the e-government system cannot be fully implemented as it forces the realization of e-democracy. In such a situation, it is possible for a public administration such as e-government and e-democracy to create an unfair situation. It should also be taken into account that the crisis of democracy will deepen (Uçkan, 2003, s. 4). In order to prevent such a problem from occurring, the political cultures and economies of the societies should be taken into account.

3.7 Nexus of E-Democracy and Human Rights

All human beings, regardless of their differences, are defined as possible human rights, having the right to an equal, free, and dignified life from the moment of their birth to the moment of their death simply because they are human. Differences of humans, such as gender, age, race, color, difference of opinion, language, origin, and economic status are equal before laws and these differences are ignored.

Human rights usually divided up into three different classes or categories under the name of generations. In the popular idiom of the French Revolution "liberté, egalité, fraternité", three generations of human rights can be seen. A Czech jurist Karel Vasak established these generations of human rights in 1979. With this classification of human rights types, it helps to develop conversations concerning the roles of governments play in human rights.

3.7.1 Generations of Human Rights

There are 3 generations of human rights: Liberté, égalité and fraternité.

3.7.1.1 Liberté

The first human rights types, which includes the civil and political rights of the individual, is defined as the first-generation human rights. These rights are divided into two sub-categories among themselves. The first category is related to "physical and civil security". The category here is for the absence of torture, slavery, and non-human acts. The second sub-category of first-generation rights is related to "civil-political freedoms / authorizations". Here, there are rights such as freedom of religion and the right to political participation. Speeches on first generation human rights are the focus, especially in western countries. This focus has been a priority during and after the Cold War. Documents such as the United States Bill of Rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) 3-21 are among the documents prepared by western countries on first generation rights.

3.7.1.2 Égalité

Socio-economic rights are within the scope of second-generation human rights. As with first generation human rights, rights here fall into two subcategories. The first category deals with meeting the basic needs of individuals such as nutrition and health care. The second sub-category is about meeting the "economic needs" of individuals.

Issues such as fair wages and adequate living standards fall under this category. Creating or producing equal conditions is the basis for second generation rights. However, since western countries saw these concepts as "socialist concepts" during the Cold War, they could not adopt these generation rights. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and Article 22-27 of the UDHR articles focus on these rights.

3.7.1.3 Fraternité

Third generation human rights, which have a broad class right, are divided into two sub-categories. The first subcategory of "self-determination of humans" also covers different aspects of community development and political position. Rights of ethnic and religious minorities are gathered under the second sub-category. These third-generation rights are not legally binding and are therefore included in "soft law" contracts. In short, rights such as the right to live in a clean environment with globalization and technological developments, the right to demand the protection of private life against computer data, the freedom of art and science, the consumer right, the right to protection from biological and medical developments are included in this generation and their importance is increasing day by day.

In conclusion, all these generations of human rights demonstrate the necessity to acknowledge the differences between generations and how wide and comprehensive the human rights sphere is. All these types of rights can be realized through the use of different types of legislation. In this way, by recognizing the rights belonging to different generations, it can also improve the ability of states to determine what kind of legislation to use for what kind of generation of human rights. (Reid, 2019).

3.7.2 The Concept of Digital Rights and Data Protection

Protection of personal data in the digital universe, which is included in 3rd class human rights, has gained more importance in today's information age. Digital rights, which deserve more importance under the umbrella of international law, are increasingly valued by individuals. That human rights in international law should be included in current or future information and communication technologies are called digital rights. Accordingly, although human rights online exist, they must also be considered closed. human rights must be protected in all democracies, autocracies, and all types of regimes, in the digital age. It can be challenging for states to strike the balance between national security, privacy, and human rights. (Defending human rights in the digital age, 2019).

Shultz specified four basic properties for information and communication technologies. These are: (1) the information processing process is very fast, (2) the information storage capacity is unlimited, (3) it provides access to information from every point, and (4) digital information can be easily reproduced, creating new ethical problems as well as offering new benefits to users. (Schultz, 2006).

Cameron argues that it is much easier to copy and distribute digital works with the development of new digital environments, content types and content distribution systems that ICT has brought to people (Cameron, 2007).

Today, the constitutions of democratic countries guarantee the fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens. Personal information of individuals is also within this scope. While individuals sometimes share their personal data willingly, sometimes they do these personal data sharing by approving the contracts they encounter on pages or

applications by saying "I have read and understood" without reading the agreement or contract in the system.

However, in some cases, the data of these persons are carried out without their permission. As a result of this situation, while the information of individuals provides resources for artificial intelligence technologies, it ensures that individuals are constantly controlled and kept under control. People's awareness of their rights and freedoms has increased in the digital field over time. This situation, which is related to the personal rights and freedoms of individuals, has been seen as a human right and thus legal regulations have been developed for this field.

The most comprehensive and international regulation on this subject is the European Union General Data Protection Regulation 2016/679 (Union, 2016). The reason why this regulation has a wide range of jurisdictions is that it requires compatibility with all websites accessible to European citizens. In this way, the Council of Europe has determined the principles of protection of personal data and cross-border data flow on behalf of all member states. On January 28, 1981, "Contract No. 108 for the Protection of Individuals Against Automatic Processing of Personal Data" was started to be ratified. The Council of Europe has from time to time made innovations to extend this convention. With the widespread use of information and communication technology, many new principles have been determined in this field. Some of this field as follow:

1- **1995, Recommendation No. 4:** Telecommunications and especially telephone protection of personal data in services

2- **1999, recommendation No. 5:** Protection of privacy on the Internet

3- **2012, recommendation No. 3:** Protection of human rights regarding search engines

4- **2012, Recommendation No. 4:** Protection of human rights regarding social networking services

In addition, many steps have been taken to protect the digital footprints of individuals by governments or institutions. In addition to taking these steps, digital manipulations can create an effect other than protecting the personal data of individuals. Thus, it undermines the freedom of thought and being just, which are human rights and the basic building blocks of democracy. However, the development of internet tools can bring social media and politics side by side and pose risks to democracy.

In 2017, Cambridge Analytica scandal was realized as a result of Facebook, a social media platform, sharing the data of its users with another institution other than their permission. Data from 87 million American Facebook members were used by the company to create detailed personality profiles. This profiler was made with the likes of users on the Facebook platform. Thanks to the likes, a detailed analysis of the users' race, gender, personal preferences, beliefs and political tendencies was made. Data analysis is not the reason why this situation is called scandalous. What makes this scandal scandalous is the conversion of analysis into manipulative tools by Cambridge Analytca. Cambridge Analytica, serving Trump, who was a candidate in the presidential election in 2016, made these analyzes micro-targeting and presented personalized political ads. As a result, voters, who were unsure about whom to vote in most elections, were influenced by manipulative news. Thus, it can be said that the violation of personal rights and freedoms has occurred. Because the personal data used without permission was turned into a digital weapon against users and used against them.

This relationship between social media and politics contains a very fine line in terms of digital democracy. Even though the Cambridge Analytica Scandal took place through a social media platform, today people have access to millions of platforms. This creates more space for people to share their data in the digital environment. In an environment where the risks increase to this degree, of course, democracy or any form of management cannot be mentioned. However, as we mentioned before, contracts to be signed by states and institutions will partially protect the data of citizens and create an atmosphere of trust.

3.8 Culture of Digital Democracy

The culture of democracy that can be formed with the development of political culture directly affects the culture of e-democracy. Political parties are one of the basic building blocks of political culture. Political parties that are not institutionalized create negativity for the political culture. We can define the value and stability process provided by applications and institutions over time as institutionalization (Mainwaring, 1998).

In order for the concept of culture, which is a social feature, to be formed, there must be a historical background. The effects of cultures are also observed on the policies implemented by the states.

Culture according to the definition of Schroeder; It consists of the meaning and importance attributed to a limited part of people's perspectives and world events. (Schroeder & Küçük, 1996, s. 18-19)Political culture expression has been formed due to the need to establish the link between culture and politics. This narrative focuses on issues such as the attitudes or assumptions of different groups of people and the reasons

and ways in which these attitudes arose (Burke, 2006, p. 147) In the formation of political culture, individuals' beliefs, attitudes and forms of action against political systems are important factors. The political structure, political institutions and politically oriented infrastructures formed by these factors gain meaning together with political culture (Çam, 1975) Political culture was first used in this sense by Almond. Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, in 1963, defined political culture by doing a study on behaviors and tendencies towards the political system and behaviors towards the function of the person in the system (Almond & Verba, 2015).

Verba made a ranking by examining the concept of political culture in detail and determining that some criteria are needed to determine the type of political culture (Yücekök, 1969, s. 183):

     1- National identification,

     2- Citizen identification,

     3- The application of the government of the power,

     4- Decision making process.

In this sense, institutionalization is very important for the culture of democracy to be established in a society. In order to create an e-democracy culture as well as a culture of democracy, political modernization is essential. The change and differentiation of the system, the expanding system, political culture, political process, and the domination of the system are the five dimensions required for this political modernization.

As can be understood, the development of political culture and the development of digital democracy culture are parallel to each other. Political culture is composed of

beliefs, values, attitudes, feelings, and skills. The formation or distribution of these values defines the political process. The dimensions of knowing, perception and believing, evaluation dimension, and emotional dimension constitute the dimensions of political culture. Every individual has a small amount of knowledge about the political institutions of his society. Citizens can show the humanitarian reactions of each individual such as discontent, excitement or fear to politicians. This situation is explained by the emotional dimension of political culture. In the evaluation dimension, it occurs as a result of individuals being able to make judgments on political issues. In this context, the existence of a political culture is necessary for the formation of a culture of democracy. People's tolerance towards each other against various opinions, differentiation of society, emphasis on socialization, contribution of the state to individuals and individuals to the state, participation of citizens in the government process, the existence of a compromise culture, the establishment of an environment of trust, the development of information law and political elitism are e-democracy culture.

As a result, governments who want to successfully complete the transition to e-democracy should first carry out the infrastructure work required for e-government structuring. It is imperative that the elected local governments accelerate their e-democracy efforts to achieve this transition. If the understanding of e-government is not accepted by citizens and states, it will decrease the applicability rate of e-democracy. For public institutions to provide fast, effective, reliable, and accurate service to the public, they should receive an adequate level of training after the necessary infrastructure service is provided. Thus, the service process requested to be given to the public will be realized as desired.

The question to be asked here is, can every country with a democratic management system today be able to adapt to digital democracy? To answer this question, in fifth chapter, comparative analyses will be made about Norway's and Turkey's population, education, digital report of 2021 and political cultures. In order to these, comparison of e-government development index and e-participation index will be made.

Chapter 5

NORWAY AND TURKEY'S POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN A DIGITAL AGE: A COMPARATIVE APPROACH

In this chapter, the methodology is explained using, comparative analyses of population, education, digital report and political culture of Norway's and Turkey's. Also, comparison of e-government development index and e-participation index. The research method used in this study was comparative data of Norway and Turkey. The results were collected with different methods to provide a better result about the manage by governments and possibility of digital transformation of democracy. The results that were collected has been reflected qualitative.

Based on the research, this research was carried out to examine the which democratic state can manage the transformation of today's democracy to digital democracy quicker than other states. The study was carried out in order to find the way of help to governments on this transformation path.

The research method used in this study was interview and comparative data of Norway and Turkey. The results were collected with different methods to provide a better result about the manage by governments and possibility of digital transformation of democracy. The results that were collected has been reflected qualitative.

4.1 Comparative Analyses

Political culture has an important place in the transition from traditional democracy to digital democracy. Countries that may have the same management style today may differ in the future. Here, many categories such as education, demographic structure, culture, and technology level (internet users, mobile connection level etc.) emerge. For digital democracy, a state may not have sufficient infrastructure, education level, young population, or political culture. Besides these categories, the welfare level of the population is also important for adapting to a new system. Because the lower the welfare level, the growth rate will not develop in relation to it. two democratic states, Norway and Turkey that were selected in this part of the study will be compared many ways. As a result, among the states that have democratic systems today, it will be found which state can adapt faster and safer during the transition to a possible digital democracy.

4.1.1 Republic of Turkey

29 October 1923, the Republic of Turkey was founded by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. According to Article 2 of the 1982 constitution of the Republic of Turkey is a democratic, secular, and social state of law and a presidential republic.

4.1.1.1 Population

Turkey's population as of April 2021 85.033 million. According to TurkStat The Results of Address Based Population Registration System in 2020, there are 7 953 555 citizens over age of 65, 56 592 570 citizens between 15 and 64, 19 068 237 citizens between 0 and 14 in Turkey's population. Based on this data (when the total population is taken as 83 614 362 of 2020 population) over 65 is 9,5%, between 15 and 64 is 67,7% and between 0-14 is 22,8%.

The Results of Address Based Population Registration System, 2020

9,5%
22,8%
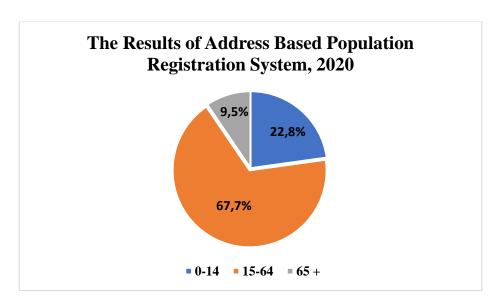67,7%

■ 0-14   ■ 15-64   ■ 65 +

Figure 3: The Results of Address Based Population Registration System, 2020
Source: (The Results of Address Based Population Registration System, 2020, 2021)

As stated in The World Factbook of CIA, Turkey's urban population is 76.1 % of all population in 2020 and rest of population is rural.

4.1.1.2 Education

Turkey is a progressively young and wealthy state and, has incredible requirement for education. According to UNESCO Institute for Statistics, in 2017, literacy rate of Turkey is 96.2 % for 15 years and older, for 65 years and older literacy rate is 80.4%. Illiterate population is 2.379.552 for 15 years and older.

As reported by Education Expenditure Statistics, 2019 of TurkStat, education expenditure of Turkey was increased 18.2% in 2019 comparing to 2018 and become 259 billion 220 million ₺. The 74.0% of education expenditure of 2019 was funded by the state. While the share of education expenditure in the gross domestic product (GDP) was 5.8% in 2018, it was 6.0% in 2019.According to the Legatum Prosperity Index, Turkey's rank is 94 out of 167 countries in 2020.

4.1.1.3 Digital Report of 2021

In January 2021, 65.80 million citizens use the internet. This amount is increased by 3.7 million which makes +6.0% in period of 2020 and 2021. Again, in January 2021, Internet penetration stood at 77.7%.

In January 2021, 60 million citizens use social media. Social media users number increased by 6 million which makes +11% in 2020 and 2021. Also, this social media users' number is equal to 70.8% of the Turkey's total population.

Mobile connections were 76.89 million in January 2021 and it is equal to 90.8% of the total population. And these mobile connections number increased by 2.0 million and it makes +2.7% between January 2020 and January 2021.

These analyses important because the using of internet effect the participation of digital democracy.

4.1.1.4 Political Culture

The culture, which has been formed with the accumulations throughout history, also affects the political culture of the nations. Turkish culture, which has a centuries-old history, has also deeply affected Turkish political culture. When we look at the current political structure, we can decode the Turkish political culture. It can be seen that the Turkish political sphere has recently been dispersed into poles such as periphery-center, secular-religious, military-civilian, authoritarian-democrat. Though difficult to find the common point in a multipolar environment, such unity of citizens in Turkey. If this identity is determined Turkey's political culture also will be determined at one point.

According to Turan (1986) as a result of the researches made about Turkish political culture, four main features have been observed:

1. Politics is seen as superior and inclusive among other social activities.

2. Individuals are not seen as superior to society and community. Society is more important than the individual.

3. There is a structural element. When individuals stay away from power of government, material and moral costs are seen to be high.

4. Political elitism.

Observing at these points, it can be said that Turkish political culture was also influenced by the Ottoman political culture.

4.1.2 Norway

Established on May 17, 1814, the Norwegian parliamentary is governed by a parliamentary constitutional monarchy.

4.1.2.1 Population

As of July 2020, Norway's population is 5,467,439. 29.98%. 936.621 people between 0 and 14 ages. 3.513.165 people is between 15 and 64 years and 929.073 is over the 65 years. The population consists of 83.2% Norwegian, 8.3% European and 8.5% other minority.
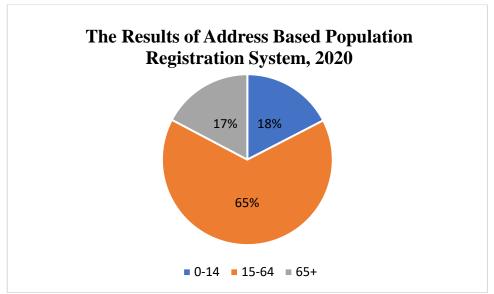
The Results of Address Based Population Registration System, 2020

17% 18%

65%

■ 0-14 ■ 15-64 ■ 65+

Figure 4: The Norway's Population, 2021
Source: (Norway Population 2021 (Live), 2021)

4.1.2.2 Education

Norway, which uses 8% of its GDP for education, is ranked 18th in the world in terms of literacy. In the World Welfare Index ranking, it is in the second place after Denmark in 2019. Besides that, Norway's rank is 2 out of 167 in the Legatum Prosperity Index of 2020. The literacy rate of Norway is 99% between 2008 and 2014 for 15 years and older people and illiterate rate is 0 according to sources.

In 2020 the financial plan for Norway was made up of (US$451 million), but after this was announced the government went into a change to re-shape the system in order to fit the requirements of the health system that had been going through difficult times due to the pandemic.

4.1.2.3 Digital Report of 2021

In January 2021, 5.39 million citizens use the internet. This amount is increased by 97 thousand which makes +1.8 % in period of 2020 and 2021. Again, in January 2021, Internet penetration stood at 99.0%.

In January 2021, 4.53 million citizens use social media. Social media users number increased by 230 thousand which makes +5.3% in 2020 and 2021. Also, this social media users' number is equal to 83.2% of the Norway's total population.

Mobile connections were 5.96 million in January 2021 and it is equal to 109.5% of the total population. And these mobile connections number decreased by 82 thousand and it makes -1.4% between January 2020 and January 2021.

4.1.2.4 Political Culture

It has adopted the social state and democratic welfare state understanding as a political culture and is an excellent representative. It is known that unfairness in income distribution is less compared to other developed societies, social trust and living standards are quite high. In generally, Norway people have dynamic state participation in welfare agendas. According to them, government of the state should be responsible for partial management of the economy due to the existence of large state ownership in key sectors and there should be equality in the election duration. It is very important to cooperate in a competitive way. For instance, parties often form alliances to gain the majority of the elections and voters support such a system by involving in the voting process. Even though Norway is officially a kingdom, it is a country ruled by a parliamentary monarchy, so the members of the dynasty have a limited or symbolic role in administration of government. Correspondingly, king has no executive power. Nevertheless, this does not prevent the Norwegian people from respecting the king. Norwegians accepted the king as a symbol of their culture and national unity.

4.2 Comparison of E-Government Development Index and E-Participation Index of Turkey and Norway

The comparison of EGDI and EPI was made in line with the information in the United Nations E-Government Survey 2020, which is made every 2 years. The global average of EGDI increased 0.55 to 0.60 between 2018 and 2020. There are four EGDI value groups which are low, middle, high and finally very high. Turkey and Norway's placements are in the very high value group with greater 0.75. Although the group of both is very high, there are also rating class breakdowns within these EGDI groups and this distinction depends on the ratings of states.

E-GOVERNMENT DEVELOPMENT INDEX	Turkey	0.7718	V1	Rank 53 of 193
	Norway	0.9064	VH	Rank 13 of 193

Figure 5: E-Government Development Index

Source: Edited from: E-Government Survey 2020 Digital Government in the Decade of Action for Sustainable Development With addendum on COVID-19 Response by writer. In United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

As can be seen in the table, Turkey ranks 53rd among 193 countries with a score of 0.7718, and thus is considered in the very high category in V1. Correspondingly, Norway is in the very high class with a score of 0.9064, ranking 13th in the VH category.

Another aspect of this comparison is e-participation which is generally measured part of e-government. According to United Nations in the E-Government Survey's definition, e-participation is the process of involving citizens in policy, decision-making and service design and delivery through Information and Communication Technologies.

E-participation is a subcategory of participation and e-government. It is also associated with several other dimensions of governance and public administration, and those relationships.

E-PARTICIPATION INDEX	Turkey	0.8929	Rank 23 of 193
	Norway	0.9048	Rank 18 of 193

Figure 6: E-Participation Index

Source: Edited from: E-Government Survey 2020 Digital Government in the Decade of Action for Sustainable Development With addendum on COVID-19 Response. In United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

According to e-participation index of 2020, Turkey's score of e-participation index is 0.8929 and it is 23rd out of 193 countries. Norway's score is 0.9048 and its rank is 18th. As seen in the table, Norway has a greater e-participation index than Turkey. It means that, citizens who live in Norway, participate e-democracy tools more than Turkey's citizens.

Correspondingly, according to Freedom House research Freedom in the World report 2021, Norway's political rights score is 40, civil liberties score is 60 and total score is 100 so it is free country. On the other hand, Turkey's political rights score is 16, civil liberties score is 16 and total score is 34 and according to this research Turkey is not free country. (Countries and Territories, 2021) In addition to these Turkey is listed among the countries that experienced the greatest freedom decline in the last ten years with the minus thirty-one aggregate score according to Freedom House. (Repucci, A Leaderless Struggle for Democracy, 2020)

The meaning of these data shows that, which country can transform its democracy to digital democracy quicker. To realize these data, next chapter will be explained data analyses of these comparisons.

Chapter 6

DATA ANALYSES

5.1 Findings: Data Analyses

All these studies show that even if the states define themselves as democratic, they will show differences while adapting to the innovations brought by information and communication technologies. Turkey and Norway are officially democratic countries chosen for this study. However, as a result of the researches, many differences were observed between the two countries. These differences can be made over many categories. In this study, comparisons were made on population, education, digital report, political culture, e-government development index and e-participation index of two states. These comparisons have been made to explain what democratic countries in general will need in their transition to digital democracy and what policy will be followed during this transition.

According to the information obtained, the population of Turkey is almost 15.5 times the population of Norway. This circumstance indicates that Turkey should have a more effective management for the transformation process and the size of the population means the number of citizens that should benefit from the democracy of the country. In addition, the number of citizens aged 65 and over determined according to the TurkStat the Results of Address Based Population Registration System is 8 million for Turkey and 929 thousand for Norway. Consequently, the number of citizens who may need support for digital democracy in Turkey is higher. The use of digital democracy

will show a difference in technology and usage between generations. For this reason, in Turkey, which has more elderly population, the number of people who do not know how to use digital tools will be more than Norway. For this, Turkey has to establish more active and dynamic institutions in order for its citizens to adapt. These data also appear when we compare other age ranges. For example, Turkey is also ahead in the number of individuals between the ages of 15 and 64. People in this age range are more prone to adopt than aged 65 and over. At least, between the ages of 15 and 64 individuals who have encountered the use of a certain technology in their business lives and understood its importance. Considering individuals under the age of 14, it can be said that Turkey has a younger population. However, the important point here is that these analyzes are made by considering the total population. The literacy rate of countries is very important in terms of technology use and adaptation. The higher the literacy rate and the lower the illiteracy rate of a country shows that the quality of education is higher. According to the UNESCO Institute for Statistics literacy source, Turkey's literacy rate is 96.2% between the ages of 15 and 64, and the literacy rate over the age of 65 is 80.4%. Nevertheless, these rates are quite different for Norway. The literacy rate of the population is 99% and it means that almost all Norwegian people are literate. The literacy rate of a country is directly proportional to the ability of citizens to express themselves. Literate people are able to express their opinions in the right way and also know the rights of humanity and citizenship very well. For the existence of democracy, each individual must express themself correctly. Illiterate/Ignorance prevents people from expressing themselves through correct channels. For the reason that individuals with ignorance do not know what channels they should use to learn and spread the information. While Norway's illiterate rate is 0%, 2.3 million of Turkish citizens over the age of 15 are defined as illiterate. States

can be as successful in science and technology as they increase literacy rates. In order to be a developing and developed country, the citizens of the country must also be strong in terms of knowledge. States can increase their education budgets to increase literacy rate or they can use their budgets with better quality. As a result of the researches, education expenditure of Turkey was 259 billion ₺, while Norway spent more than 415 million $ for education. Though, expenditures should be compared according to the population. For a clearer understanding of the analysis, the Legatum Prosperity Index, which is made worldwide, can be considered. As a reported by the Legatum Prosperity Index, Turkey ranks 94th among 167 countries. Norway ranks 2nd in this list. Therefore, the literacy rate of Norway is much higher than that of Turkey. This difference has a significant impact on the transformation of the two countries into digital democracy, even though they have democracy. Since countries have similar democracy, this alone is not enough for the transition.

As a stated by the 2021 report of DataReportal Global Digital Insights, 65.80 million citizens of Turkey are internet users and the penetration rate is 77.7%. While 5.39 million citizens use the internet in Norway, the penetration rate is 99.9%. These rates are very important for digital democracy. Digital democracy is realized through digital platforms and these platforms also need the internet. The number of internet users of countries can also define how well those countries know about digital platforms. In addition, there are nearly 60 million social media users in Turkey. This number of users corresponds to 70.8% of the total population of Turkey. 4.53 million people use social media in Norway, which means 83.2% of the total population. The use of social media is an important tool for the spread of digital democracy. In consequence, the social media usage rates of the countries have been taken into consideration for this

research. Additionally, mobile devices are the most used tools of social media and 76.89 million Turkish citizens have mobile connections, which means 90.8% of the total population. 5.96 million citizens in Norway have mobile connections, which corresponds to 109.5% of the total population. This means most citizens have multiple mobile connections. Mobile connectivity enables the use of digital platforms. Therefore, the high mobile connection shows how well the country knows digital. Other issues we compare are the e-government development index and e-participation index in the E-government Survey by the United Nation Department of Economic and Social Affairs to show which democratic states can adapt to digital democracy faster. The e-government development index simply measures how much states provide online service, how states is good at the telecommunications connection, and the citizen capacity of countries. Worldwide average of EGDI is 0.6, since Turkey's average EGDI is 0.7718, it ranks 53rd among 193 countries by being above this average. Likewise, in Norway, it is above the world average with an average of 0.9048 and ranks 13th. Although they are in the very high class of the two countries, there is also a category difference between them. While Norway is in the "VH" class, Turkey is in the "V1" class. As can be seen, while Norway has full points and an excellent EGDI average, Turkey surpasses the world average with a slight difference. Hence, there is a difference between them. While Norway is considered an expert in e-government development, Turkey is not as enough as Norway for being expert. Accordingly, we can say that Norway is better in providing online services, establishing telecommunication connections and in citizen capacity compared to Turkey.

The E-participation index is another information contained in the E-government survey 2020 by the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs. According to this index, the participation rates of states in democracy are quite different from each other. The e-participation index determined Turkey's digital participation rate as 0.8929 and Norway as 0.9048. According to these data, Norway is ahead of Turkey in terms of digital participation. This means that Norwegian citizens participate more using digital tools. We see that Norway is more experienced in e-participation. This will be more noticeable when democracy is completely digitalized. If digital tools, which have an important place in the creation of digital democracy, are recognized and used by citizens, the realization and spread of digital democracy can be smooth.

5.2 How Can States Manage the Transformation from Beginning?

Democratic states should take certain steps in order for their citizens to adapt to the digital democracy that develops with information and communication technologies. If states do not take the necessary steps, the effects of these developing information and communication technologies on democracy will inevitably result in corrupt results. Countries that lose their democracy will clash with other democratic countries and endanger their unions (like EU). However, with a well-planned preparation phase, states can manage the digitalization process of democracy in the right way. In this section, the ways that countries such as Germany and the USA use artificial intelligence in democracy will be shown as examples, and a model will be tried to be created on how democratic countries can manage the digitalization process.

5.2.1 Germany

In November 2018, the government in Germany presented a well-prepared development program, foreseeing that artificial intelligence will affect the political system in the future. There were three main objectives at the core of this project; By

leading Germany and Europe to global leadership in all areas of AI, securing Germany's strength in the future, preserving the responsible development and use of AI that will serve society, and finally, regulating AI ethically, culturally and institutionally, and thus securing the system for dialogue and active political measures. Germany also announced that it has allocated €3 billion for this strategy. (AI Policy-Germany, n.d.)

5.2.2 USA

Today, the USA is base to many of the world's leading digital platforms. These platforms, which have billions of users, also represent the USA in the digital field and also work with the government to make the USA a leader. However, these platforms occasionally face privacy violations. For this reason, Bill Gates, the chairman of Microsoft, which owns these digital platforms, argues that the US government needs regulations for large technology companies. He also stated that the basis of these regulations should be data privacy. (Huddleston Jr., 2019)

In addition, the Trump Government has implemented many regulatory guidelines regarding artificial intelligence and digitalization. The best example of these is the Executive Order signed by the US government on December 3, 2020. With this decision, it was foreseen to use artificial intelligence more effectively in more effective ways for the good of the American people. (Promoting the Use of Trustworthy Artificial Intelligence in Government, 2020) Furthermore, with this decision, the design, development and use of artificial intelligence guides agencies in protecting American values and ensuring the privacy, civil rights and civil liberties of citizens. It also shows that the USA can develop and use artificial intelligence with democratic values.

Basic elements for digital transformation; it is human, technology and process. Increasing the efficiency of the change is related to the cycle of change among these factors. States will be successful if they focus on these elements. To development of these elements can be possible with, increasing of digital literacy, prepare regulations, improve transparency of processes, allocate budget and provide cyber security.

States that are not well prepared for this long and painful transformation process may face many problems. Besides in the face of these problems, it may not successfully complete the transition period to digital democracy. Before governments can fully engage in digital democracy, certain regulations must be prepared and presented. Although the first step of these regulations is important, it may change over time. After the regulations are established, the security of the networks of the established digital platforms should be ensured. Security is indispensable for states' digital platforms. Security stages to be created to prevent hacking any information owned by citizens can be prepared with the relevant expert personnel of the state.

The digital platforms to be created on the networks that are secured can also transfer the information on paper to digital and make it available to their citizens. Citizens who can access data in the digital environment must have a basic knowledge of technology usage, it means digital literacy should be high for transformation of democracy to digital. In democratic western countries where literacy rates are low, the provision of technological information can be done by the national education ministries or by the education centers established by the state. In addition, human agencies needed and digital transformation offices can be established within government institutions can support both citizens and relevant government personnel for the basic technology required for digital democracy.

In order to lay solid foundations, states need to prepare a significant budget in this regard. The budget of the states for ICT and training will also play an important role in the efficiency of the transformation. It is the responsibility of the state to its citizens to allocate the budget needed by educational institutions for the R&D of ICT and supplementary information. In addition, the order to be established on cyber security and regulations is still under the responsibility of the state and should be made by them. Thus, the basic order required for the creation of digital democracy and the participation of citizens in it will be provided and developed.
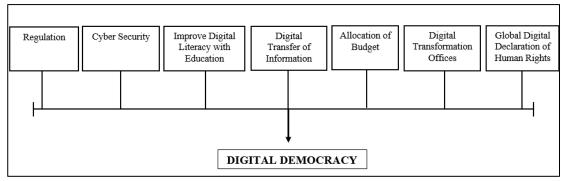

Figure 7: Transition management of democracy to e-democracy by states

If states are not fully prepared for digital democracy, the consequences can be as far as human rights violations. For this reason, there is a need for a digital human rights declaration globally. States that accept digitalization need to come together and prepare a joint declaration. There are major risks that artificial intelligence and other information and technologies can pose. These technologies must be under ethical surveillance so that they do not exacerbate social inequality or constitute a basis for human rights violations. It should be considered to create a Global Digital Declaration of Human Rights in which the international obligations of the states are fully stated. Although the world order is an anarchic order, states have to come together and create common declarations and obligations in the face of a common problem. For these

entities, states should organize meetings where they can be together and determine common points. Today, although certain human rights for the Internet are specified in the negotiations carried out by the United Nations, no declaration has been created. In order to that, many countries made some regulations for their countries but there is no certain digital declaration of human rights.

Although there are many violations against human rights in today's democracy, the risk of this violation is higher in digital democracy. States should take control in this regard first of all and act together with the rules. In this way, they can ensure the security of their citizens and state secrets.

Apart from this, states can set rules and laws in accordance with their own political culture, so that they can follow the policies that best suit their citizens. States should consider determining these rules, taking into account many aspects of their countries such as education, culture, economy and technology so that their citizens can more easily adapt to this change. The main purpose of democracy is that each individual can express himself / herself freely and digital democracy can pursue the same goal. The only difference is that this is done through digital platforms.

Any country that is democratic and meets the necessary basic elements can adapt to digital democracy. The basic elements here are that every individual in the country has sufficient technology, knowledge and consciousness. Countries that cannot provide these, but have a democratic form of governance, unfortunately cannot achieve a complete transformation into digital democracy.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

We cannot imagine that political systems will remain as we have traditionally known them, while things have begun to evolve for the future. As people's education levels increase and the internet finds its place all over our world, it may be impossible to prevent this change and development. With this situation, it is known that democracy is the most important and strongest management system today. However, we observe that the methods in which democracy will be implemented have changed as a result of the development of information and communication technologies and their widespread presence in our world. It is an undeniable fact that the management system has begun to digitalize as governments and states carry out their political activities on digital platforms thanks to the internet. However, democracy is possible when all individuals in a country equally express their freedom of thought, which is one of the human rights, and have a say in the administrative system.

Currently, democracy is practiced in most of the democratic states and despite this, many citizens cannot freely express their opinions or use their votes. This situation is more negative in digital democracy. In fact, with digitalization, many new factors arise, such as the protection of personal data of individuals, having sufficient internet infrastructure and sufficient technological products, having high education level and high digital literacy level to use these products, and not realizing privacy violations. In cases where one of these factors does not occur, it can be considered that it would not

be correct to talk about the existence of a digital democracy. Norway and Republic of Turkey, states that chosen for the study are sufficient to illustrate this situation. So much so that even though these two states are in different geopolitical positions and they are shown as democratic. This study tried to show to what extent these countries can adapt to digital democracy with the comparison method.

As stated in Chapter 6, although Turkey and Norway have democratic country status, they differ within the same category. Reasons for this are, the low participation rate of citizens in the elections in Turkey, but the high participation rate in Norway, differences in literacy rates, and differences in political culture, can be shown. Eliminating such differences will increase efficiency in countries where digital democracy will be implemented.

When states realize democracy on digital platforms and switch to digital democracy, if they do not lay the necessary foundations and raise the awareness of their citizens, it is absolutely clear that democracy will be in a crisis with ICT. For the reason that in democracy, even a single citizen's vote is important and is within human rights. When these competencies are not realized, the human rights of citizens are violated and this should never happen in a democratic country.

In states where digital democracy is in question, another factor that may threaten human rights is the violation of personal data. Information theft is very common on digital platforms, and individuals' personal data, which should be kept confidential, is highly likely to be stolen. States have to set a framework of international rules to prevent this. The reason why it is international is not only cyberattacks that can come from within the country, but correspondingly cyberattacks that can be made from

different countries, within the framework of the same rules. The rules that international law may apply will include the use of these universal information and communication technologies in a user manual and will ensure that the decisions taken together are more valid in cases where they are not followed.

As this study analyzes, countries that are democratic independently vary in their democracy rank. The development rates of leading countries in terms of democracy should set an example for other democratic countries. Libertarian and secular countries that respect human rights, give importance to ideas, are actual valuable for democracy. For the reason that they have the principles of democracy. Turkey has a good fine line in terms of providing these principles or not due to its location. The cultural heritage from the Ottoman history has greatly influenced its political culture. It is seen that the phases that the Republic went through after the proclamation of the Republic were adversely affected today. Due to the government's policies and its inadequacy in education, technology or digital fields, Turkey has to go a long way to transfer its democracy to digital democracy with technological moves. On the other hand, I am of the opinion that leading democracies like Norway should make less effort to transition to digital democracy than countries like Turkey. Today, Norway, which fulfills the foundations of democracy quite successfully, has a sufficient level in both education and technology. The Norwegian people's commitment to democracy also affects their political culture. So much so that citizens who do not vote in the elections are not welcomed by their social circle. An individual's vote is just as important. On the other hand, in countries such as Turkey, which have a long road to evolve into digital democracy, participation rates are also quite low compared to countries such as Norway.

It is possible for democracy to turn into digital democracy through digital platforms. However, for this, first of all, the foundations of democracy must be strongly applied in the country. It should be adopted by the citizens of the country. In addition, governments need to develop and follow policies in the fields of education, R&D, technology and economy. If governments or states are not prepared or have a sufficient level for the digital transformation of democracy, it will be quite predictable that democracy will face a crisis with ICT.

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