E-government discourses: An inductive analysis

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ABSTRACT

This article offers a new perspective on e-government by documenting the categories of e-government discourses, and evaluating them within a public value framework. Understanding e-government discourses is significant, since these discourses represent contested visions of e-government, and one can derive a feel for public sentiment about e-government from the discourses used in the media. The findings are accumulated through an inductive analysis of 85 newspaper articles, published during the year of 2010, in three top-selling, ideologically different, nationally circulating Turkish newspapers. In these 85 articles, 98 discourses presented by 90 policy actors are found. Five positive and four negative discourse categories and their relationships emerged from the analysis of the data. The results show that, government reform efforts shaped by the New Public Management movement and Turkey's harmonization efforts with the global political system in general, and with the European Union in particular, are influential in the presentation of e-government projects to the Turkish public through newspapers.

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1. Introduction

The provision of government information and services, and opening of additional channels for political participation, transparency and accountability via information and communication technologies (ICTs) is defined as electronic or digital government. Means and Schneider (2000, p. 121) define e-government as the relationships between governments, their customers (businesses, other governments and citizens) and their suppliers (again, businesses, other governments and citizens) by the use of electronic means.

E-government is not only comprised of and cannot be fully understood only by studying government web sites, the innovative ways of providing government information and services, the necessary technical infrastructure, or the personnel who operate these technical and organizational systems. Students of e-government should also recognize and take into account the perceptions of e-government by the major stakeholders of this process, who are the citizens, businesses, government agencies, civil society organizations and political and administrative decision-makers. The processes through which the demand for e-government products (i.e., information and services), and the justification for the use of resources for e-government projects, also need the attention of e-government scholars. Issues of demand of and justification for e-government are closely related to the public value that e-government produces. Therefore, discussions of e-government discourses are conducted in this article within the public value framework.

This article offers a fresh perspective on e-government from a non-Western point of view by documenting the discourses of e-government used in Turkish newspapers. Understanding e-government

discourses is crucial since these discourses represent contested visions of the e-government, and competing and complementing evaluations of public value emanating from e-government applications. Discourses presented in the media can be instrumental in creating demand and providing justification for e-government projects. As West (2005, p. 13) aptly observes:

> Media coverage is important to the dissemination of new technology because it affects both how people think about technology and their receptivity to change. Reporting that is positive about technology encourages people to be favorable to new creations.

Given the importance of analyzing multiple discourses for a better understanding of the e-government construct, the objective of this paper is to empirically document the numerous and sometimes competing discourses used in the media by examining the newspaper coverage of e-government in Turkey. The data analysis method is the content analysis of news and commentaries of all e-government projects in three major Turkish newspapers during 2010. Five positive and four negative e-government discourses are documented in this study. The final section of the article includes critical evaluation of the findings and suggestions for future research.

2. Brief literature review

2.1. Discourse

The academic exploration of the discourse concept can be traced back to the discussions of Mannheim (1936) regarding the reproduction of knowledge and authority in a society. Gee (1999) defines discourse as what is typically sayable about a topic within the constraints of a given

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time, place, or social, cultural, or institutional setting. In other words, discourses constitute the shapes and limits of exploration and communication of ideas.

Critical discourse analysis is an action of resistance against the dominant distortions and prejudices that discourses create and recreate. The analysis necessitates clarifying the underlying power relationships and decision-making activities, and also unearthing the ideological origins of discourses. Van Dijk (1998) defines 'critical discourse analysis' as looking at the premises, justifications and presuppositions of an argument/discourse, keeping in mind the historical, contextual and theoretical factors, and without being trapped into reductionism.

Discourses of e-government, or discourses about any important development in a society for that matter, may be linked to the agenda-setting role of mass communication. Since McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver (1972) argued for the influence of the news media agenda on the public agenda (mass media sets the agenda for what audience members considers important), many studies followed suit.[1]

Another concept that is related to agenda setting is media framing. It is defined as the selection and the emphasis of certain perspectives to the exclusion of others, to make sense of observed phenomena; an understanding not always necessarily meshed with reality (Ghanem, 1997, p. 10). This article uses a similar approach with the discourse analysis and media-framing research areas, as it explores how the emphasis of certain attributes of e-government and the de-emphasis of some others, frame the e-government discussion differently for its consumers, that is, citizens, academicians and governments. It should be noted, however, that the focus of this article is not the transmitter of the e-government discourses, that is, the role played by the media per se. The focus is on the transmission, the message brought by the use of e-government discourses to the consumers of these discourses.

2.2. The relationship between e-government and discourse

Few researchers, who examined the non-technical, communication-oriented aspects of technology use in the government, studied the relationship between e-government and discourse. Among these limited number of studies, some emphasized the role of technology as an enabler for argumentation, deliberation and negotiation, that is, participatory decision-making, recreating the Greek-city-state-like deliberations on computer screens. For example, Gordon and Richter (2002) explained and gave examples to the use of discourse support systems, which are groupware designed to increase democratic participation and decision-making in public administration. An excellent example to this process is the integration of discourse support systems with geographical information systems in order to facilitate a computer-mediated discussion of city plans on the Internet by citizens (Gordon & Richter, 2002, p. 7), which are in reality, online 'citizen decision-support systems`.

Heeks (2005, p. 59–66), by using Argyris' notions of "espoused theories" and "theories in use", argues that public discourse—which is different from private motivations and actions—on e-government may reflect a 'discourse of rationality', which is disconnected from the realities of the organization in question. He uses the metaphor of a "rotten coconut". The vendor firm, for example, sees the surface of the organization (the coconut), which seems fine and healthy; but it knows very little about the political processes and weaknesses (rottenness), such as corrupt practices, within the organization.

West (2005, p. 38–39) emphasizes the role of the media in shaping the political context of e-government. He argues that media coverage, as an important factor affecting the adoption of new technology, is used for highlighting priorities and getting the financial resources for technological investments. He contends that in order to invest a lot of money from the public purse, it is necessary to convince the general public that, investments in technology has priority over other areas such as education and health-care.

West argued that when e-government is perceived as a technical, non-ideological issue, it will be seen in non-political terms. Thus, it will be supported by people and funded by politicians, who are coming from all the different parts of the ideological spectrum. However, if e-government is viewed in political terms, it will no longer be seen as a technical means that serves government reform. This non-technocratic perception will decrease public support and funding for e-government (West, 2005, p. 43).

West (2005, p. 170) also provided two basic categories of e-government discourse, as conservative and liberal discourses of e-government. He observed:

> Supporters will have to justify IT expenditures based either on a conservative message, such as cost savings and improved efficiency) or a liberal message (closing the digital divide or providing more universal access). Conservative messages justify e-government as a cost-saver, liberal messages justify it as spending for promoting equality.

Zinnbauer (2004, p. 7–8), after arguing that very limited attention has been given to e-government rhetoric, claimed the existence of two major narratives (discourses) of e-government: e-administration and e-democracy. He urgently calls for more research on these discourses in order to reassess the goals and means of e-government development (p. 11). However, a serious limitation of Zinnbauer's discussion and the resulting categories of e-administration and e-democracy narratives are that they are deduced from the literature and thus lack empirical validation.

Wastell (2002), on the other hand, provides some empirical evidence as he observes the defensive use of various discourses of e-government in a local authority in the U.K., for conferring identity, reducing task-related anxiety, and resisting organizational change. Wastell emphasizes the dialectical process by which the "new discourses [are] reinterpreted on encountering on established ones" (p. 182). He underlines various characteristics of the e-government discourse, such as the discourse being oriented towards service, rather than towards either democratic or policy-making perspectives, and e-government being a continuation of earlier reform efforts with the help of new technology, under a new name (p. 187).

Wastell also indicates the presence of "discourse of dependency" and "discourse of consumerism" between the providers and users of government services (p. 190–191). Although Wastell provides some empirical evidence to discourse use in e-government practices, he also complains from the lack of empirical evidence (p. 184). The shortcoming of Wastell's study is that, it does not present the subcategories of e-government discourse(s) in a systematic way.

The most detailed analysis of the relationship between e-government and discourse is presented by Yammine (2002), who studied the public discourse on these new technological means in Switzerland. Yammine evaluated the news content by examining the dimensions of time, judgment/evaluation, challenges and concrete e-government applications being used. She observed that e-government discourse is more technical, pragmatic, and cautious in its expectations, since e-government could not create the hype that dot.com era has generated. Yammine's analysis of news content was quite detailed:

> … content analysis focuses on four categories which are applied to all the articles: per article we distinguish a maximum of six positions for each of which we determine the following categories:
> 1) temporal perspective: present-, past- or future-oriented;
> 2) judgment/evaluation: positive, negative, neutral, ambivalent;

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[1] For example, Weaver, Graber, McCombs, and Eyal (1981) on the impact of candidate images and political interest on personal agendas in a presidential election, Ghanem (1996) on the coverage of crime in news media, and Fine (1992) about affirmative action coverage.

3) focused problematic aspects such as the social consequences of eGovernment and its technical and legal challenges; 4) concrete applications such as eVoting, eTaxes, eCensus … (2002, p. 2).

Although these researchers explicitly established the link between e-government and discourse use, their overall concept of such discourse was a rather vague construct. Such a treatment of the subject did not explore the heterogeneity inherent in the e-government construct due to the presence of multiple and sometimes conflicting objectives of the e-government efforts. We believe that such a treatment of the topic barely scratched the surface. There is a gap in the e-government literature, which should be filled by forming empirically-grounded categories of e-government discourse. Therefore, the analysis presented in this article builds on earlier research and passes onto the next stage of analysis by forming empirically-grounded categories and subcategories of e-government discourse.

2.3. Public value and e-government

This article examines and evaluates how media outlets present various e-government discourses that enable the public to make sense of e-government applications and policies. In this process, media acts as a mediator in the shaping of the public value that e-government applications produce in specific socio-political contexts, exemplified here by the Turkish case. In order to analyze this sense-making process better, it is necessary to employ the concept of "public value" as a means to understand and assess the value added by e-government applications within the broader government reform efforts.

The public value concept is coined by Moore (1995), who defined it as a broader understanding of a return or benefit than private value, adapted to the public sector for strategic management purposes. Evaluation of public value requires public managers to continuously question and justify if what they do (or what they choose not to do, for that matter) provides a net benefit for the society (Stoker, 2006, p. 49). Public value is a part of wider debates about government reform (Benington & Moore, 2011, p. 2), and as such, it includes such dimensions as improving efficiency and introducing innovation in the delivery of government services, enriching governments' relationships with citizens, and strengthening trust in, support for and legitimacy of government organizations (Kearns, 2004, p. 6; Meynhardt, 2009, p. 194).

Public value research assumes that public managers are far from being only passive servants of politicians. Rather, they are seen as "active value-seekers, who orchestrate, legitimate and implement" public policies. In this framework, public managers are also builders and sustainers of stakeholder coalitions for continuous political support and a welcoming authorizing environment (Benington & Moore, 2011, p. 4–6). Such a participative understanding of public value identification and prioritization of values necessitates the participation of all the relevant policy actors/stakeholders, therefore some scholars argue that public value is an emerging paradigm for networked governance (Stoker, 2006). Emphasizing a similar point, Moore and Benington (2011, p. 267) related public value to the "co-production of socially desired outcomes".

As an interdisciplinary and integrative framework (Meynhardt, 2009, p. 193), public value emerged as an alternative to the traditional public administration (TPA) and new public management (NPM) thinking (Benington & Moore, 2011, p. 17; Meynhardt, 2009: 192). Stoker (2006) argues that, unlike the traditional public administration and new public management movements, public value framework does not aim to confine politics from administration; instead, it acknowledges politics as a given that needs to be factored into the administrative process. Some scholars also contend that public value approach may correct NPM's "strict focus on economic models and private sector

management techniques" (Benington & Moore, 2011, p. 14; Meynhardt, 2009, p. 194, 206).

There are serious criticisms against the nature and use of the public value framework: First, it is argued that the concept of public value suffers from definitional vagueness (Benington & Moore, 2011, p. 20) as it is hard to define the "public" in public value and when this is possible, there are many competing and sometimes conflicting values which are important to the public in varying degrees. Testifying to the existence of the constellations of competing values, Jorgensen and Bozeman (2007) conducted a meta analysis of 230 studies on public value at the end of which they classified 72 different values in 7 different value categories. This ambiguous nature of the concept is puzzling, but some argue that it is this ambiguity that makes the concept so popular (Rhodes & Wanna, 2007, p. 408). Moore and Benington (2011, p. 266) find ambiguity normal, as they contend that the question of what constitutes public value is a normative one.

As a second criticism, public managers are charged with undemocratically defining and therefore monopolizing the definition of public good and value (Rhodes & Wanna, 2007, p. 412). Third, the compatibility of the public value framework with parliamentary systems is questioned (Benington & Moore, 2011, p. 19).

A fourth criticism emphasizes the competitive nature of the public value framework. It is argued that different values and views create an area of contestation in which they struggle for legitimization, acceptance and even hegemony (Benington & Moore, 2011, p. 6) at the expense of each other. Finally, the public value framework is criticized for being naive and utopian as it allegedly ignores "the dark side of government", such as spying and torture (Benington & Moore, 2011, p. 19).

Innovation in general, and e-government in particular, as important elements in government reform for at least the last two decades, connect well to the public value debates. Hartley (2011) differentiates between the improvements and innovations in terms of public value and identifies four different categories: (i) improvement without innovation, (ii) innovation without improvement, (iii) neither improvement nor innovation, and (iv) both improvement and innovation.

The importance of innovation (and especially technological innovation) in defining and analyzing public values about complex, wicked and diverse government problems, especially in times of global economic and financial crisis and the resulting resource scarcity, is obvious. Especially useful are the abilities of ICTs in the customization of government services, provision of more and higher-quality information, and enabling of a more participatory decision-making process (Benington & Moore, 2011, p. 9, 12–14).

There is a strong conceptual link between e-government and public value, as an analytical framework to assess the value created by the government for citizens, businesses and other government agencies. Analyzing public value may help e-government researchers and practitioners to provide evidence of the nature and extent of e-government's benefits and its real impact on mainstream public policy debates. More specifically, applying the public value framework to e-government can be useful in analyzing the improvement in decision-making and performance assessment in government, and better linking of technical e-government experts and wider policy communities (Kearns, 2004, p. 6–7).

The connection between e-government and the public value concept is beginning to be acknowledged in the literature as well: Grönlund (2010) criticizes e-government research being so far too narrowly guided with a technical focus, as well as economic and administrative values. Instead, he strongly emphasizes the need for e-government research to be better informed by public sector values. Similarly, Berce et al. (2006, p. 45) argue that more attention is needed on the impact of e-government on delivering public value. Flak and Rose (2005, p. 658–659), who recommend the adaptation of the stakeholder theory of management science in e-government analyses, emphasize that the economic/profit focus of the stakeholder

theory can be adapted to a public sector value for money ideal, similar to public value.

Yu (2008) identifies the main objective of e-government as creating public value. Yu proposes a value-centric e-government framework, based on four business model perspectives, including public beneficiaries, government internal organization and processes, government service chain, and society and national environments. The author specifically stresses the importance of security and trust management, participation and collaboration, personalization and customization, and finally, learning and knowledge management in this framework.

In a parallel fashion to Yu's model, Karunasena and Deng (2009) introduce a conceptual framework to evaluate the public value of e-government for citizens in Sri Lanka: Their framework includes delivery of public services, achievement of outcomes, development of trust, and effectiveness of public organizations.

In an attempt to further analyze and understand the connection between e-government and the public value concepts, this study uses an empirical inductive method to derive the public values embedded in e-government discourses. From this perspective, it can be perceived as an answer to Meynhardt's (2009, p. 214) call for conducting more empirical studies on how to synthesize self-interest and public interest by employing a public value framework and Moore and Benington's (2011, p. 266) emphasis on the need to define public value as a more observable and/or measurable concept.

3. Methodology

The categories and sub-categories of e-government discourses are derived from an inductive analysis of 85 articles, published during the year of 2010, in three top-selling, ideologically different, nationally-circulating Turkish newspapers of Hürriyet, Zaman and Cumhuriyet. The list of these 85 newspaper articles is presented in the Appendix 2. Each newspaper is listed with a code name for easier reference. For example, the first article in Zaman Newspaper in Appendix 1 is coded as Z1.

3.1. Process of analysis

News about e-government was located by searching paper-based newspapers one by one and then online newspaper archives through the Internet by using several keywords. The most commonly used keywords were electronic government, e-government, digital government, government technology, etc. Among an estimated 100,000 news articles published in three daily newspapers, 85 articles were selected as they are about e-government in Turkey. The list of these 85 articles is presented in the Appendix.

The first stage of the analysis and documentation of e-government discourses was to find arguments in newspaper articles. Arguments, or "propositions" as Van Dijk (1997, p. 9) call them, are statements that make a one-sentence positive or negative value-judgment about a topic; in this case, on an e-government project, as they are the building blocks of discourses. If several similar examples are repeated within the same article to make the same point or same argument, they are counted as one argument.

Arguments explain what an e-government project does. As such, they create awareness about the project and promote acceptance by the public. They explain why a project is beneficial to various stakeholders. Therefore, they provide justification for the use of public funds for e-government projects. Arguments, when grouped around similar themes, constitute discourses.

In order to find the arguments and other necessary information for documenting the discourses, the content of each newspaper article is analyzed. This is done by recording the newspaper's title, the title of the article, year of publishing, name of the e-government project that the article mentions, argument(s) used in the article, type of discourse(s), type of e-government category (i.e. government to government, government

to businesses, government to citizens) used in conjunction with the discourse(s), and the identity of the actor(s) using the discourse(s) for each newspaper article.

After determining the arguments and documenting discourses by grouping arguments around similar themes, the next stage was examining the actors who use e-government discourses in the newspapers.

3.2. Selection of newspapers

The sampling decisions for the three newspapers (Hürriyet, Zaman and Cumhuriyet) selected for this study were made by keeping several criteria in mind. First and foremost, the circulation figures, listed in Table 1 below, are quite important since it is essential for these articles to be read by as many people as possible in order for them to have the maximum amount of influence on the readership. According to the national newspaper circulation numbers for 2010 presented in Table 1, the circulation numbers of the three newspapers selected for the study constitute an average of 28.5% of the total circulation in Turkey. These percentages are not low at all when it is kept in mind that the total number of nationally circulating newspapers published in Turkey is close to 50.

A second criterion for the sampling of newspapers was the existence of free online searchable newspaper archives. In addition to the online newspaper archives, the authors also used the paper-based archives, which were kept in the Turkish National Library, in order to avoid any gaps and mistakes.

The third criterion was to strike a balance between the political views of the newspapers. It was necessary to have newspapers representing opposing views representative of the Turkish political spectrum. For this reason, among the top-selling newspapers, one left-of-center (Cumhuriyet), one right-of-center (Zaman), and one politically mainstream newspaper (Hürriyet) were selected.

Finally, the ownership structure of the newspapers was an important criterion. Since media ownership is highly concentrated in Turkey, as shown in Table 2 below, this proved to be the hardest problem to solve, especially when combined with the earlier criterion of free online archive availability. The selected newspapers were owned by different groups of investors. This brought a critical balance of power in our sample of newspapers with regard to ownership.

4. Findings

4.1. E-government discourses in the media

The discourses identified during the analysis are developed inductively by grouping similar arguments from newspaper articles into categories. Five positive (Discourses of (i) government reform, (ii) inevitability, (iii) increase in government revenues, (iv) creating equality of opportunity, and (v) harmonization with the World and the EU) and four negative discourse (Discourses of (i) overcoming technical problems, (ii) overcoming performance problems in government, (iii) overcoming information security breaches, and (iv) overcoming participation problems) categories are formed through this process.

E-government discourses can be positive or negative. Positive discourses are used by actors who promote the e-government projects for various reasons discussed later in this article. Negative discourses are used when actors are unhappy with the projects, or when they are concerned about the negative consequences of these projects. Negative discourses are also used to raise awareness about the problems of a project and to ask the government decision-makers to solve these problems. It is not uncommon to find a positive discourse next to a negative one in the same newspaper article. A comprehensive list of all the discourses identified during analysis, their definitions and examples is presented below in Table 3.

Positive discourses provide a rationale for action. Therefore, all positive discourses can be called as *discourses of action*. First, the

Table 1
Newspaper circulation figures.

Newspapers	Time periods							
	February 2010		May 2010		August 2010		November 2010	
	Circulation	%	Circulation	%	Circulation	%	Circulation	%
Zaman	3.151.483	17%	3.528.485	19%	2.705.329	15%	3.506.061	19%
Hürriyet	1.820.079	10%	1.859.082	10%	1.762.108	10%	1.753.679	10%
Cumhuriyet	212.529	1%	219.947	1%	214.715	1%	229.210	1%
Total		28%		30%		26%		30%

Source: Medyatava, http://www.medyatava.com/tiraj.asp, Accessed: June 10, 2011.

discourse of government reform via e-government contends that e-government projects provide solutions to a wide array of problems that the government is facing, such as performance and trust deficits in government, soaring costs of service provision, and the integration of front and back-office processes. The users of this discourse argue that e-government applications transform the structure of the government bureaucracy, and how it interacts with citizens, businesses and other government agencies.

Second, the *discourse of inevitability*, argues that e-government represents governments' future. The inevitable replacement of typewriters in government offices by computers, the change from regular mail to e-mail, or the development of modern technological standards without its use that may make government obsolete are common arguments. Examples of the use of this discourse are given below in the articles coded H5, H15 and Z7, when the actors using the e-government discourses are explained in detail.

Third, the *discourse of increase in government revenues* points both to the government spending less due to e-government applications, and earn more through registration and processing fees for e-government services, and/or better control of government revenue sources. This discourse emphasizes the revenue-increasing function of e-government, while downplaying the public interest/service perspective in providing e-government services. A good example to this discourse is the article coded as H28, which is about an electronic certificate program that provides additional income to the government.

Fourth, the discourse of creating equality of opportunity argues that e-government applications provide equal opportunity to every individual, whether they are in a disadvantaged group (women, disabled, poor, elderly, etc.) or not. This discourse is presented as a solution to the problem of digital divide, as it includes such egalitarian public policies as providing universal service. For example, the article coded as C10 is about an online job application form that can be filled out by the disabled.

Fifth, *discourse of integration* is used to emphasize the argument that e-government applications promote the process of integration with the global economy and polity in general, and with supra-national organizations, such as the European Union in particular. News articles about conforming to European Union standards, such as rules and regulations regarding the functioning of the justice or public accountancy systems,

in service delivery and government data production, exemplify such uses. The articles coded as H5, C21 and Z3, which are explained below in the actors section, are excellent examples to this discourse.

Different positive discourses are not mutually exclusive. In fact, some of them are closely related to each other. For example, *discourses of government reform and integration* feed into each other. In other words, arguments for more integration with the European Union call for more arguments for government reform. The same kind of relationship exists between *discourses of government reform* and *creating equality of opportunity*. Arguments for government reform preach for the treatment of citizens as equals with equal chances in utilizing government information and services through technology. Arguments for such a treatment call for further government reform, and government intervention in ICT policies.

Negative discourses are those of (i) overcoming technical problems, (ii) overcoming performance problems in government, (iii) overcoming information security breaches, and (iv) overcoming participation problems. Negative discourses provide a rationale for inaction or remedial action. Therefore, negative discourses can be called as *discourses of inaction or remedial action*. Although the negative discourses are quite self-explanatory, some arguments and examples of these discourses are provided here and in the following section about the actors, who voice the discourses:

The Discourse of Overcoming Technical Problems includes the voicing of various technical deficits and problems and the related complaints by various actors. A database not working properly when its use peaks is a good example of this discourse. Articles coded as H3 and C7 exemplify the use of this discourse. For example, article H3 reports the problems experienced by the students and parents when they try to use the "electronic school report" system. Article C7 is about the electronic information miscommunication problem between the police and notary publics during the used car sales process.

The Discourse of Overcoming Performance Problems in Government includes arguments and criticisms about various kinds of performance deficits in government employees and agencies, as they relate to e-government. Since government performance management and enhancement is an important dimension of e-government applications, continuing performance deficits are of great concern when an e-government application is in use. As an example to this discourse,

Table 2
Ownership of the newspapers and other media assets (2011).

Newspaper	Owner name	Company	Newspapers	Owner's TV assets	Owner's other assets
Zaman	Ali Akbulut	Feza Gazetecilik A.Ş.	Zaman Newspaper, Today's Zaman, Zaman USA, Zaman Azerbaijan, Zaman Australia, Zaman Kazakhstan, Zaman Europe, Zaman Bulgaria, Zaman Romain, Zaman Turkmenistan	Samanyolu TV, Samanyolu Haber TV, Mehtap TV, Ebru TV, Yumurcak TV, Samanyolu America TV, Hazar TV, Küre TV, Medya TV, Dünya TV	Zaman Book, Action Magazine, Cihan News Agency, Sızıntı Magazine, Gonca Magazine, Burç FM, Dünya Radio, Samanyolu News Radio, Radio: Radyo D, CNN Türk Radio, Slow Türk, Radyo Moda
Hürriyet	Aydın Doğan	Doğan Yayıncılık	Hürriyet, Referans, Hurriyet Daily News, Radikal, Posta, Fanatik, Iz Ruk ve Ruki (Russia), Ekprezzs(Hungary), Oglasnik(Crotia)	Kanal D, Star TV, CNN Türk, TNT, Cartoon network, İnteraktif TV, FIX TV, Doğan Platform, D-Smart and Telekom Operatörü Smile, Doğan Teleshopping, D Productions, Kanal D Home, DMC	
Cumhuriyet	Orhan Erinç	Cumhuriyet Vakfı			None except Cumhuriyet Gazetesi

Table 3
Discourses of e-government.

Discourse type	Definition	Examples of how e-government applications result in …
(+) Positive discourses		
Discourse of government reform	E-Government applications transform the structure of the government bureaucracy and the way it works.	Cost-savings, Strategic planning, More rapid workflow/processing, Downsizing, Data-sharing among government agencies (i.e. sharing databases), Process reengineering, Deregulation of former government activities (privatization, contracting out)
Discourse of inevitability	E-Government applications are impossible to ignore due to changes in technology and environment.	It is inevitable to use e-government applications for governments today. Transformation from the typewriter to the computer environment. Conforming to the modern technological standards.
Discourse of increase in government revenues	E- Government applications provide additional revenues to government and/or enable/encourage savings.	E-Government applications' registration and user fees provide income to government. Government now spends less, and saves more, thanks to e-government applications.
Discourse of creating equality of opportunity	E-Government applications benefit everyone without discrimination.	E-Government applications provide equal opportunity to every individual, whether they are in a disadvantaged group (women, disabled, poor, elderly, etc.) or not.
Discourse of harmonization with the world and the EU	E-Government applications are used as a tool of conforming with the EU and the World.	Better integration with the European Union and the world through technology will benefit Turkey politically and economically.
(−) Negative discourses		
Discourse of overcoming technical problems	Success in e-Government projects cannot be accomplished without solving technical problems.	There are some complaints about E-Government reform due to technical deficit and problems.
Discourse of overcoming performance problems in government	Success in e-Government projects cannot be accomplished without overcoming performance problems in government.	We can call e-government successful only when the perceived performance deficit in government is solved especially in the daily interactions of citizens and businesses with government agencies through electronic means.
Discourse of overcoming information security breaches	Success in e-Government projects cannot be accomplished without adequately protecting confidentiality of personal and government information.	E-Government projects greatly value information security but there are problems in protecting the confidentiality of personal information, in receiving the consent of citizens to use personal information, preventing the collection of information in a poorly protected single database.
Discourse of overcoming participation problems	Success in e-Government projects cannot be accomplished without increasing participation in government affairs through e-government.	The cost of access to services, lack of citizen interest and awareness about e-government applications are continuing problems.

The numbers of each discourse categories found in each of the three newspapers are presented in Table 4 below. Discourse of government reform, with its numerous arguments, as presented above in Table 3 and in Appendix 2, dominate the newspaper articles. Among all 98 discourses, positive and negative, discourse of government reform constitutes 75% of the total with 74 uses.

the article coded as C21 is about the performance problem in e-government.

The Discourse of Overcoming Information Security Breaches is about the inability of the government to protect its own confidential information as well as personal data of citizens from being hacked, lost and/or sold. For example, in article C17, the government is criticized for not paying enough attention to the secure keeping of government databases, as 50 million people's e-identification data are compromised and sold. In Article H7, the information security of the e-signature system is being questioned. Article Z24 argues that the ability of the government agencies to access criminal record of citizens without their consent constitutes an invasion of the privacy of personal information. Article C5 makes a similar point and underlines the dangers of collecting all these data in a single source/database.

The Discourse of Overcoming Participation Problems includes criticisms towards the government for being unable to deal effectively with the lack of citizen interest and awareness about e-government applications, as well as high cost of access to e-government services. An excellent example to this discourse would be the voicing of the government's inability and/or inefficiency to provide citizens public internet access points in public schools, libraries and community centers.

Similar to positive discourses, different kinds of negative discourses are not mutually-exclusive. In fact, they are all interrelated. For example, without overcoming the technical infrastructure problems, it is almost impossible to overcome the other problems of e-government. Likewise, without solving the breach of information security problem,

it is not realistic to expect ICT-enabled citizen participation to increase. In addition, all negative discourses are remedial in nature, since they do not voice various technical, participatory, and security-related problems as an excuse to categorically reject the e-government idea and applications, but rather as a way to review and ultimately correct them.

Out of a total of 98 discourses, 74 (three quarters) are of government reform. Fig. 1 below shows several of the dimensions of the discourse of government reform. A comprehensive list of all the arguments used in the newspaper articles, which are about the discourse of government reform, is presented in Appendix 2.

4.2. Actors using discourses

The list of actors is presented in Table 5 below. The main categories of actors are politicians (such as ministers), top and mid-level public administrators (directors of government agencies and various representatives of middle management), private sector representatives (such as representatives of ICT vendor firms), and citizens, who are the end-users of many e-government services. If the actor who is using an e-government discourse in the newspaper article was not evident in the body of the article, the actor is coded as 'not clear'.

Table 5 depicts that politicians and bureaucrats are the main users of e-government discourses. This shows that reporting on e-government emphasizes the administrative and political nature of the process, while citizens and businesspersons are given much less voice.

More than a third of the actors are reporters themselves, either comparing the conventional system of government with the new e-government application or presenting their views on e-government developments by using what other actors such as NGO members and public figures such as the President has said. The problem with this category is that it is not clear what is being said by the actor and what is the reporter's view. This finding shows the power of the journalists in shaping people's perceptions on e-government, if their reporting is taken at face value by the readers. This is more likely when the reader is enthusiastic, but not very knowledgeable about e-government developments.

Table 6 above reveals the voices of each actor, by listing the types of e-government discourses that they use, as well as the frequency of their use. Results of the analysis revealed that; bureaucrats generally stated that e-government applications will solve many problems, such as minimizing the disabling distance between government and its citizens, saving time, money and personnel use, increasing convenience in government service provision, and improving service quality, etc. As an example, in the article coded H1, a bureaucrat emphasized that with the help of the "Social Aid Information System" the distance between the government and its citizens has been decreased, time and money savings has been achieved, rate of errors in the aid process has been reduced and all these changes accelerated the transaction process in a way to make it much easier to use for both citizens and government.

A total of nineteen bureaucrats used the sub-discourses/arguments of improvements in service quality as they underlined improvements in service expedience, efficiency and decrease of administrative errors. As an example, the news article coded Z5 declared that, the new system used by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry allows environmental permits to be issued with a single click of the mouse. A bureaucrat declared that the new system makes citizens' lives easier by increasing the speed of the permit issue process, and the overall service quality, which in turn frees citizens' time from waiting for the bureaucratic processes. Overall, all the discourses used by the bureaucrats are positive, which shows their support for government reform via e-government applications.
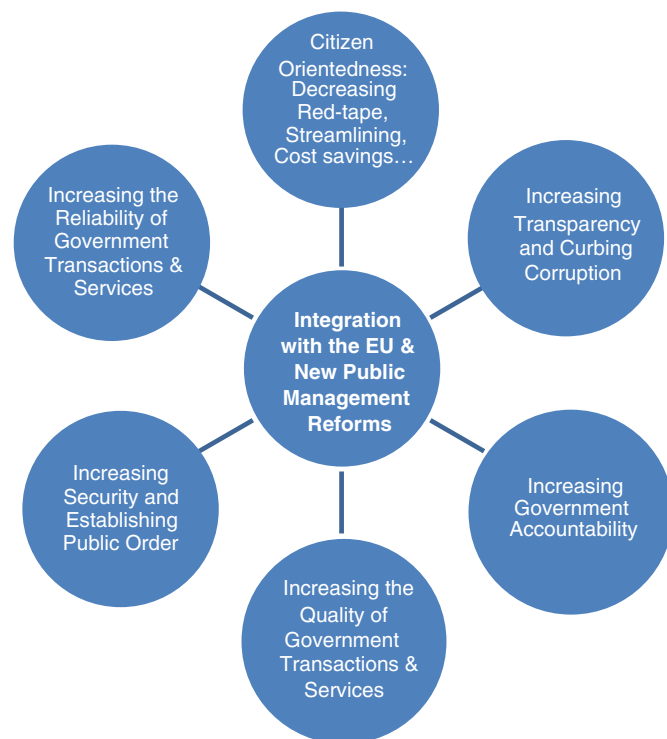

Fig. 1. Dimensions of the discourse of government reform.

Table 4
Media coverage of e-government in 2010.

Discourses	Number of newspaper articles			
	Zaman	Cumhuriyet	Hürriyet	Total
Positive discourses				
Discourse of government reform	26	19	29	74
D. of inevitability	1	–	2	3
D. of increase in government revenues	1	–	2	3
D. of creating equality of opportunity	–	1	1	2
D. of harmonization with the world and the EU	1	1	1	3
Negative discourses				
D. of overcoming technical problems	–	2	2	4
D. of overcoming performance problems in government	–	1	–	1
D. of overcoming information security breaches	1	2	1	4
D. of overcoming participation problems	3	1	–	4
Total	33	27	38	98

Similar to the bureaucrats, most politicians argued that e-government, as a part of the overall government reform process, solves many problems. For example, two politicians emphasized the importance of e-government as a tool in the process of adaptation of Turkey to the world in general and the European Union in particular. In one example, in the news article coded as H5, the Minister of Transportation shows his support for e-government by stating that it is inevitable. He also argued that having access to information and putting it in use carries the whole Turkish society forward, unlike some other under-developed countries. He clearly stated that their reform efforts are prepared in a way to conform to the standards to The Acquis (The total body of EU law) of the European Union.

Again, in the news article coded as Z7, a politician used the inevitability discourse by stating that "This is the era of information, electronics and technology, which must be reflected to the government life". Another politician stated in the news article coded as Z24 that he supports the electronic applications in government; but it is wrong for public agencies to access the criminal records of citizens without their consent and this practice violates the privacy of personal information. Overall, the politicians use mostly positive discourses and rarely negative discourses.

There is only one example of a discourse, used by citizens. The article coded as Z29 states that citizens need an e-government password to conduct transactions and without this password, conducting only a limited number of transactions is possible. The citizen complains that the applications for passwords are being rejected due to the insufficient number of passwords in the system. They therefore emphasize the need for overcoming a technical problem. Since hearing the voice of citizens is almost impossible in the newspapers, it is not easy to reach a general opinion about their views about e-government.

Business persons constitute an important actor category in the analysis, since they represent the government to businesses (G2B) dimension of e-government. Two of the total of four business(wo)

Table 5
List of actors in e-government discourses.

Actor	Number of actors in newspaper articles			Total
	Zaman	Cumhuriyet	Hürriyet	
Politician	8	5	4	17
Bureaucrat	9	3	13	25
Citizen	1	–	–	1
Business(wo)man	1	1	1	3
Others and reporters	9	11	16	36
Not clear	3	2	3	8
Total	31	22	37	90

Table 6
Voices of actors: who said what.

Discourses	Actors								
	Bureaucrats	Politicians	Citizens	Business-(wo)man	NGO	Reporter views	Other	Not clear	Total
Positive discourses									
Discourse of government reform	24	16	–	2	3	21	6	5	77
D. of inevitability	1	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	3
D. of increase in government revenues	–	–	–	1	1	1	–	–	3
D. of creating equality of opportunity	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	2
D. of harmonization with the world and the EU	–	2	–	–	1	–	–	–	3
Negative discourses									
D. of overcoming technical problems	–	–	1	1	2	1	–	–	5
D. of overcoming performance problems in govt.	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1
D. of overcoming information security breaches	–	1	–	–	1	2	–	–	4
D. of overcoming participation problems	–	–	–	1	1	2	–	–	4
Total	25	21	1	5	10	29	6	5	102

The total number of actors (102) is more than the total number of discourses (98), because the same discourse can be voiced by more than one actor in the same newspaper article. Also, an actor can utilize different discourses in the same newspaper article.

men identified in the newspaper articles point to the positive sides of e-government as a reform (H24, Z30. The other two emphasize problems in e-government applications. For example; in the news article coded as Z17, a businessman argues that the citizens' lack of awareness about the benefits of e-signature causes a decrease in citizen participation and undermines e-government reform. Another businessman in the news article coded as C7 emphasized the data transfer problem due to digital miscommunication between the police and notary publics in used car sales. All these statements show that businessmen in Turkey usually voice the technical problems by using negative discourses.

NGOs' use of e-government discourses is balanced since they expressed both the positive and negative perceptions. For instance, in the news article coded as C21, it is mentioned that e- government as a reform is an important tool to increase transparency, quality and efficiency of services, as well as information security, government accountability and adaptation to the world. The same article also refers to some performance problems in e-government applications.

Another article coded as Z21 explained that e-reporting to police is useful in tackling crime and domestic abuse but unfortunately the system does not work well due to some technical problems (such as data errors in reports) that cause citizen suffering. Thus the NGO representative emphasized the importance of solving these technical problems.

In the article coded as C5, an NGO representative used both the discourses of overcoming technical problems and overcoming information security breaches due to the violations of the confidentiality of personal information by their use without consent. Similarly the article coded as H3 points to the inability to access the e-school report cards due to a technical error.

In some of the articles, it was not possible to identify an actor clearly and it is assumed that information in these articles reflect the views of the newspaper reporters, who wrote that article. According to the reporters' views, e-government applications solve many problems of the government. For example, in the article coded as H9, an electronic system, which enables mothers who are unable to attend a school to obtain a diploma, is commended as a successful e-government application by using an equal opportunity discourse. Another interesting article coded as H22, supports some e-government applications as they decrease government spending, and forgotten e-government passwords provide additional income to government, as obtaining a second password costs much more than the first.

In the article coded as Z11, the reporter criticized the high cost of conducting on-line transactions, which decreases ICT-enabled participation. In the article coded as Z12, the reporter underlines that the lack of interest in e-government applications decreases the participation

rates in e-government. In the article coded as H16, the reporter refers to a technical problem in the national close-circuit camera (MOBESE) system. In the article coded as C17, the reporter explained the information security problem in an electronic system, a case in which 50 million citizens' online identification data, which should be secured kept by the General Directorate of Civil Registration and Nationality, were being lost and sold to third parties. In the article coded as H7, the reporter emphasized the positive features of e-signature applications but also asked how to ensure data security in the current e-signature system.

In the "other" category, there are only positive discourses. The articles coded as H33 and C18, are about the "beginning of e-registration in high school". Here it is induced that compared with the traditional high school registration system, the new e-government-based system provides convenience for citizens and government agencies, and improvements in service expedience.

In the "not clear" category, there are no negative discourses. Discourses are about the benefits of e-government applications. For instance, in the article coded as C9, it is stated that cost savings, decrease in red-tape, increase in service speed and quality standards have been acquired with the use of e-signatures.

5. Discussion and conclusion: the role of media in e-government

This article about e-government discourses is one of the few studies, which brings a new perspective to the study of the e-government phenomenon. It explores e-government from a communication perspective within the greater background of public sector reform by using a public value framework. The central argument of this article is that, as they represent contested visions of e-government, discourses play an important role as communicating the need for, creating the demand for, and justifying the presence of e-government applications to various stakeholders. To this end, categories of e-government discourses are inductively derived from newspaper articles, which had been published in Turkey during 2010, in three major nationally-circulating newspapers. Content analysis of the newspaper articles yielded five positive and four negative discourses of e-government. The content of these discourses raise important issues:

First, it is quite interesting that in the 98 discourses found in 85 articles, not one of them is categorically against the implementation of e-government projects for one reason or the other. There is neither an explicit argument against e-government from an ideological point of view, stating for instance that e-government is a tool of global capitalism and/or one application item among others in the tool-kit of New Public Management. In other words, even the negative discourses of e-government offer remedies regarding making the e-government projects better by overcoming some implementation problems, such as

technical, performance and participation problems, or information security breaches. Even in the left-of-center Cumhuriyet or religiously-oriented Zaman newspapers, there is not even a hint of a good old-fashioned Luddite Movement, which condemns technology for the evils of the day. Content analysis clearly shows that treatment of e-government is "ideologically-blind", and it is geared towards endorsing e-government in Turkey.

Second, government reform and integration to the World in general and the European Union in particular, seem to be the basic driving forces behind e-government in Turkey, according to the use of discourses. This finding is in parallel with the analyses presented in the European Union's Turkey Progress Reports, which have been emphasizing the need for government reform in Turkey, including improvements in public service quality, transparency and accountability of government operations (European Union, 2010, p. 11–12, 56–57).

Third, media outlets, most of which belong to big corporations (see Table 2 above), which also own or occasionally partner with vendor firms and ISPs (Internet Service Providers), are used as an effective promoter of e-government projects. The analysis of e-government discourses clearly indicate that the media serves a double purpose: First, the general public learns about the future benefits of the e-government projects from the media. Newspaper articles, television and radio programs and Internet-based newspapers' coverage also help partially to shape the public perception of e-government projects. All these activities are aimed at creating citizen acceptance and demand for certain e-government projects.

Fourth, the various arguments found in e-government discourses are in parallel with the arguments and findings of the public value research. Many arguments in e-government discourses include public value sets identified by public value researchers, such as sustainability, will of the people, citizen involvement, protection of individual rights, accountability, responsiveness, openness, stakeholder value, adaptability, effectiveness, and user orientation (Jorgensen & Bozeman, 2007, p. 360–361). As public value research suggests, media coverage helps creating a suitable authorizing environment by enabling sustainable political and bureaucratic support for e-government, as well as the necessary legitimacy to continue spending scarce resources (especially scarcer in developing countries) for e-government applications.

The contents of discourses, the arguments, are also similar to the public value of e-government frameworks created by Karunasena and Deng (2009) and Yu (2008), which were explained in detail in the literature review section. Here, it suffices to emphasize that issues that are the basic building blocks of these frameworks, such as efficient public service delivery, development of trust, achievement of outcomes with high performance, security, trust, and participation are all important issues in e-government discourses. In other words, these e-government discourses are helpful in systematically identifying and making sense of the public values that pertain to e-government applications.

Fifth and finally, politicians' craving for media attention is used by creating a platform –media coverage- in which politicians endorse the projects. These endorsements send positive signals to other politicians and public administrators about the projects in question. A leading member of a project management group in a Turkish e-government project explains the strategic use of media perfectly:

> After the change in government, a new minister came into office. I was trying to make an appointment with him to get his permission and support for launching the [e-government] project. All my efforts provided no results. I decided to use the media [to obtain his support]. I decided to implement a pilot project in his [minister's] hometown and alerted the media to make sure that the event is well-covered. The minister showed up at his hometown, using this opportunity to show his voters that he serves them diligently. He talked to the media correspondents in favor of the project. From that point on, I got his support. I have never had a problem to make an appointment with him again (Personal interview, in Yıldız, 2004, p. 136).

The role of media in the highly political process of e-government decision-making can be further clarified by giving the open-source software example. When the media coverage of e-government projects are examined in 2002–2003, it is found that the media turns its back on the project, Local-Net, which proves that open-source software can effectively be used for cutting costs (Yıldız, 2007). Content analysis of major nationally-circulating newspapers for that time-period confirms this argument. Out of 111 articles published in three major national newspapers about the seven e-government projects, only one (0.9%) mentions the Local-Net project, without saying a word about open-source software (Yıldız, 2004, p. 147–148).

West's (2005, p. 38) emphasis on the critical role of the media in shaping the political context of e-government is helpful in understanding why an overwhelming majority of e-government discourses are positive discourses of government reform. The non-ideological presentation of the issue of reform as a technical subject, as emphasized above, aims to maximize support and funding for e-government as suggested by West (2005, p. 43).

The task of documenting and analyzing discourses is but one way of investigating the phenomenon of e-government. However, it is a very crucial one. Media use for discourse production and reinforcement is critical because media outlets can be very effective in legitimizing initiatives such as e-government, the public spending needed for these projects, as well as "producing" the citizen demand which is required for the long-term survival of these efforts.

Documentation of discourses is useful for realizing the inconsistencies within the e-government construct due to multiple and occasionally conflicting objectives of e-government efforts. For example, while rationality and strategic planning are central themes in many e-government discourses, many of its projects lack rational elements, such as cost-benefit analyses (Cohen & Eimicke, 2001, p. 11), use of benchmarking, a sound business plan and a strategic vision, etc.

Examination of such projects shows that at least some e-government initiatives may be consequences of fad and fashion, and various legitimacy concerns as well:

> Funding [for public organization web sites] was more of a function of fashion, than a result of an analysis of cost savings of expected benefits. Most officials assumed that the use of the web would increase customer satisfaction and was self-justifying (Cohen & Eimicke, 2001, p. 11).

Developing countries, such as Turkey, are interesting examples of e-government discourse use. The level of Internet access is still quite low (around 40% as of 2011) to justify the necessity and feasibility of creating e-government services in such countries without inviting counterarguments of issues of ICT access/digital divide; and more importantly, better uses of those resources by meeting alternative, more urgent needs, such as education, health care and improving basic physical infrastructure. Thus, it may be argued that the need for e-government has to be 'manufactured' to a certain extent by elites via the media. Studies, such as this one, may empower the consumers of discourses by giving them the means to deconstruct the discourses and demystify the various e-government-related processes that they witness/ consume.

6. Suggestions for future research

Understanding the various uses of discourses is an essential step to become more knowledgeable about the complex interaction of power relations, politics, legitimacy concerns, wrapped up in certain situations; e-government projects being a case in point. From the point where this article leaves us, a few related research agendas may be pursued by future researchers.

First, using the line of research presented in this article for more than one country, employing a comparative focus is a promising area of research. The next logical step would be to compare e-government

discourse use between countries and groups of countries. For example, analyzing possible differences in discourse use between and among developed and under-developed countries may be an interesting topic to study.

Second, the examination of how different discourses affect the thinking and actions of different groups (public managers, political decision-makers, citizens, civil societal organizations, etc.) both at individual and group levels by conducting interviews with the individual members and professional associations of these groups, may be a promising direction to follow.

A third and final venue is to study the institutional links between media outlets promoting certain discourses of e-government and the ICT vendor firms that bid for e-government projects. If the media outlets and vendor firms are parts of the same or closely-associated big financial conglomerates, this line of research may yield quite interesting results.

Appendix 1. List of newspaper articles

1.1. Zaman Newspaper

Z1: Zaman (09. 02. 2010), Devlette Bugün Git Yarın Gel Devri Bitiyor. Accessed date: 28.04.2011, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=949737&title=devlette-bugun-git-yarin-gel-devri-bitiyor

Z2: Güler, Habib (13.03. 2010), Zaman, Devlette Elektronik Devrim: Kurumlar Artık Belge İstemeyecek. , Accessed date: 28.04.2011, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=961100&keyfield=6465766C6574746520656C656B74726F6E696B2064657672696D

Z3: Zaman (02.07.2010), Türkiye'nin ilk Elektronik Arşivleme Merkezi Erzincan'da Açıldı. Accessed date: 28.04.2011, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=1002260&keyfield=6172C59F69766C656D65206D65726B657A692065727A696E63616E

Z4: Zaman (20.02.2010), Yıldırım: Elektronik Ortamdaki Belgeler Resmi Evrak Kabul Edilecek, Accessed date: 28.04.2011, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=942610&keyfield=59C4B16C64C4B172C4B16D3A207265736D6920657672616B206B6162756C206564696C6563656B

Z5: Zaman (24.11.2010), E-çevre İzinleri Evrak Çilesini Bitiriyor, Accessed date: 28.04.2011, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=1056406&keyfield=652DC3A76576726520697A696E6C657269206520657672616B20C3A7696C6573696E69206269746972697996F72

Z6: Zaman (17.05.2010), E-devlet, Çocukları Kayıp Olan Ailelere de Umut Olacak, Accessed date: 28.04.2011, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=984854&keyfield=652D6465766C657420756D75742074C3BC726B736174

Z7: Zaman (21.01.2010), E-devlet Hizmetleri İçin 28 Kanunda Değişiklik Yapılacak, Accessed date: 28.04.2011, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=943181&keyfield=652D64657766C65742068697A6D6574203238206B616E756E6461206465C49F69C59F696B6C696B20796170C4B16C6163616B

Z8: Sakin, Mehmet, Şaban Gündüz (12.03.2010), Zaman, E-devlet Kapısını Çalanların Sayısı 190 bine Ulaştı, Accessed date: 28.04.2011, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=960783&keyfield=54C3BC726B7361742067656E656C206DC3BC64C3BC72C3BC203139302062696E

Z9: Zaman (22.03.2010), Silah Altına Alınacaklar, Eğitim Merkezlerini E-devlet Kapısı Üzerinden Öğrenecek, Accessed date: 28.04.2011, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=960783&keyfield=54C3BC726B7361742067656E656C206DC3BC64C3BC72C3BC203139302062696E

Z10: Zaman (16.05.2010), E-devlet Kapısı Genişliyor, Accessed date: 28.04.2011, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=984662&keyfield=452D6465766C6574206B6170C4B173C4B12047656E69C59F6C69796F72

Z11: Bozkurt, Hasan (20.11.2010), Zaman, E-devlet Şifresini unutan İkincisi için 10 TL Ödüyor, Accessed date: 28.04.2010, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=1054712&keyfield=452D6465766C65742C59F6966726573696E6920756E7574616E

Z12: Zaman (04.05.2010), E-devlete Vatandaştan İlgi Yok…, Accessed date: 28.04. 2011, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=980249&title=edevlete-vatandastan-ilgi-yok

Z13: Yavuz, Ahmet (15.02.2010), Zaman, Mükellefler e-iade Sistemi ile iadelerini daha hızlı alabilecek, Accessed date: 28.04.2011, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/yazar.do?yazino=951728&keyfield=6DC3BC6B656C6C65666C657220652D696164652073697374656D6920696C65

Z14: Zaman (08.10.2010), E-ihale Sürecinde İlk Adım Devreye Girdi, Accessed date: 28.04.2011, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=1037597&keyfield=452D6968616C652073C3BC726563696E646520696C6B206164C4B16D

Z15: Zaman (29.11.2010), Devlette E-imza Dönemi Başladı, Accessed date: 28.04.2011, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=1058248&keyfield=4465766C6574746520652D696D7A612064C3B66E656D69206261C59F6C6164C4B1

Z16: Zaman (01.09.2010), 11 İlde E-imza Uygulaması Başladı, Accessed date: 28.04.2011, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=1022651&keyfield=313120696C646520652D696D7A6120757967756C616D6173C4B1206261C59F6C6164C4B1

Z17: Mehmetzade, Kenan (24.08.2010), Zaman, E-imza Yaygınlaşmadan E-devlet Hayal, Accessed date: 28.04.2011, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=1019300&keyfield=452D696D7A612079617967C4B16E6C61C59F6D6164616E20652D6465766C657420686179616C

Z18: Zaman (28.09.2010), Oto Alım Satımında Yeni Dönem, Accessed date: 28.04.2011, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=1033267&keyfield=6F746F20616CC4B16D20736174C4B16DC4B16E64612079656E692064C3B66E656D

Z19: Zaman (21.07.2010), Bakan Yıldırım: Bürokrasiyi "tuş" Etmemiz Lazım, Accessed date: 28.04.2011, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=1007372&keyfield=62616B616E2079C4B16C64C4B172C4B16D2062C3BC726F6B726173697969

Z20: Zaman (01.07.2010), Ortaöğretim Kurumlarına Kayıtlar 2 Ağustos'ta Başlayacak, Accessed date: 28.04.2011, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=1001696&keyfield=6F727461C3B6C49F726574696D206B7572756D6C6172C4B16E61206B6179C4B1746C617220322061C49F7573746F73

Z21: Zaman (11.11.2010), E-Rapor Uygulaması Suiistimallerin Önüne Geçer, Accessed date: 28.04.2011, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=1051796&keyfield=652D7261706F7220757967756C616D6173C4B1207375697374696D616C6C6572696E20C3B6

Z22: Altunsoy, İsmail (13.02.2010), 1 Liralık Şifreyle, Tüketici Şikayetleri İnternetten Mahkemeye Taşınacak, Accessed date: 28.04.2011, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=951081&keyfield=31206C6972616CC4B16B20C59F69667265796C65

Z23: Turan, Fatma (02.10.2010), Zaman, Şikayetinizi Yazın Başbakan Çözsün, Accessed date: 28.04.2011, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=1034607&keyfield=6261C59F62616B616E20C3A7C3B67A73C3BC6E

Z24: Zaman (03.02.2010), Tebligat Kanunu Değişiyor, Accessed date: 28.04.2011, Available from: http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=947704&keyfield=7465626C69676174206B616E756E75206465C49F69C59F69796F72

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C15: Cumhuriyet (27.05.2010), Hem Maliye Hem Vatandaş Kaybedecek, Accessed date: 02.05.2010, Available from: http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/?hn=143616

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H7: Sarıoğlu, Bülent (14.03.2010), "Hürriyet, Islak İmza Bitti E-yargı Yolda: En Kapsamlı E-devlet Projesi.".

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Appendix 2. Dimensions of discourse of government reform

2.1. Positive discourses

1. Discourse of government reform
   a. Decreasing red-tape
      i. Decreasing distance between the government and citizens
   b. Savings
      i. Time savings
      ii. Monetary savings
      iii. Personnel savings
   c. Convenience in government service provision
      i. Convenience for citizens
      ii. Convenience for government
   d. Improvement in service quality
      i. Improvement in service expedience
      ii. Improvement in service efficiency (efficient use of resources)
      iii. Improvement in decreasing administrative errors
   e. Process & information reliability
      i. Process reliability & validity
      ii. Confidentiality of personal information
      iii. Document reliability
   f. Security
      i. Decrease in crime
      ii. Establishing public order
   g. Citizen-centered service
      i. Citizen participation in decision-making
      1. Governance
      ii. Increase in citizen awareness
      iii. Strengthening democratic processes
      iv. Citizen auditing of government
   h. Transparency and anti-corruption efforts
   i. Decrease in miscounduct
      ii. Decrease in fraud
      i. Increase in government accountability
   j. Multidimensional reform
   k. Provision of justice
   l. New personnel deployment
   m. Registering institutional memory
   n. Increasing competition for resources

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