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MA in International Relations

The Place of Politics in the Digital Age

Masters thesis written under the supervision of

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Pécs

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Introduction

At this time in which we live the second quarter of the 21st century, Politics is in our lives more than ever. Perhaps, it would be more accurate to say that it is in a device that we carry in our pocket every day. The uninhibited nature of human beings has probably never experienced this degree of "*interconnectedness*" at any time in history. Human relations, which are trying to keep up with the technology that changes at the speed of light, have undergone a great evolution. At this time, which we call the Information and Communication Age, it is fact that positive sciences have been changing profoundly. However, it is important to note that, also the social sciences having showed an exponential alteration. Dozens of new concepts such as digitalism, cyber society, cyber security, social media, cyber war, digital army, hacking, cyber space and many more come into our lives. In connection with that, the most well-known political concepts, such as political sphere, civil society and even democracy have been recreating themselves while they continue their journey with humankind through history. Therefore, political sciences have been trying to find a place for themselves in this world called "Big Data". Indeed, most of the time it does reach its aim. And, moreover, it can even control this big ocean.

The purpose of writing this thesis is to analyze which axes and how much politics can respond to the change that has a dizzying effect. At this time, which is also called the Digital Age, where even the state-citizen relationship can fit on a small screen, the digitalization of Politics, the position of the concepts of state and democracy in this change sometimes occur as difficult to comprehend. On the contrary, it, sometimes expresses itself simply by putting it behind a symbol called hashtag or showing itself as a virus in the veins of governments.

In the first part of the thesis, the historical journey of the Digital Age will be mentioned and under what conditions it has managed to come until today will be analyzed. In the second part, it will be discussed that whether the digital age has changed politics and if it has, what kinds of results have been occurred. It will look at this discussion from a sociopolitical perspective. Then, the most famous social media tools will be examined by using various literatures and statistics with analysis. In the third part of the thesis, the importance of the concept of cyber security in terms of international relations will be analyzed and how politics reacted against two prominent phenomenons will be discussed.

Finally, after making a general summarize of information of the thesis, the results will be conveyed in the conclusion section.

1. The Beginning of the Digital Age

It is crucial to grasp that in the history of humanity there has not been such an example of an age that people live in now from the perspective of political, economical, social-cultural and technological sight. The last hundred years of the digital and technological advances have had a drastic impact on every dynamics of the World Politics and have changed society deeply in an unprecedented level thanks to the power and speed of the adaptation of people and governments. The way people network, the way people consume any context and the way people entertain themselves have profoundly been changed as well.

It is a fact that since the beginning of the history of humanity, the advancements of the technology have not stopped. Indeed, in this long term nothing has ever happened easily and advancements were both simple and complex connections considering the relationship, between, for instance, human and the invention of fire, wheel, writing, trade, money, tribes, kingdoms, empires etc… However, as it was mentioned above, none of the ages has ever been able to accomplish as much as this age has been doing so. In no time, people have been connected each other as today. In no time, anything has ever been so easy to reach as it is today. Most importantly, the pace of technological advances are significantly rapid that it can be said that in our times, one year of development on science around the world is equal to a hundred years of development of humanity within the information age. For instance, if one would like to divide the history of humanity, not by traditional way but considering digital revolution, then the seriousness of the leap-forward of the communication of the politics could be seen clearly, and it could be observed that the patterns of the sociopolitical dynamics have altered / transformed more deeply than any other possible categorization. If one would like to understand how the whole process have been resulted as it is today and it has been resulting still, it might be important to travel in time, in retrospect, and look in to how, why and by whom it has been started.

Considering the brief history of technology, it would be convenient to divide it in to three main categories; *Technological eras* and *types of technology*. The reason behind this division is to give a framework of the background of the development that has been going

on today. Another reason is that, it would be easier to connect all these developments to politics and / or political philosophy once the background is known.

Regarding the *technological eras*, this topic consists two main types of history; One is pre-modern history which has less to do with digital age obviously, however, it refers the very beginning; prehistoric, stone age, neolithic revolution, bronze age, Iron age and lastly ancient times. In these technological eras very basic inventions such as fire, wheel, writing, tools for hunting etc. were founded. History of the people started with these ages. Following that modern history has started with; first industrial revolution, standardization, second industrial revolution, machine age, atomic age, jet age, space age and it is continue with digital revolution, digital transformation, information age, fourth industrial revolution lastly emerging technologies. The time span in between first industrial revolution and space age is staring from second half of 18th century and ended somewhere between 1950 and 1970 -it is also important that space age had begun with Sputnik 1 in 1957-. Actually, it is hard to distinguish eras from one another or to give an exact name to the era that is current because all these ages, starting from space age and is continuing with emerging technologies, consist of each other and one cannot exist without another. So to say that until the second half of 20th century it is hard to talk about a real digital revolution or digital age. Nevertheless, the relation between technology and politics has always been connected to each other. However this connection has been causing much more profound alteration in socio-politic life nowadays than before.

Concerning the second category, *types of technologies* which does consist of, consecutively , history of agriculture, biotechnology, **communication**, computer hardware, electrical engineering, manufacturing, materials science, measurements, medicine, nuclear technology, and transport. Amongst these features, the relation between digitalism - digital age and political philosophy has been affected mostly by the developments of communication technology. Adding to that, digitalism have recreated the perception of International Relations and all types of diplomacy channels. To make it clear, **information and communication technologies** (ICTs) have affected every political domain deeply more than any other elements.

In the first part of the first chapter of the thesis, general information will be given about the historical development of the Digital Age from the last quarter of the 19th century to the 21st century; Then, in the second title of the chapter, the Mosaic

phenomenon will be analyzed and the position of the World in the 21st century will be evaluated.

1.1 A Brief History of Digitalism

It would not be a mistake to start the history of digitalism with Thomas Alva Edison. A "progressive Vote Recorder" was the main creation on which Thomas Edison was conceded a patent. In 1869, Edison freighted his gadget to Washington, D.C., to exhibit it to a congressional board, anticipating that they should commend its effectiveness. The manner in which the machine worked, congressmen required uniquely to close a switch at their work area, and their vote would be recorded and tallied by the vote recorder, arranged on the assistant's work area (Josephson, 1959, 65f.). Utilizing this brilliant gadget, administrative move call could be finished in only minutes, successfully closing up hauled out congressional sessions. Causing Edison a deep sense of dismay, the crowd of congressional pioneers dismissed the vote recorder, censuring it as a foe of minorities who intentionally endeavor to pick up advantage by changing votes or delaying enactment. As opposed to hailing it as a significant guide to assist the administrative procedure, its doubters respected its very speed and proficiency as a weapon against minorities. In an enormous and rambling republic—in a political get together specifically or in the open circle when all is said in done—bunches that are little in numbers or slight in impact need time to convince huge quantities of individuals of the value of their motivation. The more proficient the methods for goals of political issues, regularly the less invaluable this procedure becomes to the individuals who are dwarfed or on the edges of society. Except if these gatherings have significant budgetary methods either to communicate their messages to a wide crowd or to purchase impact, they are entrusted to advancing their issues piecemeal. Therefore, they need time and community space moderately liberated from the infringement of officeholder political power and corporate impact to communicate as the need should arise to potential disciples to their causes. Edison's vote recorder, while it was effective, had significant entailments, not the least of which were the unintended outcomes and misappropriations coming about because of its application to the domain of open undertakings (Wilhem, 2000, p. 1). The total impact of creations, for example, the vote recorder, where the general impacts of advances are lost in the happiness over their very oddity, is seen in the improvement of numerous innovations—especially, for our motivations, when they are applied to interchanges in the open circle. At the unfolding of

the twentieth century, a vanguard development called Futurism caught the excitement of the primary machine age, making way for a great part of the rapture over the speed, discontinuities, and essentialness related with current advancements. Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, the pioneer of this development, saw in the speed of trains, planes, and power a changing vitality and clean quality that would gather up the flotsam and jetsam of the past: "put your trust in Progress, which is in every case right in any event, when it isn't right, since it is development, life, battle, trust" ([1909] 1991, 90). What this confidence added up to was a renouncement of the innovations of the past and a grasp of curiosity. In 1933 Marinetti, alongside his associate Pino Masnata, distributed the "Futurist Radiophonic Theater," a statement magnifying another type of execution focused on the radio. This imaginative type of theater included quick semantic movements, austere language, and degrees of brokenness that celebrated in trouncing set up creative structures, for example, theater, movies, and writing (Kirby, 1971)(2000, pg 2).

By the mid-1930s, these thoughts had moved to sociology and strategy talks commending the political capability of developing radio telecom. For instance, Glenn Frank, leader of the University of Wisconsin, proposed in 1935 that "the instrument of radio . . . will tend so as to give us another sort of statesman and another sort of voter" (1935, p. 120), one who "must ace the craft of straightforwardness and lucidity" (p. 121). An increasingly curt, shortened talk, ordinary of the transmit and radio, some way or another hails as more helpful for popular government than earlier types of correspondence, as indicated by Frank, since audience members apparently would (as for political talk) all the more deftly separate the good product from the debris. Obviously, this radiophonic transformation has not happened, in any event in the manner in which its initial advocates had imagined. Open authorities and national pioneers, instead of collecting broadcasting to edify and lead the general population, are progressively parasitic on media aggregates whose market goals wrench them out of joint with the requirements of a law based society (Derrida 1994; R. McChesney 1997a, 1997b; Schiller 1989, 1996). The present forecasts about electronic mail and the Internet reverberation the predictions of mid twentieth-century Futurists who invested worldwide telecommunication and radiophonics, symbolized by Marconi's transoceanic broadcast, with the ability to introduce another time in administration. In 1922 the Russian Futurist Kornei Chukovsky proposed that cutting edge life has made the transmitted individual, whose compacted, shortened, and coagulated

language has brought about the conserving of the English language "into a quick, transmitted language" (cited in White 1990, p. 143). Chukovsky accepted that it was America that was to a great extent answerable for the transmitted individual in its mutable grasp of new innovations combined with its casual and unconstrained way to deal with governmental issues. A tantamount "Americanization" of talk is happening with electronic mail as carefully intervened interchanges show themselves as to a great extent simple, succinct, or transmitted in nature. Regardless of whether this is an outgrowth basically of the speed and volume of such correspondences or of an American sound nibble culture stays indistinct. Notwithstanding, what is genuine is that contemporary political scholars (Taylor & Saarinen, 1994), strategy scientists (Neu, Anderson, and Bikson, 1998), and savants of virtual legislative issues (Dyson et al. 1994) are over-sanguine in review email and the Internet in a similar light as Glenn Frank saw radio—specifically, as consequently steady of an increasingly hearty open circle (2000, p. 3).

1.2 Where is the World Now

Obviously the numerical reason for computerized innovation has existed for a long time. The principal advanced innovation was mechanical, with gadgets, for example, the math device and hence increasingly convoluted ascertaining machines. Computerized correspondence has included semaphore, Morse code, and so on. Step by step the innovation has moved from mechanical to electrical establishments. In the nineteenth century, the "Victorian Internet" was conceived in the th type of the transmit (Standage, 1999), In twentieth century, hardware permitted miniaturization and tremendous increments in preparing and correspondence speed and comparatively amazing decreases in cost, together with improved hypothetical comprehension (Bowen, 2012). The utilization of innovation for workmanship bit by bit followed. This was postponed by the high-cost of advanced innovation at first, yet as this dropped drastically, its utilization for aesthetic purposes turned out to be progressively conceivable (Brown et al. 2008). The microchip unrest began during the 1970s (Evans, 1979) permitted calculation to be available in the home utilizing the PC during the 1980s. The approach of the Internet empowered worldwide computerized correspondence at first for the cognoscenti[1] and recently with the coming of the easy to utilize World Wide Web from the 1990s, for

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[1] A group of people who have a great knowledge and understanding of a particular subject, especially one of the arts. More information is available at
https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/cognoscenti

enormous quantities of the general overall populace (Berners-Lee,1999)(Bowen, Giannini, 2014, p. 1).

In March 1993, a gathering of undergrads at the University of Illinois posted a little bit of programming onto the Internet. The program was called Mosaic, and it was the world's first graphical Web program. Preceding Mosaic, the World Wide Web, imagined a couple of years beforehand by an English physicist working in Geneva, was nevertheless one of various applications that ran over the Internet. Mosaic made a huge difference. Unlike the unwieldy content based projects that had gone before it, Mosaic made the Web a brilliant and welcoming medium that anybody could explore. The Internet was before long changed from an asylum for nerds and scholastics into the quickest developing interchanges innovation ever. The arrival of Mosaic was the beginning weapon for the Internet insurgency. Mosaic was immediately popularized as the Netscape program, and Netscape's open stock contribution in 1995 introduced the Internet securities exchange bubble. In any case, nearly from the minute that it turned into a mass medium, the Internet was viewed as something beyond an approach to patch up trade and the act of business. Its most significant guarantee, numerous uproariously proclaimed, was political. New wellsprings of online data would make residents increasingly educated about governmental issues. New types of Internet sorting out would help enroll beforehand dormant residents into political support (Hindman, 2009, pg. 1). The Cyberspace would turn into a vigorous discussion for political discussion. The transparency of the Internet would permit residents to contend with writers for the creation and dispersal of political data (2009, pg. 2).

Negroponte (1995) presented "the idea of Being Digital" in his foresighted book. He thought about the requirement for moving iotas (material products, yet in addition transports of data, for example, paper) with the a lot less expensive and quicker utilization of electrons for correspondence. McLuhan (1962, 1992) likewise anticipated a considerable lot of the media changes that we have seen over ongoing decades, particularly as for progressively close electronic availability (Bowen, Giannini 2014, pg. 2).

Ten years and a half after "Mosaic" changed the Internet, many battle that in any event part of the Internet's political guarantee has been satisfied. Those contending that the Internet is changing legislative issues originate from the more elite classes of governmental issues, news coverage, open strategy, and law. Howard Dean battle chief Joe Trippi radiates that "the Internet is the most democratizing advancement we've at any point seen,

more so even than the print machine" (2005, p. 235). The Internet's expanding significance might be the main thing that Trippi and Bush-Cheney crusade director Ken Mehlman concur on. The key exercise of the 2004 battle, as per Mehlman, is that "innovation has broken the syndication of the three [television] systems," and "rather than having one spot where everybody gets data, there are a huge number of spots" (cited in Crowe, 2005) (2014, p. 2)..

During the 2000s, Web 2.0 permitted progressively increasingly social connection – e.g., through web journals (Beazley, 2010) – with immense new advanced organizations, for example, Facebook, Twitter, and so on., growing quickly. Publicly supporting, swarm subsidizing, and so on., got possible, even with regards to expressions and exhibition halls (Black et al. 2010). Presently during the 2010s we are in a state where computerized innovation is omnipresent in cutting edge current society with cell phones empowering access to the Internet from anyplace (Filippini-Fantoni and Bowen, 2008). Indeed, even in more unfortunate societies, the expense is at a level where the utilization of advanced gadgets, for example, portable and now PDAs is progressively conceivable (2014, pg. 1).

In this day and age, the *digitalization* of individuals is about pervasive in cutting edge social orders where nearly everybody who wants a cell phone can bear to have one. The window this gives to the individual any place that are is an elective type of correspondence and cooperation with the world that never again relies upon land closeness or area What is more, clients wish to record their genuine encounters and offer them with their carefully associated companions and others. This wonder is particularly predominant with regards to expressions of the human experience where clients are encountering a conceivably significant and to them extraordinarily customized experience that they wish to speak with others not co-situated with them or put something aside for conceivable later use. An outrageous model is The Mona Lisa in the Louver, Paris. Here, an ocean of individuals are kept are some good ways from the article itself by the exhibition hall specialists, for security and maybe wellbeing reasons. The image turns into a special stepped area to those present. The perspective on the item itself is far more terrible that could be gotten on the web, for instance, through the Art Project of the Google Cultural Institute the watchers are within the sight of the genuine item itself and wish to record this experience. In this way, an ocean of cell phones, tablet gadgets, and some advanced cameras are held over-top by the group to catch what by and large with be a somewhat

vague computerized picture of the physical picture (Figure 2: and Figure 3:). This might be showed to companions via web-based networking media, watched later to recall the experience, or quite possibly never seen again by a human eye. (2014, p. 2).

Figure 2: Viewing Mona Lisa (Louvre, Paris)

Considerably more incredibly, during EVA London 2013 at the stage entryway of one of the London theaters, a group encompassed the stage entryway in expectation, again with an ocean of arms, computerized gadgets, and unclear pictures of the entryway region recorded for family. However for this situation, the object of worship was not even there. Daniel Radcliffe, so-called Harry Potter, was expected to leave after a West End execution, however had not yet really showed up. Every one of that was being recorded was an unfilled entryway (Figure 3:) (2014, p. 2).

In the light of these figures and information above, the question of "New Media = New Politics" is likely to be raised. From here, it would not be a mistake to state that the people's perception of reality has been changed by newly emerged digital media tools. According to Chen (2013, p. 13), cycles of development and practices has empowered to improve the institutional characteristics of digital media; structural barriers and enablers. That defining means that every development and innovative steps are likely to bring new challenges to the digital world. However, the amount of time that a user would spent to understand or to integrate, or a developer to adopt new ways to answer the challenge, is so short that the recreation process of media could continuously develop itself and create close relationship with politics.

2. Current Status of Politics in the Digital Age

Whether it is the national political stage or international political stage, none of the politicians are able to do any campaign, execute any policy, manage any military action without *the consent of the people*. This consent had been manufactured by conventional / traditional ways for centuries. Nowadays, almost every prominent political figure has an account on mainstream social mediums such as Twitter or Facebook. Now, politics is using the power of direct communication with people. And, this is not only restricted with citizens, politics has power to reach beyond the borders to win hearts and minds. In every aspects of politics such as diplomacy, geopolitics, and even military, the power of ICTs has been one of the most important instrument of governments for any interest that they aim to achieve.

Another side to the coin, the power of the Internet cannot be evaluated by only its power to reach masses directly. The Internet has become a field where governments should defend national interest against the threats that might come from any other actors in international and internal relations.

Today, it is a fact that the process of integration into the digital age concerns not only the countries but also the individuals. At this time, when the state-individual relationship has changed rapidly, it is very important to make correct analysis. In this sense, it will be useful in many respects to see where democracy, which is a result of the civilization level of our age, stood in this process. In this context, how the concept of civil society, which is one of the indispensable key elements of democracy, communicates with the digital age is another subject that should be addressed.

In this second part of the thesis, which will be presented as two subtitles, it will be discussed how the digital age transformed politics into a recreational vehicle. Then, the sociopolitical and statistical analysis of the four major media platforms that still maintain their popularity and power will be done punctually. The aim of this section is to explain where these digital platforms come from almost all people's homes, pockets, and "screens", to observe what effects they have on people's social lives by giving examples from different parts of the world, and finally, how they change the communication of the policy on the individual-state. This provision can be an important value for understanding the present day, also called the fourth industrial era. In addition, a wide range of literature

will be used, from authors who follow the digital age to those who have left a mark on political sociology, and analysis of these literature will be supported with examples.

2.1 How Has Digitalism Altered Politics into a Means of Entertainment

The topics to be covered in this section of the thesis present how the policy has turned into an entertainment medium. In order to clarify this issue, certain movement in Australia will be examined and the route will then be turned into Germany. These two countries will be examined in terms of the relationship of the state to the individual in order to justify the thesis itself. In this context, which role the Internet plays is of great importance. On the other hand, the reason why the route is translated into Germany is that the increasing extremist movement today is closely related to the *digital world*. More precisely, it is the home of the extremist movement on the Internet. In the case of Australia, on the contrary, a more liberal structure is observed. In addition, appropriate examples will be made not only from these two countries but also from other countries of the world.

After giving examples from the internal policies and their effects on citizen the, relationship of these two countries, all analyzes will be used in detail to make the result. This result will immediately be connected to some important feature of nowadays media tool and their usage for communication, for protests or any other action might be thought of.

It is a crucial point that the alteration of the aspects and the elements of the contemporary Politics cannot be think as an independent field from the whole process of historical / societal changes that have been happening until this very day. In order to understand the pattern of the political machinery one should be aware of that fact that there has been a profound changes in the world while everything has been staying as simple as it was before. Fundamentally it is inane to suggest that alterations and simplicity do not contain complexity in it. From various perspectives that might be accepted as true. Therefore an explanation to this conflict is a necessity.

In order to understand the connections between politics, entertainment, simplicity of the past and complexity of nowadays, the comparisons of the past and of the current time have crucial importance. Consider an individual who lives a long way from today's technology. Apart from following the rules of the community that this individual belongs

to, individual also has his own unique rationality for his struggle for survival. The individual has to live his own rationality and live according to the norms of the society in which he is a member. Otherwise, he will be excluded by his community and his chances of survival will decrease. From a political perspective, this person has determined a policy for the purpose of survival in order to elaborate and understand the issue. This policy is neither independent of the community it is in, nor is it one's own characteristics. In such a micro-story, entertaining cannot be mentioned in this person's policy of two variables, so as not to contradict the nature of the action of survival. The meaning of entertaining here is the freedom to live a personal and communal life without thinking about the consequences of one's actions. The goal-path or goal-policy relation are seen here can be called the most primitive policy. This primitive relationship has undergone a great and profound change over time. A new instrument has been added to the most primitive individual-society-policy relationship, considering the consequences of each socio-cultural / historical event that has taken place from yesterday to today: "**Politics**" has emerged as "**a means of entertainment**". The answer of how has it happened is hidden in the communicational power of individual with the government. Nowadays, except some underdeveloped or developing countries, individuals are creating / recreating their ways of communication by transforming their identity into digital world. Most of the people are using different digital medias and / or sources in order to complete their daily tasks. Especially, today, most people are able to solve their government affairs without taking a step out of their homes, using their android phones or computers. Of course, they are able to access these services from applications that their state has built specifically using professional teams. For example, they can learn about government-related daily paperwork, follow-up case files filed against them, changing exchange rates, military status, tax liabilities and even weather. Of course, all these conveniences are one of the benefits of digitalization, or more precisely, the digitalization of this age called fourth industrialization. One of the blessings of this digital relationship is that it quickly resolves official relations with the individual state, does not allow bulky bureaucracy and tons of paperwork, thus saving both parties from a significant expense. On the other hand, the relationship between the state and the individual has other consequences. If one of these is necessary, it is the ability of the individual to announce to the state and the state to the individual more transparently, openly and fearlessly. If it goes a little further, the relationship between the state of any

country and its own citizen, if it is so, will become more flexible and suitable for an environment that can find wide coverage in the international media. In order to facilitate the concrete sampling and understanding of this relationship, it may be a good step to observe Australian Politics and how it keeps pace with the digital age by becoming a means of entertaining. Moreover, how the online media tools has become the bulwark of communication of politics.

2.1.1. Footsteps of a Search for Rights

Peter John Chen (2013), in his book, does suggest that there is a strong connection within the communication of the government and individuals, or in another saying, political participants. He is giving an example of how Australian citizens made Australian High Court changed a law which previously had hindered young Australians to voice themselves (2013, p. 1):

> *In the days before the 2010 federal election, 'progressive' online public interest advocacy group GetUp! took a legal challenge to the Australian High Court. Based on concerns of its members that reforms to electoral enrollment laws made under the previous Coalition government had unfairly disenfranchised younger Australians in 2006, the group mobilized legal resources and supporters to successfully change the law.*

In here, it can be seen clearly that an online media tool was used, as a communication instrument of members of mentioned online platform, to inform and to push the government to change a law. Moreover, he continues as:

> *Similarly, the organization forced the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) to accept online enrollment, setting up an online system to aid in the registration of voters — a direct intervention in the management of elections (2013, pg. 1.; Hopewell, 2010). This group, which had formed only five years previously, suddenly became a significant voice in Australian electoral politics. GetUp! moved from a focus on media campaigns to actions which directly altered Australian electoral law, the operations of the AEC, and the electoral balance in a year that was marked by a knife-edge electoral contest.*

From second example, it can be understood that this online group maintained its existence and, along the way, they became more powerful than before that it had a direct

power to change Australian electoral law. Again, according to Chen (2013, pg. 2), many Australians increasingly see online media as a source of political knowledge. The reason for this stems from the "mediation" feature of the policy. Considering the fact that politics is an art of mediation and reconciliation, it would be wise to consider the tendency of the media to be one of the most important tools in today's political environment. In this context, it will be necessary to separate traditional TV politics from Internet politics, so to speak. One of the biggest reasons for this is the interactive nature of technology. Here, the expression of the interactive nature of technology means that individuals have the freedom to express themselves politically and more clearly than before. For example, online forums, blogs, interactive social web areas can be given. Indeed, the power of political memes[2] should not be underestimated as well. Here, the expression of the interactive nature of technology means that individuals have the freedom to express themselves politically and more clearly than before. For example, online forums, blogs, interactive social web areas can be given. In addition, there is another important point that should not be overlooked: "speed". To illustrate this, consider the time when online media tools are not as common as they are today. There were limited resources for a citizen to access political information. If they are counted; radio, television, communication of people in daily life and printed media (newspapers, magazines, etc.). With these tools, people could learn what was going on in their own country or in other countries. Today, as with most publications, it was more in the past, while political knowledge was reaching citizens, so to speak, it was under state control. Of course, the conditions are progressing this way today. However, at this point, it is a fact that the speed of communication, freedom and lack of boundaries are higher. In this context, unlike the old time, a new actor is involved in the communication of the individual with the state: the individual himself. Furthermore, this participation is referring how marvelous the speed of contemporary politics. At this point, it would be correct to give the following two examples: The first is the protest which was happened in Canada in April 2011 (2013, p. 2; BBC, 2011). According to BBC News, a police officer, Michael Sanguinetti, was speaking to students about health and safety at Osgoode Hall Law School in Toronto. Not knowing that the sentences he used at the time would turn into two major protests, he made the following words: "I've been told I'm not

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2   A cultural feature or a type of behavior that is passed from one generation to another, without the influence of genes. More information is available at:
    https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/meme

supposed to say this - however, women should avoid dressing like sluts in order not to be victimized.". Although he later apologized, he did not prevent the public from going down the street. Despite all this, the police officer continued to serve even though he had been dispatched to the disciplinary committee. This speech of this police officer caused almost 3,000 people to go down on streets in Toronto, and, almost 2,000 people to protest in Boston. Chen does illustrates this speech of this police officer as " a paternal and patriarchal comment" and defining these protests as "colorful" (2013. p. 2). The second is the protest in Australia one month later (2013, p. 2; Craig, 2011). In this protest, in Melbourne, people from all segments, came together and argued that rape was not because of the clothes they wore. Another feature of this protest is that young people constitute the majority in the protest. Chen does analyze this protest with these words (p. 2):

> ...a new generation of young women identify that the personal is political and attempt to reclaim words that control and interpellate women. The rapid movement of ideas and culture serves as a new reservoir for the knowledge and traditions of social movements outside of their organizational contexts.

In the light of interpretations of these protest, it could be said that there are two main common features of these gatherings: First thing is that, in this day and age, regardless it is a speech given in a school or a speech given to mass, the spread of information cannot be limited. In particular, any explanation or speech, if it tells people about their lifestyle, how to dress, how they eat, judges their morality, and, worse, if these statements come from an official ,working on behalf of the state under the state authority, the reactions and protests that will take place are very likely to happen rapidly. To further elaborate, these protests have a direct discourse on how women should live. At this point, thousands of people who were informed via the various kinds of online media tools took to the streets. And these protests not only took place one after another, but happened very quickly. Secondly, it took place far from hosting any violence in these protests. As the author has stated above, the protests took place in a colorful manner and with the enthusiasm of the festival. People have criticized the conservative rhetoric that they have been given by the authority, with colorful, extraordinary, and sometimes erotic clothes. More interestingly, many women from the conservative side showed their support to these protests.

In the light of the way how protests started and the way how they continued, an authoritarian disclosure was counter-attacked by an answer. This answer was far from being a customary, traditional, and serious. On the contrary, it was cheering, colorful, contagious and perhaps harmless in a sense. The important point to understand here is that. although this rhetoric is sexist and involves a certain ideology, this protest has remained far from a serious uprising, on the contrary it has become a source of entertainment for people. Thus, it might be said that, these incidents showed how strong the the current online media tools in terms of speed and spread as well as its interference in political movements, moreover, how a political hate speech turned into a means of entertaining. Nevertheless, there is another side to the coin.

2.1.2 The Home of Extremism: Inter-web

Michael Moore (2018) includes a different example in his book. Although this example involves the transformation of politics into an entertainment medium, it does not hesitate to raise serious and hate speech in terms of its elements. This example is more of an impressive movement than an pursuit of rights, which shows how the imposition of an ideology affects the German elections. Before the Bundestag Elections (September 2017), a group of German extremists were pursuing a strategy online to support the far-right "Alternative für Deutschland" (AfD) and reduce the votes of their main rivals. More than five thousand of them were members of a private, anonymous Internet chat channel called Reconquista Germania (p. 3). There, they were discussing how to use technology to coordinate their activities, how to take the agenda on social media, how to call resident politicians, how to attack the mainstream media, how to synchronize social network, raids and how to normalize hate, prejudicial political discourses. After a long preparation, the group announced to the public that it would "open a breast war against the half races in parliament". "Blitzkrieg Against the Old Parties!" One of the members proclaimed online. Der Spiegel, this event got its heading like "Right-wing activist take aim at German election!" (Konstantin von H., Roman Höfner & Marcel Rosenbach, 2017) . In a separate Internet channel called #Infokrieg or #Infowar, there were chat rooms devoted to developing extremist political propaganda and discussing strategies for using Twitter. At this point it might be crucial to give an instance on how some personal accusation might trigger a whole hatred campaign and might turn a digital war. For this reason it is

important to understand the nature of this war of extremist towards the others. Spiegel International is giving the details as follows:

> *Sarah Rambatz became a target early last week. In the internet, right-wing agitators declared open season on the young woman from Hamburg. "What do we do with brainwashed traitors?" asked a user on KrautChan, a web platform popular among right-wing online activists. "Simply getting rid of her isn't acceptable in a civilized society. Or is it?"*
>
> *The national spokesperson for the youth organization of the Left Party was hoping to become a member of Germany's federal parliament, the Bundestag, but now her political career lies in ruins. She had asked on Facebook for "anti-German film recommendations." More specifically, she wrote: "Basically anything where Germans die." After the post went public, her campaign ended. She is no longer seeking a seat.*

In this part above, it is clearly seen from here; while waiting to be a member of the German Federal Parliament, the discourse she shared in a social media area suddenly causes Rambatz's career to end. However this would not be the only income of this shared post on Facebook. Furthermore, in the part of "Blitzkrieg Against the Old Parties" of the mentioned article, Reconquista Germanica was screaming about annihilating the members of Green Party and of raiding Der Spiegel's offices. Additionally, on the online display board of the website "4chan", Extremists were creating an impressive library with slogans ready to spread to social media. According to Buzzfeed's report, extremists published information that included how to make the videos posted on Youtube "viral" (Schmehl, K., Mboundza, S., Lytvynenko, J. & Broderick, R., 2017). Some of these images were using Japanese animated characters and many included Frog Pepe[3], Others did not hesitate to use anti-Nazi and Jewish images. . On the other hand, researchers at the Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD) reported that "psychological operations resources" were shared by members of this group for use in the 2017 German election campaign. And with these sources, they found that the extremists were connected. What was intended with these operations resources was to demonstrate step-by-step manipulation methods and to apply online deception (Davey, J. & Ebner J., 2017).

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3   A very well-known meme character that is widely being used in social forums, websites. For more information, please wisit: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/08/pepe-the-frog-creator-kills-off-internet-meme-co-opted-by-white-supremacists

Although they did not have a large number of members, extremists had a distorting and damaging effect on federal elections (Moore, 2018, p. 4). First, they failed a candidate waiting to join the Federal Assembly. They brought up "nationalist" videos on YouTube trend lists. Using their numbers, they spread the far-right discourse in all social channels. In the researches carried out two weeks before the elections, ISD discovered that; "#AfD was necessarily the first or second in the trend lists every day. The aim was not only to mobilize the extreme right, but also to militarize online political discourse, drown out other voices and participate in mainstream parties. In the beginning of September, while these groups were not very active, AfD was at the fifth place according to the polls. . In the election, it came in third place, which won 13.3% of the vote, exceeding most polls and expectations, and pressure of these groups were allowed a far-right party to enter the Bundestag for the first time since 1961 (p. 4).

In here, it can be clearly seen that large number of social platforms were used as a tool to affect elections. All incidents were ignited by a defender of the opposite ideology and her post shared on a particular e-platform. On the one hand, one side which was supporting an extremist ideology declared solidarity, created, so to speak, a digital army. They did not raid on the street, they were not involved any street protests, but in a digital sphere they were everywhere. Despite the fact that governments of Germany have been trying to reduce the extremist disclosures, exclamations since WWII, a group of people managed to change the destiny of an election by using dialect of post-modern humor which is called meme. Furthermore, they used the power of politics and humor by combining them in a digital world. In addition to that, it would not be false to assert that they reached more people in comparison if they would have raid on the street in order to catch hearts and minds of whom were supporting extremist ideas in a hidden way by not revealing themselves in public. This example does unearth the power of politics and its transformation to entertainment, on purpose of normalizing any idea that can be imagined.

All things considered, in order for the analysis of these examples to be better understood, it is useful to state the following points. It is a fact that humor about great suffering requires great attention. At the point where historical suffering meets politics, things get harder. Until this time, especially for Germany, "How many people would have imagined that the extremist views that were the reason for the history they wanted to erase from their memories could be blended and normalized with humor and politics?" It is not

easy to find the answer to the question. However, perhaps, the reason behind of the outcome of this election is connected with one of the significant boons of technology, "anonymity" and, perhaps, is related with one of the remarkable benefits of anonymity, "unlimited freedom of expression". However, it is also a fact that these boon and benefit might be misused ant might lead to unwanted incidents to be happened. Indeed, the for some, the very first two protests above served for a good reason whereas for conservatives it was an unpleasant movements. On the other hand, extremist to interfere the election by using by using ICTs for the purpose of manipulation might be advocated by some others, whereas, perhaps but likely, it is one of the most unpalatable interference for the pluralists, in this day and age.

Conclusively, there are again two common points are significant and worth to consider that the alteration power of digital media which has been turning politics into a means of entertainment, relatively, and, indeed, its unprecedented speed, rapidness, flexibility for be reached and strength for reaching hearts and minds. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that guns do not kill people, people do.

2.2 Politics and Digital Actors: Four Horsemen of the Digital Age; Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, WikiLeaks

In this time period called the Information and Communication Age, it is important to closely examine the speed of development of technology and industry, and its relationship with the speed of socio-cultural and socio-economic development. For this reason, it will not be wrong in terms of political science to state that the effects of this speed should be taken into account in the state-citizen relationship factor.

In this time period called the Information and Communication Age, it is important to closely examine the transformation of development of technology and industry, and its relationship with the speed of socio-cultural and socio-economic development. These digital transformations have created new challenges and opportunities for politicians, journalists, political institutions, and the (legacy) media from Internet regulation to reconnecting and engaging with citizens and audiences (Schwanholz & Graham, 2018, p.1). For this reason, it will not be wrong in terms of political science to state that the effects of this speed should be taken into account in the state-citizen relationship factor. It is a fact that today, the technological tool, called computer, reaches more than a traditional typewriter can do.

However, for a long time, this vehicle, which people can only use from their home, has become smaller enough to fit in a pocket of a pants today. While its size is getting smaller, its function has improved and there is no limit to what this tool will offer to people in the name of information. According to Statista (O'dea S., 2020), the current number of smartphone users in the world today is 3.5 billion, and this means 45.04% of the world's population does have a smartphone. This figure is increased considerably from 2016 when there were only 2.5 billion users, more than one third of that year's global population. Considering information above, it can be said that, today, 3.5 billion people in the world carry the power to reach all the information collected in the time period from the beginning of human history until today. Indeed, that is the only the top of the Iceberg. If other smart devices including today's computers, tablets, smart televisions, smart watches, smart glasses are considered, then, maybe the question of how the World's interconnectedness is devastating might be understood in a wide scale. Nevertheless, there is another question should be added to that. What does provide information to people? Why are these devices and tools called as "smart"? The answer for these questions is "websites". In this day and age, they are called "Social Platforms". And, amongst them there are for distinguished elements appear: Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and WikiLeaks. It is a fact that, today, they are playing a crucial role in the World Politics. Nowadays, it is almost impossible to think about a political campaign which they are not involved. In order to elaborate this topic, it would be convenient to look closer to th statistics of these media tools.

YouTube was created in California, United States in 2005, serving nearly two billion users today. The only social network that has more monthly active users than YouTube is Facebook (Mohsin, 2019). Facebook was launched in 2004 as a website aimed at bringing together students at Harvard University and today serves two and a half billion users a month, in addition, it has more than one and a half million active users daily (Sehl, 2019). Twitter was founded in California in 2006. It serves people with 145 million active users daily and 330 million monthly. 63 percent of all Twitter users worldwide are between 35 and 65 (Lin, 2019). WikiLeaks is a multi-national media organization and associated library. It was founded by its publisher Julian Assange in 2006. WikiLeaks specializes in the analysis and publication of large datasets of censored or otherwise restricted official

materials involving war, spying and corruption. It has so far published more than 10 million documents and associated analyses.[4]

As seen above, the number of people reached by the mentioned social media platforms is expressed in billions. If the use of smart phones per person and the users of these social media platforms are compared, a view emerges as follows: Each person using the smart device carries at least three of these platforms in his pocket. It would not be wrong to make a ditch from here: in the neo-liberal capitalist system we are in, whether it is a political ideology or an industrial product, anybody who wants to benefit from the return of an international communication must exist on these platforms. All actors outside these platforms have to join here sooner or later. At this point, it would be appropriate to apply to Barend and du Toit (2014) to support the stated argument. Barend and du Toit (p. 2, 3) explained the speed of development of communication technologies according to their servants with the following sentences:

> *Communications technologies, such as the plethora of social media platforms available, stand at the apex of a wave of technological innovation that has been compared to that of the Industrial Revolution. Driving this wave is the exponential increase in computing power, usually expressed in what is now called 'Moore's Law'. This is the observation made by Gordon Moore, co-founder of Intel, which states that the number of transistors that could be fitted onto a computer chip has doubled every 18 months from the time that the chip was invented up to the time of his writing in 1965.*

Later, the authors discussed the effects of this change on economy and democracy. Of course, at this point, when evaluating these effects, it would be correct to put developed and developing countries in this cluster. It is a fact that this fourth phase of the industrial revolution occurred on a global scale. In addition, considering today's inter-connectedness, all actors around the world have been affected very quickly. While analyzing this situation, Barend and du Toit stated that computer-driven machines hit the middle class economically, thus reducing job security and employment levels (p. 3). Unfortunately, these changes have caused instability. This instability specifically aimed at social cohesion. At this point, the authors, who characterize social cohesion as factors that provide stability

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4   For more information please visit: https://wikileaks.org/What-is-WikiLeaks.html

and permanence in democracies, pointed out that the bottom of the social base has been carved (p. 3).

At this point, an analysis can be concluded once again how wide, striking and profound the effects of social media are. These effects, as can be seen, almost occurred as if testing the understanding of democracy and the economy perspective. While explaining how these changes had an impact on the societies in which democracy settled, the authors pointed out the following important points (p. 3):

> *A screen culture has become omnipresent in those societies with saturation levels of penetration by the Internet. Such a culture affects social life in a fundamental way as it changes how people communicate and otherwise engage with one another. Digital social media, with Facebook, WeChat, Twitter and YouTube as leading examples, have become major global channels of communication, with ramifications for established democracies and their social bases – some positive, others disruptive.*

One of the important aspects of the above analysis is that it talks about what is called screen culture. When talking about screen culture, it would be a big mistake not to mention screen dependency. Screen addiction, which is one of the sociological findings covered by screen culture, is at a higher level today than ever before. Of course, the increased use of smart devices compared to the past indicates the naturalness of this situation. A study on this subject (Nashville, 2019) found that American citizens control their phones on average 96 times a day. This reveals that they look at their phones every ten minutes. This survey was conducted by tech-care company named Asurion. Likewise, in many countries of the world, special sidewalks have been built for people who cannot use their phones while walking. Another example comes from the BBC (2017). "Pavement lights guide 'smartphone zombies", the headline said in the news that the municipality has put a special light on the sidewalks in order to ensure that the phone users pass safely across the street. This situation reveals the size of people's screen dependencies. Moreover, it would be a big mistake not to mention Skeptics when talking about the destructive effects of social media. Robert McChesney (2013) takes advantage of important names in his book on how capitalism turns the Internet into democracy and presents its own analysis. Analysis of himself and the important names to be mentioned support Barend and du Toit. It would be appropriate to share all this information at this point. An important

name appears in McChesney's (p. 8, 9) book: Shaheed Nick Mohammed (2012). Mohammed responds to the argument that the Internet largely informs people. Said argument: "" the notion that these technologies and their popular modes of usage necessarily lead to more informed public." Mohammed says:" It is true that the Internet informs people today, but it is also a fact that it makes more ignorant than it informs." An approach supporting this argument comes from Mark Baurlein (2008). McChesney (p. 9.) cites Baurlein as follows:

Mark Bauerlein develops this point, noting that study after study confirms that young people today constitute "the dumbest generation," shockingly ignorant of civics, history, geography, science, literature, the works. To Bauerlein, the emergence of digital media is the main culprit in this sudden transformation. "Dwelling in a world of puerile banter and coarse images," they "are actively cut off" from world realities like no other generation.

In another analysis, McChesney (p. 11) makes a transfer as follows:

Skeptics argue that the emergence of Facebook and other social media, ironically enough, correlates with a marked increase in loneliness. An AARP study showed that the rate of loneliness in Americans over forty-five has nearly doubled in just the last decade. "Within this world of instant and absolute communication," Stephen Marche writes, "we have never been more detached from one another, or lonelier." Scholars term this the Internet paradox. "Our omnipresent new technologies lure us toward increasingly superficial connections," Marche writes, "at exactly the same moment they make avoiding the mess of human interaction easier." And the evidence is in: "loneliness" makes us miserable," leading to all sorts of health-related problems. Psychologist Larry Rosen argues that Internet addiction and/or obsession contributes to a wide- range of mental health problems.

In the light of all this information and analysis, a result emerges that, besides the economic and sociological consequences of the developing media tools, psychological vulnerabilities affect billions of people around the world. How much can these arguments have been linked to politics? The answer to this question, of course, is that politics does not fall outside of any scientific field. The effects of the digital age, which emerges in different ways every day, are of course not far from the interest of policy makers nor individuals.

Examples of this, as can be seen from the analysis, directly affect the economy and policy instruments.

However, there is another side to the coin. To say that these evolving media tools have only negative effects does not go beyond looking at it from one side. Therefore, at this point, it is of utmost importance to present the advantages and their analysis. Therefore, a return to Barend and du Toit is inevitable. Barend and du Toit (p. 3) say that social media enriches democracy. At this point, they use the example of democratic participation. It is pointed out that social media connects people globally as the reason for the enrichment of the fold. Individuals enjoy expressing themselves freely thanks to channels such as YouTube, Twitter, Facebook, WikiLeaks. This freedom of expression also includes full control over individuals' statements. If individuals' self-expression is perceived as one of the key components of democratic participation, it is seen that the freedom of individual expression occurs more than ever. This means that the individual expression is presented to public space efficiently more than ever (p. 3). On the other hand, the authors state that this situation may lead to misuse (p. 3): "It should be noted, however, that this capacity is a double-edged sword as it can also work to the detriment of democracy." Here, it is useful to state that despite the fact that the self expression of masses contribute to democracies, the structure of this type of expression should be considered cautiously. Indeed, there is another point to add that the possible ways of to make "mass-expression" should be examined. In here, the authors take attention and note that (p. 3): "There is, as yet, no effective way of converting such articulate mass self-expression by individuals into coherent forms that can mesh with established democratic institutions to serve as effective demands capable of shaping public policies."

At this point, it is crucial to take Twitter into consideration. It is a fact that, today, almost every leader has a Twitter account. Mostly, in the mainstream media, it is highly likely to a statement of policy makers. In this connection, it would not be wrong to say that, as a social media platform, Twitter has also become a channel of constructing and controlling unit of the communication of the government. In addition to that, it has emerged as a new tool of diplomacy. In order to understand the nature of Twitter from political and sociological perspective, it is crucial to turn eyes towards Habermas and Castells and their notion of "public sphere".

Presently, it would be appropriate to explain what public sphere means. Castells (2008, p. 78) describes public sphere as: "The public sphere is the space of communication of ideas and projects that emerge from society and are addressed to the decision makers in the institutions of society." On the other hand, Habermas (1996, p. 360) explains public sphere as follows: "Between the state and society lies the public sphere, a network for communicating information and points of view ". Castells (p. 74), who continues to define about public sphere He says that the public sphere is one of the most important components of sociopolitical organizations, according to Castells, the main reason for this is that people have an environment where people come together as citizens and share their individual ideas that affect political institutions. To make it clear, togetherness is one of the key element of *public sphere*. This sphere is a very valuable environment for citizens who cannot find their reflection in political life. This environment is being defined as "Civil Society". Whether or not today's understanding of civil society differs from that before the digital age, the fact that civil society is an organized self-expression has survived. According to Castells, civil society is the cornerstone of democracy. Furthermore, if a civil society is not active as it should be for building an environment where different ideas and thought are shared or at least be heard, then the decrease of the performance of state will be highly likely (p. 74). In the light of the meaning of public sphere, it would be important to ask whether Twitter could be the new public sphere or not. According to Barend and du Toit (p. 52), considering the Jack Dorsey's statement[5] , "the discussions on Twitter might be comparable to a type of Habermasian public sphere, and the opinions generated here can be of the utmost value in gauging public opinion.".

Based on all this information, it can be concluded that Twitter provides a link to the social community, civil society and ultimately the digital community. At this point, it will be possible to talk about another factor that contributes to Twitter hosting : "comfort". It is a fact that nowadays individuals have the opportunity to share their ideas with thousands, millions or even billions of people with a single click from where they live. They are able to make a comparison by reaching out to the people in other countries, the internal politics in their own country and the effects of this domestic policy on their lives. All they need is a social media account. In this case, social media areas, which host many thoughts such as Twitter and enable these thoughts to reach all over the world, have also discussed about

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5   Founder of Twitter. Jack Dorsey, stated at the 2012 Digital Life Design Conference in Munich that
    Twitter is a public medium that hosts public conversation in a way simple enough for anyone to
    use.

how they could deliver these services to people and make them use their digital platforms in comfort. Indeed this has inevitably leaded a leap forward in smart phone technology as well as many tech-areas. Today, with a simple # (hashtag) symbol, thousands of people can meet at the same point and carry the concept of civil society, which is a requirement of democracy, to the digital media in comfort.

Concerning the last element of this part, WikiLeaks, this platform is a distinguished one in comparison with other. There are some reasons to that. One of these reasons is that WikiLeaks consists entirely of anonymous users. The reason for this is the fact that the information, thoughts, and ideas that are thought to not serve justice, which states hide from citizens, constitute the content of WikiLeaks. One of these reasons is that WikiLeaks consists entirely of anonymous users. The reason for this is the fact that the information, thoughts, and ideas that are thought to not serve justice, which states hide from citizens, constitute the content of WikiLeaks. One of the items that support this reality is that there is an operating system specially prepared for WikiLeaks users. This operating system is called "Tails", "the amnesic incognito live system". Using this operating system, users transfer the news they learned to WikiLeaks' servers without leaving any trace behind them. These news are shared with all servers of WikiLeaks around the world and then served to mainstream media. It can be argued how much WikiLeaks is Habermasian public sphere. The difference of this social space from the channels such as YouTube or Facebook; It stems from the difference in its effects on social and political life.

WikiLeaks, whose founder, Julian Assange, was in prison, had a great reverberation by 2010. The reason for this was the leakage of secret files and video footage of the war in Iraq and Afghanistan at the time (Bunz, p. 92). Again Bunz explained WikiLeaks with the following analysis (p. 93):

> In the digital era, the possibility of gathering material anonymously by using encryption protection became the technical equivalent to the journalistic right to protect confidentiality of sources. Opening these documents allowed the public to gain a deep insight into power games, or the scope of a scandal; Wikileaks had been the first platform that used and specialized in this technology.

In this description, Bunz drew attention to two moist points. The first of these; the way WikiLeaks follows to bring the news together with people turns into a journalist right

in the digital age. The second is; in the event of a dismissal, WikiLeaks has the flag in a new understanding of journalism. The reason for this approximation is that the world of news that saw WikiLeaks succeeded was subject to a change in order to follow its path later. This digital platform which based on anonymity and protection of the news source has resonated so much that many financial firms have attempted to cut aid to WikiLeaks. One of them is a hacking attempt called "Operation Payback", which was carried out to avenge Julian Assange and WikiLeaks after they had a hard time after their news in 2010. Moore (2018, p. 17) illustrates "Operation Payback" with these words:

> *The belief that 'all information should be free' also motivated Operation Payback, an operation that began as revenge for attacks on The Pirate Bay, a file- sharing site, in 2010 and morphed into retribution on behalf of WikiLeaks. WikiLeaks, and its founder Julian Assange in particular, captured the spirit of*
>
> *Anonymous hackers……….....Taking   revenge   on   the   payment   companies that stopped taking donations for WikiLeaks,   the chan   collective launched DDoS attacks on MasterCard, Visa and   PayPal, bringing down the first two websites and slowing the third.*

After this hacking attempt, many publications declared 2011 as the "year of hacking", and even this year it became a year in which the hack group named "Anonymous[6]" became a phenomenon in the world.

WikiLeaks, which is still active today, has released its latest secret publication on January 30, 2019. Its founder, Julian Assange, is still in prison in the UK. Not only anonymous people, but also famous name such as Slavoj Zizek, Yanis Varoufakis contributed to this digital media platform. In fact, Philosopher Slavoj Žižek and former Greek finance minister, Yanis Varoufakis met on 2013. Assange, who was accommodating in the Indonesian embassy at that time, attended the conference on the Internet[7].

3. Definition of the term "Cybersecurity" and Contemporary

Phenomenons in International Relations

It would be a big mistake not to mention cyber security while defining Politics

in the Digital Age we are in. This is because the meanings of politics and "cyber" are

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6   The Anonymous hacker group is a that protests various political events, often by attacking government-owned sites. For more information please visit: https://anonofficial.com/
7   For more information please visit: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yjxAArOkoA0

inseparable. The reason behind is that the word "cyber" comes from the Greek word "κυβερνητική". The meaning of this Greek word is "to govern"[8]. Annalee Newitz (2013) explains this phenomenon in "The Bizarre Evolution of the Word "Cyber"" as:

> *It all started with "cybernetics," an obscure term popularized by a mathematician named Norbert Wiener in the 1940s. For his groundbreaking book "Cybernetics", Wiener borrowed the ancient Greek word "cyber," which is related to the idea of government or governing. Indeed, the only time the word cybernetics had appeared before was in a few works of political theory about the science of governance.*

Assuming that this will not be a coincidence, nowadays, governments have an obligation to manage the cyber space, just as they manage the social space. The importance of digital media tools and software programs is increasing day by day in both domestic and foreign politics. Historical approaches and progress of international security have indicated that cyber security has some arguments at the level of international politics with the concepts like deterrence, war, and asymmetry (Guntay, 2018, p. 108). Cyber weapons, which is an instrument of cyber security, is in the military weapon category today. The response of politics to changes in the digital world plays a major role in the digitization process of developed or developing states.

On the other hand, it is a fact of today; humanity is giving a great test against an epidemic today. It is a water-proof fact that outbreaks in the world history have a significant and profound effect on the course of politics. Digitalization makes this war a little different from the past. One of the reasons for this is the position of the cyber world in today's politics.

In this last part of the thesis, what is cyber security, its definition and what kind of tools it has, will be explained by using different publications in this field; The importance of cyber security in world politics and this process will be supported by giving examples from recent history.

In the second subtitle, the prescriptions that emerge from the melting of politics and digitalization in the same pot will be examined and how digital media tools are used as a control tool by governments will be examined.

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8   cybernetical. (n.d.) *Collins English Dictionary – Complete and Unabridged, 12th Edition 2014.* (1991, 1994, 1998, 2000, 2003, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2014). Retrieved April 9 2020 from https://www.thefreedictionary.com/cybernetical

3.1 What is Cybersecurity and its Importance for International Relations

International relations have become controversial with all the tools of the political field, together with the interdisciplinary feature it has shown. The international actors' struggles with each other are among the most important reasons for the diversification of these tools. Cyber security and its outcomes, which find controversy on the basis of international security, make themselves felt in the political arena in terms of the changing world. The level where the struggle for interests is at the center has increased to the top in the agenda of the states, which remain the main actors of the power struggle with cyber security and its underlying tools. In particular, deterrence based on nuclear and conventional elements; It has also turned cyber attacks into a preference, which reduces physical damage based on low intensity but offers effective tool integrity.

There are many data that cyber struggle affects the relations between states. These data, in which cyber space is discussed in terms of international relations and now has the integrity of working under the name of "cyber policies", show a significant increase in terms of current studies. No matter how controversial the concept of cyber war is, it is a reality that international actors diversify in the cyber space and this situation turns into tools of influence in international relations.

For governments, it means protecting citizens, institutions, critical infrastructure, and state-owned computer systems against attacks or theft of data. While the definitions are different, cyber security refers to common activities and resources that enable individuals, institutions, and governments to achieve their computing goals safely, privately and reliably.

The presence of cyber threats in terms of the international system has reached a level that will drag states into hot conflicts. The most important developments on this subject are the discourses and the responses. The difference in perceptions of security during and after the Cold War reveals that threat parameters have changed. When states become an actor in cyber space, when they are associated with different actors, it is now a reality in terms of their current development, and it is more on the basis of international relations. The transformation on this issue has been shaped with the determination of the direction of cyber intelligence along with the tools used and cyber attacks have been handled together with international actors, especially with the governments.

Cyber security has a number of tools in itself to establish and maintain the security features of the assets of the institutions, organizations and users in a way that can resist the security risks found in cyber space. In order to have an impact on the cyber environment that develops against these tools, attack types have been diversified; As a result, cyber policies started to be produced and an area where all individuals and actors interact within the international relations has started to rise. In the area where cyber space is discussed and located, cyber attack methods and cyber weapons have now been developed as cyber intervention tools. With the collection of data on the use of cyber weapons and their transfer to the political dimension, a field of work called cyber intelligence has emerged and qualified personnel are needed in this field. Regarding the preparation and defense stages of cyber attacks, while the states sometimes act in cooperation, sometimes they try to be effective in this field in line with their self-possibilities and capabilities. In this connection, it might be crucial to understand what kinds of terms are used in cyber attacks' literature.

There is no consensus in the literature about what kind of software and hardware cyber attack will be carried out, in other words, what harmful information elements can be considered as a cyber attack weapon. Celik (2014, p. 141) explains in his article that one reason for this is probably the extraordinary speed of developments in the field of informatics and the fact that software and programs that can be classified as weapons have not been officially classified according to conventional weapon systems. Although this classification has not improved the perception of cyber weapons as qualification, this affects the course of events in the international arena. According to Peterson (2013, p. 121) these types of tools have become intervention elements. Examples of cyber weapons are malware, worm, virus, trojan, backdoor and attack attacks, and decommissioning attacks.

Depending on whether it is associated with other programs, groupings can also be made. Regardless of its sophistication or history, Ciftci (2013, p. 150) grouped his most basic cyber weapons as follows: **Bacteria**: It is an independent, self-replicating program that can create many types of its own on a computer; As they run their proliferating type, they occupy more disk space and operating time. **Worm**: Also called wolf; is a self-propagating program that explores and spreads ways to spread from one computer to another on the network. It can reach millions of computers in seconds. **Virus**: It is a program that is dependent on other programs, it can reproduce itself and needs a program

to settle. It is transmitted to other programs as soon as the program in which it is hidden is executed or after an desired operation in the system. **Trojan**: Programs that normally look like a useful program, but are used secretly to harm the computer on which they are located. The Trojan horse usually includes a situational test to activate the malicious function. **Logic Bomb**: Programs that run at a certain time or when a certain situation occurs. The logic bomb can wait for the day that it will run secretly on the computer, or it can be set up to do harmful operations in a program used when the time comes. **Backdoor (Trapdoor)**: It is also known as trap door. It is the method or entry point that is known only by the attacker, which enables access to the opposite system through a secret channel without using normal identity control mechanisms. **Slave Computers (Botnet, Zombie)**: Computers can be controlled remotely via an installed program. Slave computers are controlled through programs that are secretly installed on the user's computer and allow the attacker to control their target system remotely over the Internet connection. **Rootkit**: It is the name given to harmful programs that secretly survive by hiding processes, files or system information running on the computer from the operating system. It is very difficult to detect and get rid of, since they usually work at the kernel level in the operating system.

3.2 Transformation of Cyber Security into Impact Tools in International Relations:Stuxnet and Snowden Cases

According to Rid and McBurney (2012, p. 8), cyber weapons are considered software and programs with low and high potential on an impact spectrum. Low-potential cyber weapons are malicious software (malware) (p. 8) that can affect a system from the outside, but fail to enter and manage it from within. Cyber weapons with high potential, on the other hand, are harmful software that enter into these systems and operate as "intelligent agents" and act autonomously, damaging the system's normal operating process (p. 8). On the other hand, it is important to add that while states are forming their operational elements, there is no classification about which types of attack they will apply to. This situation creates problems in theoretical studies on cyber attacks.

It is known that at least three important cyber attacks have taken place within the scope of the act of using force in the last decade, in which an extraordinary progress has been made in information technologies. Herbert Lin (2012, p. 512) lists these attacks as follows: The first two of these are the operations allegedly initiated by Russia against Estonia in 2007 and against Georgia in 2008; The third is the attack alleged by the US

against Iran in 2009[9]. This is the last one that has been the most discussed attack in IT and international law circles today. It is believed that this operation, known as the "Stuxnet attack" as the virus used, was organized by the US against Iran's Natanz nuclear fuel enrichment facilities in 2009. Nevertheless, The U.S. has not made an official statement confirming that it has anything to do with Stuxnet, but has never denied its role in writing and using this virus for attack. Deputy Secretary of Defense William Lynn, Melissa Lee of CNBC, "Is there any way involved in the development of the US Stuxnet?" by passing the question with a very political answer, he first hinted that responsibility might be in other countries, and then he explained that this is not a question he can currently answer. However, considering the technical features of Stuxnet, the IT circles are certain that the program was developed by the USA and that the attack was organized by this country (Celik, 2014, p. 144-145). Detailed information about the presence of the virus and the attack, Collins and McCombie (2012, p. 84) reports: The Ukrainian IT company Virusblokada, located in Minsk in May 2010, has discovered a virus program with the potential for harmful effects in Microsoft Windows operating systems. Upon realizing that the program had a more complex structure than all the malicious software encountered so far, a joint research was launched with the Israeli anti-virus program software company Kaspersky and the American software company Microsoft to find the source of the virus, and then the American IT security company Symantec was included (Celik, 2014, p. 145).

Another issue that opened the concept of cyber security to the debate of International Politics is the Edward Snowden's revelations. This case is different from others in many ways. On the other hand, concerning the control of governments on digital media and its relationship with International Relations, it would be mistake not to mention about Edward Snowden case. According to Karaboga (2018, p. 37), After 9/11 and the following application of surveillance and security laws in the West, and more recently after the Snowden revelations on the mass surveillance activities of western secret services data protection and surveilence have been conducted in publications. Although there have not been proper amount of source that explains this phenomenon in academic-wise, process of his incident and its effects on International Relations have been conducted by some researchers and journalist.

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9 For more information please visit: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iVjYBEADHUc

The first meeting of Snowden with National Security Agency (NSA) in 2004 was when he started working as a security expert (Leger, 2013). Snowden, who worked here for about twelve months; He worked on Sensitive Compartmented Information (SCI). Snowden, who started working at NSA, then started to work with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in 2006 as an IT expert. Snowden was later sent to Genoa by a CIA in 2007 with a diplomatic identity, and he worked there for 2009 until the CIA. He left the CIA in 2009 and worked briefly at private companies such as Snowden, Dell and Booz Allen. The point that should be highlighted here is that Snowden continued to get information and documents in NSA even after officially leaving the NSA (Greenwald, MacAskill & Poitras, 2013) and finally, he managed to create his own classified archive by downloading the important documents in 2012. Aftermath of this incident had a crucial impact on the international relations and his revelations on surveillance and data protection will be one of the main reason of the emergence of the General Data Protection Regulation in Europe (Karaboga, 2018, p. 47). Macaskill and Dance, from The Guardian, (2013) reports that:

> *...He succeeded beyond anything the journalists or Snowden himself ever imagined.*
> *His disclosures about the NSA resonated with Americans from day one. But they*
> *also exploded round the world............. The debate has raged across time zones:*
> *from the   US and Latin America to Europe and to Asia. Barack Obama*
> *canceled a trip to   Moscow in protest at Russian president Vladimir Putin's*
> *protection of Snowden. Brazilian president Dilma Rousseff canceled a state*
> *visit to Washington in protest at   the US spying on her. Bolivian president Evo*
> *Morales's plane was forced down in Vienna amid suspicion that Snowden was*
> *being smuggled out of Russia. In Germany, a "livid" Angela Merkel accused the*
> *US of spying on her, igniting a furore that has seen the White House concede that*
> *new constraints on the NSA's activities may be necessary. Meanwhile, in Britain,*
> *prime minister David Cameron accused the Guardian of damaging national*
> *security by publishing the revelations, warning that if it did not "demonstrate*
> *some social responsibility it would be very difficult for government to stand back*
> *and not to act".*

The text of Trevor Timm (2014), from The Guardian, describes what Snowden changed for cyber security, in connection with it, for cyber policy, with the following four items: First, Internet companies were forced to become more transparent. From Google to

Microsoft and Facebook to Apple, companies have changed the cyber security policy; Secondly, Gmail has been encrypted by using the programs used for chat; Third, in the NSA case, the judge said "almost Orwellian" and "likely unconstitutional" for mass surveillance; Finally, since 9/11, the people of America, for the first time, started worrying more about their freedom than terrorism.

Based on the two examples mentioned above, or in other words, from these two phenomena that emerged in the final analysis of digital time, it is possible to state that cyber weapons have a shocking and powerful effect on international relations. The events of Stuxnet and Snowden have shown that the advancement of developing technology by political authorities is now essential. The more important a state's internal affairs are, the more important it is to a state's foreign affairs and diplomatic relations, the more it should pay attention to its politics and methods in cyberspace and behave meticulously. In particular, there is no guarantee that the echoes of the Snowden incident will not create a WikiLeaks effect and cause new Snowden cases.

If a result analysis is made in the light of all this information, it is possible to say that the position of cyber security in International Relations includes a "deterrence". Of course, this concept will continue to exist along with changing, developing and emerging actors. It is possible to make an analysis as follows; this variability will be determined by international actors in which the state and civil society are at the center. Given the state of the neo-liberal economy today, it would be wrong to say that the intertwining of the concepts of state and company does not find a counterpart on the concepts of civil society or individual. This response may sometimes reappear as WikiLeaks and sometimes as Snowden in the digital era of the history scene. For this reason, it is essential for all international political actors imaginable to follow this interaction closely.

Conclusion

Digitalism, which started with Edison's "Progressive Vote Recorder" and which has spread to every point of our lives, has become one of the determining factors of Politics and International Relations. Today, the World Policy examines both the state security, the national interest, and the sociopolitical and socioeconomic trends of societies today through opportunities offered by the digital world.

It is evident today that the Digital Age is radically and rapidly changing Policy. International actors make a great effort to benefit from the blessings of the Digital Age; societies are approaching each other very quickly with the effect of globalization. The relationship of the state with the individual and the individual with the state now recreates itself in a tangible and visible area. Public Sphere shows itself day by day in various digital platforms, in forms suitable for the requirements of the age. Civil Society, one of the key concepts of democracy, recreates its own meaning in the international context. Furthermore, it is very important to state that the problem of an individual anywhere in the world can become the problem of the whole world at once thanks to the digital media tools. Today, digitalized political actors can trigger revolutions in a country, region or wide geography. It would be useful to make an analysis that, in the context of state-to-one communication, the Digital Age allowed individuals to raise their voices against the injustices of the state or state elements. Another point to take into consideration is that in the axis of elite, electoral and election systems, digital media tools have become an indispensable element of both political parties and civil society. The concept of "Manufacturing of Consent" has the opportunity to redefine itself in "Big Data"; The concept of the "individual" and its relationship with the theories of democracy, when considered in the axis of political philosophy, has become a supervisor of this mechanism, so to speak, as a worker of the voting factory.

Nevertheless, on the other hand, it does not stop digital media tools to be used as a mass manipulation instrument by governments, moreover, the boons of the Digital Age have enables political actors to affect and to change the consent of people internationally. Interestingly, while politics redefines itself in the digital age, it has transformed itself into a means of entertainment. Today, leaders of both world powers and regional powers have become more recognizable in the international arena thank to the digital media tools. It is a

fact that, in retrospect, while it was absurd to turn the seriousness of the traditional leader definition into an instrument of humor in back in the times, today, the reality that leaders in the media are not included in political humor is so harmful for their recognition.

Another important conclusion to be made is that the cyber space is an essential factor for international relations. What has happened in the recent political history shows that every weakness, every concession that states show in cyber space will return to them in a shocking way. In this context, the defense investments that the states will make in cyber security in order to protect their national interests will increase. As the most striking examples of this, it should be taken into account that Russia and China are creating their own Internet domains against the United States. In this sense, now the states will look at the cyber space from the axis of nationalism rather than from an international perspective. To put it further, cyber space will re-create itself in the axis of the definition of "homeland" in the future political scene. This will bring the "Cyber Homeland" or "Cyber Country" approach.

All things considered, it would not be wrong to say that all known political concepts of the old world will enrich itself in new forms in the cyber space. In this race, states that have managed to adapt themselves to the requirements of the digital age will be able to continue their claims in the World Politics.

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