# E-government in Europe

Re-booting the state

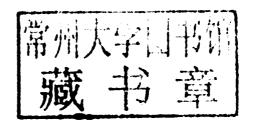
Edited by
Paul G. Nixon and
Vassiliki N. Koutrakou



### E-government in Europe

Re-booting the state

Edited by Paul G. Nixon and Vassiliki N. Koutrakou





Transferred to digital printing 2010

First published 2007

by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada by Routledge 270 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group

© 2007 Paul G. Nixon and Vassiliki N. Koutrakou for selection and editorial matter; individual contributors, their contributions

Typeset in Baskerville by Bookcraft Ltd, Stroud, Glos.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

E-government in Europe : re-booting the state / [edited by] Paul G. Nixon and Vassiliki N. Koutrakou.

p. cm. – (Routledge advances in European politics; 42)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Internet in public administration—Europe. 2. Europe—Politics in government—1989– I. Nixon, Paul, 1957– II. Koutrakou, Vassiliki N., 1962–JN5.E46 2007

352.3'802854678-dc22

2006021373

ISBN10: 0-415-40186-0 (hbk)

ISBN10: 0-415-59948-2 (pbk)

ISBN10: 0-203-96238-9 (ebk)

ISBN13: 978-0-415-40186-9 (hbk)

ISBN13: 978-0-415-59948-1 (pbk)

ISBN13: 978-0-203-96238-1 (ebk)

### E-government in Europe

This book traces the development of e-government and its applications across Europe, exploring the effects of information and communication technology (ICTs) upon political action and processes.

The authors explore a range of concepts and topics underpinning e-government in Europe and assess:

- The degree to which e-government translates into genuine reform of government and public administration.
- Its democratic amelioration credentials in relation to citizenship and participation.
- The dual role of the EU as both a provider of e-government through its own internal activities and also as a facilitator or aggregator in the way it seeks to engender change and promote its ethos in member states across the EU.
- Cyberterrorism and its use both by terrorists and governments to pursue political agendas.

The book also features a number of in-depth case studies on the progress of e-government in the UK, France, Germany, Denmark, the Netherlands, Portugal, Greece, Slovenia, Hungary, and Estonia. Reflecting on the broader technocultural context within which the ICTs are utilized by governments in Europe, these case studies address the above issues while at the same time highlighting commonality and diversity in practice and the paradox between top-down strategies and the effort to engage wider civil participation via e-government.

This book will be of interest to students and scholars of public policy, politics, media and communication studies, sociology, computing and information and communications technologies and European studies.

**Paul G. Nixon** is a Senior Lecturer in Political Science at The Hague University of Professional Education, the Netherlands.

**Vassiliki N. Koutrakou** is a Lecturer in European Studies at the University of East Anglia, UK, and Director of the Centre for Research in European Studies (CREST).

## Routledge Advances in European Politics

#### 1 Russian Messianism

Third Rome, revolution, communism and after *Peter J. S. Duncan* 

### 2 European Integration and the Postmodern Condition

Governance, democracy, identity Peter van Ham

#### 3 Nationalism in Italian Politics

The stories of the Northern League, 1980–2000 Damian Tambini

#### 4 International Intervention in the Balkans since 1995

Edited by Peter Siani-Davies

#### 5 Widening the European Union

The politics of institutional change and reform *Edited by Bernard Steunenberg* 

### 6 Institutional Challenges in the European Union

Edited by Madeleine Hosli, Adrian van Deemen and Mika Widgrén

#### 7 Europe Unbound

Enlarging and reshaping the boundaries of the European Union
Edited by Jan Zielonka

### 8 Ethnic Cleansing in the Balkans

Nationalism and the destruction of tradition

Cathie Carmichael

### 9 Democracy and Enlargement in Post-communist Europe

The democratisation of the general public in fifteen Central and Eastern European countries, 1991–1998

Christian W. Haerpfer

### 10 Private Sector Involvement in the Euro

The power of ideas Stefan Collignon and Daniela Schwarzer

#### 11 Europe

A Nietzschean perspective Stefan Elbe

### 12 European Union and E-Voting

Addressing the European parliament's internet voting challenge Edited by Alexander H. Trechsel and Fernando Mendez

### 13 European Union Council Presidencies

A comparative perspective *Edited by Ole Elgström* 

#### 14 European Governance and Supranational Institutions

Making states comply Jonas Tallberg

#### 15 European Union, NATO and Russia

Martin Smith and Graham Timmins

### 16 Business, the State and Economic Policy

The case of Italy G. Grant Amyot

### 17 Europeanization and Transnational States

Comparing nordic central governments

Bengt Jacobsson, Per Lægreid and
Ove K. Pedersen

#### 18 European Union Enlargement

A comparative history

Edited by Wolfram Kaiser and Jürgen

Elvert

#### 19 Gibraltar

British or Spanish? *Peter Gold* 

#### 20 Gendering Spanish Democracy

Monica Threlfall, Christine Cousins and Celia Valiente

#### 21 European Union Negotiations

Processes, networks and negotiations Edited by Ole Elgström and Christer Jönsson

#### 22 Evaluating Euro-Mediterranean Relations Stephen C. Calleya

### 23 The Changing Face of European Identity

A seven-nation study of (supra) national attachments

Edited by Richard Robyn

#### 24 Governing Europe

Discourse, governmentality and European integration
William Walters and
Jens Henrik Haahr

#### 25 Territory and Terror

Conflicting nationalisms in the Basque country Jan Mansvelt Beck

#### 26 Multilateralism, German Foreign Policy and Central Europe

Claus Hofhansel

#### 27 Popular Protest in East Germany

Gareth Dale

#### 28 Germany's Foreign Policy towards Poland and the Czech Republic

Ostpolitik revisted
Karl Cordell and Stefan Wolff

#### 29 Kosovo

The politics of identity and space Denisa Kostovicova

### 30 The Politics of European Union Enlargement

Theoretical approaches

Edited by Frank Schimmelfennig and
Ulrich Sedelmeier

### 31 Europeanizing Social Democracy?

The rise of the party of European Socialists
Simon Lightfoot

#### 32 Conflict and Change in EU Budgetary Politics

Johannes Lindner

#### 33 Gibraltar, Identity and Empire

E. G. Archer

#### 34 Governance Stories

Mark Bevir and R. A. W. Rhodes

#### 35 Britain and the Balkans

1991 until the present Carole Hodge

### 36 The Eastern Enlargement of the European Union

John O'Brennan

#### 37 Values and Principles in European Union Foreign Policy

Edited by Sonia Lucarelli and Ian Manners

#### 38 European Union and the Making of a Wider Northern Europe

Pami Aalto

### 39 Democracy in the European Union

Towards the emergence of a public sphere Edited by Liana Giorgi, Ingmar Von Homeyer and Wayne Parsons

#### 40 European Union Peacebuilding and Policing

Michael Merlingen with Rasa Ostraukaite

#### 41 The Conservative Party and European Integration since 1945

At the heart of Europe? *N. J. Crowson* 

#### 42 E-government in Europe

Re-booting the state

Edited by Paul G. Nixon and

Vassiliki N. Koutrakou

To my son Patrick Paul G. Nixon

To my life-long friends Suzy and Tabatha Vassiliki N. Koutrakou

#### Notes on contributors

**Adriana Berbec** from Romania studied European media and the European Union and is a graduate of the Master's Degree programme in International Relations and European Studies of the University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK

**Eva Born Rasmussen** is the Head of IT Strategy Division for National Data Infrastructure within the National IT and Telecom Agency in the Danish Ministry of Science Technology and Innovation. She has a MSc in Computer Science and Literature (University of Roskilde and University of Copenhagen), and is currently completing a MSc in International Development Studies and Environmental Studies (University of Roskilde). Her specific research interest is policy development for data standardisation and advanced use of data both within the public and the private sector.

Gustavo Cardoso is an associate researcher at CIES/ISCTE and Professor of Technology and Society at ISCTE in Lisbon. His international cooperation in European research networks brought him to work with IN3 (Internet Interdisciplinary Institute) in Barcelona, and COST A20 and COST A24 projects. Between 1996 and 2006 he was adviser on Information Society and telecommunications policies for the Portuguese Presidency. Publications include 'Trends and contradictions in the broadcasting System: From Interactive to Networked Television' in Colombo, F (ed), TV and Interactivity in Europe; Mythologies, theoretical perspectives, real experiences, Milano: Vita e Pensiero (2004); 'Media Driven Mobilization and Online Protest. The Pro-East Timor Movement', in Cyberprotest, De Donk, Loader, Nixon and Rucht (eds), London: Routledge (2004); 'Feel Like Going Online? Internet Mediated Communication in Portugal', Information, Communication & Society, 6(1), London: Routledge (2003).

**Aaron Champion** holds a BA in Geography and is currently a Master's student at the University of Oklahoma, with interests in network analysis of human-environment relationships, including the use of computer-media communication systems.

**Desirée Dreessen** from the Netherlands studied European media and the European Union and is a graduate of the Master's Degree programme in

International Relations and European Studies of the University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK.

- **Marc Ernsdorff** from Luxembourg studied European media and the European Union and is a graduate of the Master's Degree programme in International Relations and European Studies of the University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK.
- **Fabienne Greffet** is Lecturer in Political Science at the University Nancy 2, France. Her research interests are based around the themes of the impacts of new technologies on politics, particularly on political parties, local, national and European elections and political elites in which she has published widely. She is the co-editor of a collection on French political parties: Andolfatto, D., Greffet F., and Olivier, L. (eds), *Les partis politiques: quelles perspectives? (Perspectives on French Political Parties).*
- Vassiliki N. Koutrakou obtained a PhD from the University of Kent, Canterbury, researching European, EU, US, and Japanese Information Technology government policies, and is currently Lecturer in European Studies and Director of the Centre for Research in European Studies (CREST) at the University of East Anglia, Norwich. Recent publications include the monograph Technological Collaboration for Europe's Survival (1995) and the edited collections European Union and Britain: Debating the challenges abroad, (co-ed) (2000) and Contemporary Issues and Debates in EU Policy (2004). She is currently working on a monograph on International Organisations and Conflict Response.
- **Tiago Lapa** is an affiliate researcher at CIES/ ISCTE (Centre for Research and Studies in Sociology), Lisbon, Portugal. He is conducing research on crossnational surveys such as the European Social Survey (ESS), Eurobarometer and European Quality of Life Survey (EQLS). His recent and present research projects and publications concern: Media and e-government in Europe, Family Change in Europe, Gendered Value Differences, Time Use Over the Life-Course, and Cross-National Analysis of Quantitative Data.
- Miriam Lips is a Research Fellow at the Oxford Internet Institute, University of Oxford, and an Associate Professor at the Tilburg Institute for Law, Technology, and Society, Tilburg University. Her research concentrates more generally on the introduction of ICTs in citizen—government relationships and their implications, with a current focus on topics like identity management, personalisation, digital citizenship, e-governance and Internet Governance. Her most recent book publication (together with Simone van der Hof, Corien Prins and Ton Schudelaro) is Issues of Online Personalisation in Commercial and Public Service Delivery (2005).
- **Mike Margolis** is Professor of Political Science at the University of Cincinnati. He was co-author (with the late David Resnick) of *Politics as Usual: the cyberspace 'revolution'*. His scholarly and popular publications include books chapters and articles on political parties, elections, public opinion, mass media and

democratic theory. He has held visiting appointments in Scotland, at the Universities of Strathclyde and Glasgow, and in Korea at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies Seoul.

**Paul G. Nixon** is Senior Lecturer in Political Science at The Hague University of Professional Education, the Netherlands. He is a research fellow within the European Public Management Research Group. He has contributed chapters to many edited collections on the use of ICTs particularly in the fields of political parties, electronic democracy and social welfare. He has co-edited two previous collections for Routledge, Political Parties and the Internet (2003) and Cyberprotest (2004).

**Nicholas Pleace** is a Senior Research Fellow in the Department of Social Policy and Social Work at the University of York. He has been conducting policy related research on the use of ICTs in social, housing, and employment policy in the UK for the past five years. He has also conducted ESRC funded research on computer mediated social support using the Internet and was co-author of Key Concepts in Cyberculture (2004).

Darren Purcell teaches at the University of Oklahoma Department of Geography. His research interests focus on new communication technologies as a tool for geopolitics and governance, representations of places, and the facilitation of new forms of economic regulation. His most recent publications include 'The Military in the Noosphere: NCT Adoption and Website Development in the Slovenian Ministry of Defense', Information, Communication and Society (May/ June 2005), 'Information Technologies, Representational Spaces, and the Marginal State: Redrawing the Balkan image of Slovenia', Information, Communications and Society. 4(3), 1-29 with Kodras, J., and The Slovenian State on the Internet. Open Society Institute (Ljubljana, Slovenia) Mediawatch monograph series (1999).

Rajash Rawal is Lecturer in European politics at HEBO, Haagse Hogeschool, The Hague University, the Netherlands. He is a visiting lecturer at the Fachochschule, Eisenstadt, Austria and the Department of European Studies, Budapest Business School. He is a research fellow within the European Public Management Research Group. He specializes in the impact of media on political agents in the modern era and has written a number of papers around this theme.

Tina Siegfried now works at Alcatel SEL Foundation in Berlin after having served as a researcher at the German Institute of Urban Affairs of the University of Oldenburg, Germany, between 1998-2004, as a researcher and consultant in e-government, dealing with the potentials of ICT as a key for modernizing the public sector through organizational and cultural changes within administrations. Her main fields of research are electronic government and electronic commerce, the modernisation of the public sector through ICT and the potentials of ICT for regional development. Publications include 'The

experience of German local communities with e-government – results of the MEDIA@Komm project', in Lenk, K. and Traunmüller, R. (eds) *Electronic Government* (2002).

**Katalin Szalóki** is an economist, specializing in EU Affairs. She is working at the Hungarian National Assembly's EU Department, dealing with EU related issues mainly in the inter-parliamentary dimension. Among other publications, she is a co-author of a weekly newsletter on the EU. Her research interests are focussed around development of electronic information exchange in the EU and the better communication of the EU for the public sphere.

Martin van Rossum is Senior Lecturer in public management, human competence management and business administration at The Hague University of Professional Education, the Netherlands. He is a specialist on e-governance, regional innovation, e-inclusion, broadband policies, e-learning, research management, knowledge transfer, human competence management, He has been involved in projects including Interregional transfer of e-government best practise, representing ICT Center Friesland in Interreg. Recent publications include co-authoring 'BRAINCHILD, building a constituency for future research in Knowledge Management for local Administrations', in Traunmüller, R. and Lenk, K. (eds) *Electronic Government* (2002), and 'Roadmap for European Research in Learning and Knowledge Creation in eGovernment' for the Scandinavian eGov Workshop of February 2005.

Kim Viborg Andersen is Head of the Centre for Research on Information Technology in Policy Settings (CIPS) at the Copenhagen Business School Department of Informatics, Denmark. His publications include numerous journal contributions and examples of his work include EDI and Data Networking in the Public Sector (1998); The Past and Future of Information Systems (2004) and Public Sector Process Rebuilding Using Information Systems (2004). He is the founder of the AIS SIG on e-government and is an editorial board member for various journals.

Helle Zinne Henriksen is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Informatics, Copenhagen Business School, Denmark and is affiliated with the Center for Research on IT in Policy Organizations, at Copenhagen Business School. She is an expert in the field of Management of Information Systems with particular interest in the implications of institutional intervention with respect to inter-organizational adoption. Her research interests include: the adoption and diffusion of IT in the private and the public sector in particular. Her most recent work is focused on e-government and regulation of e-government.

### Acknowledgements

The editors would like to first thank everyone at Routledge without whose commitment, skills, and faith in our book, this project would simply never have come to fruition.

Second, we wish to express our gratitude to the contributors of chapters who shared our vision, offered generously their insights and expertise, and made this book the substantial contribution to the field that we hope it will be.

This book project was galvanized at the 6th CREST Conference which was organized at the Centre for Research in European Studies (CREST), at the University of East Anglia (UEA), Norwich, UK, on the 25th November 2005. Aside from the financial sponsors of the conference, the University of The Hague and CREST at UEA who certainly merit special thanks, we also owe our appreciation to the numerous nameless attendees who, with their thoughts, comments, and contributions to the conference debates helped crystallize our focus and plans for the ensuing book.

Finally, among many special people who, in various ways, encouraged us and helped in this book becoming a reality, we would like to mention particularly Deanna Bender, Frans Dijkstra, Ben Hoetjes, Brian Loader, Berry Minkman, Ingrid Mol, Femke van Moorsel, Andres Rawal Bulnes and Sigrid Segeren.

#### Introduction

Paul G. Nixon and Vassiliki N. Koutrakou

As the long-accepted borders between traditionally delineated policy domains and between differing strata of governance are appearing to become ever more blurred and indistinct by technical networks, facilitating and, some might argue, stimulating the emergence of many differing modes of new social and political networks around the issues and concerns which typify our late-modern society, we have an opportunity to examine and question the ways in which e-government concepts are facilitating a re-drafting of the contexts in which citizens and governments interact. Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) are increasingly being used as tools to facilitate this interaction.

This trend is taking place in an evolving world with e-government being viewed as an integral component of public sector reform. The European Union (EU) is not immune from such change. New and revamped public services will need to be developed to meet the challenges that the EU will face in terms of demographic change, cultural and religious diversity and changing norms which will in turn necessitate a rethinking of the way in which e-government services are used both in terms of service delivery and in the wider terms of state legitimization through a strengthening of democracy.

Increasingly citizens and governments use ICTs to interact regularly, for example obtaining a new driver's licence by dispatching data; or in the transfer of monies in terms of the paying of taxes and/or charges or via the receipt of social benefit payments. We see more and more improvements being made to utilise new technologies to increase efficiency, ease of use, and to make the system of governmentcitizen interactions more comprehensive. In order to achieve this we can observe the creation of single points of contact, 'one stop shops' or portals which are designed to allow citizen to government access 24/7. Thus, in many cases making the services available when the individual wishes to utilise them and not restricted, at least in the initial phases, by office opening hours. This contact may be available via various technologies such as a personal computer, mobile phone, digital TVs or even via future developments of existing or new technologies. As Dahlgren<sup>3</sup> argues new uses of ICTs are shaping, and will, presumably, continue to shape in the foreseeable future, new perceptions of government and sovereignty in the European Union member states and in the applicant states. However there is scepticism over the willingness of politicians and officials to engage with all of its citizens.<sup>4</sup>

As this book will consistently show, e-government isn't just about value-neutral technological advances in service delivery and communication. E-government is about people and how their democratic governments act in their name. People live both on-and off-line<sup>5</sup> and it is the mix of these two elements that represents the reality of lived experiences. As with most democratic debate there will be digression and disagreement between the contributors to this book in how they interpret what is occurring in each of their countries. This should not necessarily be viewed as a weakness; indeed the editors feel that this is one of the strengths of books such as this, in that they reflect the diversity of opinion and the overarching contested nature of the subject matter.

In recent years the introduction of e-government has been firmly placed on the policy agenda by governments across the world. The successful implementation of e-government is seen as prerequisite for modernising public administrations and providing new forms of electronic service delivery and for stimulating inclusive participation in a new information society. At first glance it would appear that the moves to e-government, the creation of the infrastructure necessary for services to be online, the elimination of digital divides, often to specific timetables laid down in strategy documents, cannot be argued against. However, on closer examination, whilst the policy may at first appear to be benevolent the reality of its implementation and the subsequent consequences for governance within democratic societies may be somewhat different. Whilst accepting e-government as almost a fait accompli, are we in effect accepting a policy or set of policies which cloak the weakening of our democracy and a benign commercialisation of our political institutions?

#### Definition

A useful if somewhat basic definition of e-government is given by the World Bank which refers to e-government as

'... [T]he use by government agencies of information technologies (such as Wide Area Networks, the Internet, and mobile computing) that have the ability to transform relations with citizens, businesses, and other arms of government. These technologies can serve a variety of different ends: better delivery of government services to citizens, improved interactions with business and industry, citizen empowerment through access to information, or more efficient government management ... [A]nalogous to e-commerce, which allows businesses to transact with each other more efficiently (B2B) and brings customers closer to businesses (B2C), e-government aims to make the interaction between government and citizens (G2C), government and business enterprises (G2B), and inter-agency relationships (G2G) more friendly, convenient, transparent, and inexpensive.'6

There are of course different interpretations of even apparently straightforward definitions such as the one above. What is not contested is that whilst there are

benefits to be derived from e-government implementation there is also potentially a downside to e-government particularly in terms of reducing human contact between citizens and the state at a time when confidence and trust in politicians and the state is waning. Finger and Pécoud note that each state faces challenges on three levels:

- challenges of legitimation;
- · challenges of competition from other states; and
- challenges of a financial nature.<sup>7</sup>

The pressure to meet financial targets and reduce taxation is an imperative driving many ICT based projects, although of course not the only imperative as this book will demonstrate. Whichever imperative is driving policy there remain a significant number of barriers to successful implementation of e-government. Let us examine, briefly, the benefits of and barriers to effective e-government.

#### Benefits of e-government

The benefits associated with e-government can generally be characterised as falling under one of two headings, which are not of themselves mutually exclusive; improving the machinery of governance and increased participation. Below are some more explicit examples of the perceived benefits:<sup>8</sup>

- improved co-ordination of EU policies and legislation with the potential to provide joined up government;
- more efficient and effective use of resources at a time when there is increased
  pressure on governments to limit their spending and to reduce the tax burden
  upon citizens and businesses;
- the facilitation of easier access to information generated by, the various organisations and agencies of the EU the dissemination of which allows consultation and individual and collective participation;
- it has the potential to enable citizens to undertake more efficient, transparent, quantitative and qualitative auditing of government;
- e-government can assist in the ongoing challenge of inclusion and assist in bringing equality of treatment to each citizen (although this would need to be underpinned by an EU wide freedom of information act);
- it has the ability to allow for a reconfiguration of interfaces between citizen and the EU and the potential to build a more direct participatory digital democracy.

#### Barriers to e-government

There are also a number of barriers to effective e-government. Listed below are just some of the major political and practical barriers to e-government in the EU. The list is not an exhaustive one and is not presented in order of importance. One

must also remember that it is possible for the importance attached to issues or barriers to fluctuate contingent upon the political situation at any given time. The importance of issues/barriers can also vary from country to country as can be seen from the case study chapters in this volume.

- As Webster<sup>9</sup> notes, any definition of an information society (and the part that e-government plays within it) is a contested one. There are differing views on the purposes, values and goals underpinning e-government. It is not a value-free area as some would have us believe.
- EU member states seem on the whole to be loath to surrender power to the
  EU. This of course varies from state to state and indeed in any given state over
  a period of time. Circumstances can change and there is hope for progress in
  this specific policy area.
- The EU needs to facilitate as near as possible full public and private participation in the information society.

As electronic service delivery starts to replace offline service provision in some areas there is a danger of certain groups being excluded. As we can see in Chapter 2 the EU has increasingly given this more and more priority in its strategies as access levels are still low in some EU member states and far from universal in most. Of course it is not only issues of physical access that need to be addressed. Language barriers can also be an issue. <sup>10</sup> Given the levels of migration within the EU this is an issue that may rise in importance, particularly when the temporary restrictions on movement for the purposes of employment by citizens of the newest member states are removed by all member states. Education is also an issue, with citizens with lower educational attainment less likely to be online. It is also possible to suggest that a further linguistic barrier may well be active given the predominantly anglo-centric nature of the Internet<sup>11</sup> which can act as a disincentive to access for non English speakers at present although there is some evidence that this may be changing albeit slowly.

In order to create total equality the logic would suggest that there be some form of standardisation across the EU. This would be fiercely resisted by member states jealously guarding their individual sovereignty, although as Rawal shows in Chapter 4 of this volume, states are more and more willing to collaborate in joint ventures when they feel it aids their state security. There may well be a need for some form of standardised systems of data collection and analysis across the member states. The effects of this could homogenise government and thus remove or limit the intrinsic national characteristics of each member state government. <sup>12</sup> This would imply a new form of governance in the EU which would need to become more 'soft' in its structure. Many more of the services traditionally delivered by government apparatus may be delivered not only via the Internet in one's home but also via other outside agencies such as banks, post offices, supermarkets, interactive broadcasting companies and others. <sup>13</sup> As citizens increasingly access services or information using some form of 'one stop shop' system, this could have the negative effect of dehumanising the interface and thus further loosen the