

To Reinforce or To Mobilize? Tracing the Impact of Internet Use on Civic Engagement in Taiwan

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ABSTRACT

Since the 1990s, Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) have become popular instruments for delivering government services, encouraging citizen participation, and improving public trust. However, although governments around the globe have made enormous investments in e-Government initiatives, whether these efforts do indeed promote greater civic engagement is still under fierce debate between those optimistic and those pessimistic about technology's potential to change the way governments interact with the populace. This paper attempts to figure out whether the Internet can encourage civic engagement and whether its effect is "reinforcing" or "mobilizing" by analyzing Taiwanese national survey data.

The findings show that ICTs appear to have a reinforcing, rather than mobilizing effect. These technologies encourage only those people who are already active in so-called real-world civic engagements to interact with their governments online. At the end of this paper, four policy recommendations are proposed, namely: (1) keeping spending resources that could engage people in ways other than technology; (2) allocating more resources to address the digital divide; (3) focusing future e-Government initiatives in Taiwan more strongly on users; and (4) including a synchronized reform in these initiatives between the online interface and off-line back-office.

Categories and Subject Descriptors

K.4.0 [Computers and Society]: General

General Terms

Human Factors

Keywords

Civic Engagement, e-Government, e-Democracy, Internet, ICTs, Democratic Consolidation

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1. INTRODUCTION

Owing to the belief that Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) can be a powerful tool to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of public services, and improve the quality of citizen participation, modern democratic nations have been recognizing them as an important part of public policy since the early 1990s. However, many studies presently argue that the real effects of ICTs on society have yet been demonstrated clearly and empirically. Broadly categorizing the two positions on this issue as one of optimism and one of pessimism toward technology, those who believe in the former believe that the development of ICTs can not only decrease the costs of public participation but also can "mobilize" public engagement. Those who believe in the latter position argue that the only clear impact of ICTs is the "reinforcement" of public activists and a resulting deepening of the social divide between the information-rich and the information-poor individuals. According to Norris [1], the mobilizing effect refers to the fact that the Internet will inform, organize, and engage those who are currently inactive in political systems. The reinforcing effect, on the other hand, means that online resources will be utilized by those citizens who are already connected via traditional channels. These two different arguments about the impact of ICTs have not yet been proven. In this paper, we attempt to answer the question of whether the Internet reinforces or mobilizes civic engagement. In order to address this issue, this paper will analyze Taiwanese national survey data and propose future policy recommendations based on these results.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Civic Engagement

What is civic engagement? Scholars in different areas usually have different perspectives on the content and scope of this term [2]. However, most focus on the citizenry's participation in government activities. For example, Diller [3] argues that civic engagement encompasses a broader action than traditional civic activities such as voting or familiarizing oneself with the workings of government. Namely, it involves directing individual effort toward collective action in solving problems through the political process. In Cooper's view [4], though, civic engagement means deliberate participation and collective action within an array of interests, institutions, and networks, and in activities that develop civic identity and involve people in government processes. Park, however, views civic engagement from a democratic perspective, defining it as citizens' individual and collective involvement in public affairs and voluntary activities in the community [20].

In his outstanding work, *Bowling Alone*, Putnam [5] uses the phenomenon of “bowling alone” to represent the decreasing levels of civic engagement in American society. He believes that informal, social connections such as getting together for drinks after work, and formal, social involvement such as political participation are both the foundation of social capital as well as civic engagement and they are important factors in strengthening democracy. Pippa Norris [1] gives three dimensions of civic engagement from a political perspective: political knowledge, or what people learn about public affairs; political trust, or the public’s support for the political system and its actors; and political participation, or the means by which the public can influence government and its decision-making processes. Jennings and Zeitner [7] take the stance that, from a political perspective, civic engagements include media attentiveness, political involvement, and volunteerism.

As traditional civic engagement such as voting and knowledge of government processes is the foundation of civil society [3], the decline of public participation in government over the past few years and the decline of citizenships has become a source of concern for the future of democratic governance. Skocpol and Fiorina [8] list three approaches for explaining this decline in civic engagement: Putnam’s social capital approach, which is the rational choice theorist approach which considers this as a consequence of a rational calculation, and the historical institutionalist approach, wherein organizational changes, social and political movements, and the changing relationship between citizens and political experts are the core factors affecting civic engagement.

Numerous studies have demonstrated a recent decline in civic engagement and have strongly suggested that this phenomenon may result in the collapse of civic society. But while ICTs have been promoted as a means to combat this decline, their effectiveness in promoting civic engagement is still unproven.

2.2 An Ambiguous Relationship between ICTs and Online Civic Engagement

Although many studies demonstrate that ICTs can reduce the cost of providing government services and introduce more efficient means of information exchange, the use of these technologies in the government sector can easily have the opposite effect. For example, these technologies often introduce the issue of information overload which can greatly increase the difficulty of effective communication between the government and the public. Additionally, the online nature of these technologies makes them more vulnerable to high-tech terrorism [9]. As a result, estimating the real impact of ICTs on society and clarifying their relationship to societal change are important issues both practically and academically.

Owing to the constraints of available empirical data and an unclear causal relationship between ICTs and civic engagement [6][10], technology optimists, pessimists, and skeptics are still arguing over the true impact of these technologies [11][12][13].

Strongly convinced of the potential of technology in government, enthusiasts of ICTs believe that this technology can improve civic engagement significantly [14]. In *Bowling Together*, in an interesting case done by Coleman and Gotze [15], the authors reject Putnam’s famous work, instead suggesting that Internet

technology can deliver more information to people than traditional approaches can, thus enhancing public interaction and participation in the decision-making process and allowing citizens to further engage in public affairs. When talking about democratic institutions, Lawrence Grossman [16] suggests that telecommunications technologies amplify the voice of the people and bring the public straight to the forefront of the decision-making process. More recently, Chen and Dimitrova [10] analyzed empirical data and found that the usefulness of electronic government policy is an important factor of online civic engagement, showing a positive correlation between Internet use and political enthusiasm. In short, the optimists believe that technology will bring solutions for increasing civic engagement, the adoption of technology will enhance the quality of civil society, and communication technologies will reduce the costs of information exchange and public involvement.

On the other hand, those who are pessimistic about technology’s use in government argue that ICTs may worsen existing social inequalities. For example, an overuse of technology in the public arena will merely further the social gap between information-rich and information-poor individuals [17][18]. Many see technology as a “Pandora’s box” [13] that provides a “reinforcing,” rather than a “mobilizing,” effect on society. In other words, only those already active in the “real world” are mobilized to engage in online civic interaction. Furthermore, high expectations that technology can ease interaction between the government and the public will bring not only disappointment, but also adds to new problems.

Lastly, sceptics worry that technology may not in fact be a driver of civic engagement. Norris [1] proposed two different possible effects of Internet use on civic engagement. The mobilization hypothesis claims that, “the Internet may serve to inform, organize, and engage those who are currently marginalized from the existing political system,” and, if proven, supports the pessimistic view of technology in government. The reinforcement hypothesis, on the other hand, suggests that “online resources will be used primarily for reinforcement by those citizens who are already active and well connected via traditional channels”, and will result in a deeper social divide. Though Carpini’s [19] review of current research in this field shows that the Internet has significant enforcing effects on all groups and segments of the population already engaged or interested in public issues, the most difficult group to reach is the one that is the most disengaged from civic life. It remains unclear whether the Internet can be a useful means of promoting civic interaction among those who are disengaged.

In Barber’s view [6], we cannot be certain about the future role of democracy in society. He categorizes three scenarios for the future of technology and democracy: the Pangloss scenario, characterized by over-confidence and trust in technology; the Pandora scenario, which reminds us of the possible dangers of technological determinism, and the Jeffersonian scenario, which seeks out the affirmative uses of new technology. Taken together, these arguments suggest an unclear relationship between technology and civic engagement. The main purposes of this paper are to clarify the relationship between Internet use and civic engagement, test the reinforcement and mobilization hypotheses, and trace the impact of Internet use on civic engagement in Taiwan.

3. RESEARCH METHOD

In order to test the two different hypotheses (mobilization and reinforcement), this paper analyzed a sub-sample of survey data collected from a research project titled “Taiwan’s Social Change Survey.” This survey used the “probability proportional to size” sampling method, selecting 4,652 samples from Taiwan’s adult population and estimating social attitudes through face-to-face interviews. The survey was conducted from September 28 to October 24, 2003, and received 2,161 completed samples (a success rate of 46 percent). However, as this paper’s main focus is the relationship between civic interaction and Internet use, this paper will consider only the Internet users (sub-n=1,026) among the 2,161 completed samples. Due to the facts that Taiwan’s information infrastructure (70 percent of population has connected to the Internet) and e-Government developments (ranked the second highest country in Brown University’s 2008 e-Government report) are highly developed, the results of this study could, we believe, bring many implications to other countries.

Because this paper focuses on whether Internet use can improve civic engagement, the main dependant variable is ONLINE CIVIC ENGAGEMENT (OCE). In order to test reinforcement and mobilization effects, this paper will use an independent variable, REAL WORLD CIVIC ENGAGEMENT (RWCE), to separate different research sample groups, and compare the OCE with “high RWCE” and “low RWCE.” In addition, the independent variables also include Domestic Character, Political Efficacy, Internet Use, and Political Knowledge. Please see Appendix A for the operationalisation of every variable.

Given the multivariate nature of this survey, this paper uses internal consistency analysis and correlations in order to eliminate some insignificant items and combine others into an index (Appendix B). Regarding RWCE, this paper also uses factor analysis and reliability analysis to divide it into five different dimensions: Opinion Expression (EXP), Political Trust (TRU), Community Participation (COM), Political Attention (ATT), and Election Participation (ELE). (Appendix C)

4. RESULTS OF DATA ANALYSIS

Regarding the question of whether Internet use can enhance online civic engagement, most of the prior literature and empirical research takes the optimistic position that higher Internet usage leads to higher online civic engagement e.g.[10][13]. However, Norris [1] argues that since these inferences usually lack longitudinal data-based evidence, it is dangerous to conclude a causal relationship between the two.

In Table 1 (model I), a multiple linear regression shows that age ($\beta_{AGE-I} = -.061$) and the propensity to express political opinion off-line ($\beta_{EXP-I} = 0.338$) are significant drivers of online civic engagement. Younger people are more likely to engage in public affairs online, and people who have expressed their opinions off-line are more likely to engage in public affairs over the Internet. In addition, higher Internet usage leads to higher online civic engagement ($\beta_{INT-I} = 0.142$). People who care greatly about politics or political issues are more likely to engage in public affairs online ($\beta_{ATT-I} = 0.259$).

Table 1. Liner regression of OCE (model I)

Independent variables	β	s.e	Toler- -ance	
Constant	4.92	1.034		
Internet use (INT)	.142 ***	.033	.839	
Gender (GEN)	-.327	.242	.934	
Age (AGE)	-.061 ***	.014	.672	
Education (EDU)	.084	.129	.816	
Political Efficacy (EFF)	-.015	.052	.694	
Political Knowledge (KNOW)	-.039	.069	.704	
RWCE	Opinion expression (EXP)	.338 ***	.051	.679
	Political Trust (TRU)	.053	.034	.736
	Community Participation (COM)	.127	.072	.890
	Election Participation (ELE)	.124	.064	.626
	Political Attention (ATT)	.259 ***	.047	.560

F=21.653, p<0.001; R²=.282; Adjusted R²=.269
Durbin-Watson=2.031; ***p<0.001 ; **p<0.01 ; *p<0.05

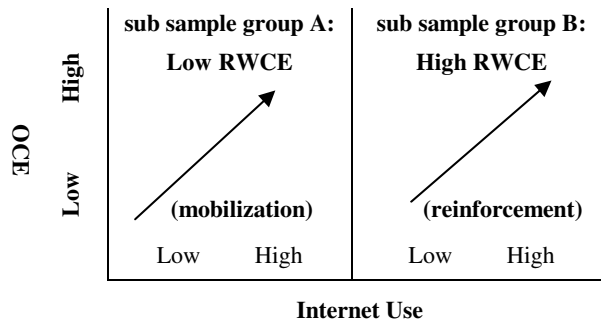


Figure 1. “mobilization” and “reinforcement” effects

The statistics in Table 1 indicate that this study’s findings agree with previous literature on this topic: Internet usage can undoubtedly enhance civic engagement. However, while these results concur with studies such as Norris’, in which she found a positive effect of Internet use on political activism, or Chen and Dimitrova [10], in which they highlighted the important role of information channels on online public information searching, the question of who the target of this “enhancement” in public participation is remains unanswered. If these technologies improve online civic engagement by people who rarely engage in public affairs, it is a “mobilization” effect. If, however, it only improves civic engagement with those who are already active in off-line civic engagement, it is a “reinforcement” effect (Figure 1). What follows is a separation of these factors into different subgroups in order to clarify these two effects.

Table 2 shows the result of cluster analysis. Based on five dimensions of RWCE, the sample has been divided into three sub-sample groups that have been identified as Low-RWCE, Med-RWCE, and High-RWCE.

Analyzing these three sub-sample groups separately, Table 3 points out the multifaceted expectations of Internet use among three multiple linear regressions (Model II, III, and IV). The higher the RWCE, the higher the expectation of Internet use is (non significant in model II, $\beta_{INT-III} = .136$ in model III, and $\beta_{INT-IV} = .307$ in model IV). In other words, the effects of Internet use focus only on the people who are already civically active off-line. ICTs appear to have a reinforcing, rather than a mobilizing effect, on civic engagement.

Table 2. Cluster analysis of RWCE

statistics		Low-RWCE	Med-RWCE	High-RWCE
Political Expression	n	292	517	217
	Min.	5	5	8
	Max	12	14	25
	Mean	7.92	9.77	13.69
	S.E	2.146	1.611	2.393
Political Trust	n	184	334	142
	Min.	7	7	7
	Max	25	28	28
	Mean	15.49	16.82	17.87
	S.E	3.376	3.91	4.163
Community Participation	n	292	516	217
	Min.	3	3	3
	Max	11	12	12
	Mean	3.64	4.07	4.48
	S.E	1.321	1.772	1.998
Political Attention	n	272	484	208
	Min.	5	13	11
	Max	16	24	25
	Mean	11.6	16.71	17.87
	S.E	2.109	2.041	2.543
Election Participation	n	292	517	217
	Min.	3	3	6
	Max	12	13	15
	Mean	5.12	6.68	9.72
	S.E	1.583	1.479	1.887

5. DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

To summarise our analysis and answer the question of whether Internet technologies can improve civic engagement, we present that Internet usage, the main independent variable investigated in this paper, significantly and positively correlates to online civic engagement, but its effect is only evident on those classified as high-RWCE. Figure 2 displays the different effects seen in models II, III, and IV. Unfortunately, the data indicate a reinforcement effect instead of a mobilization effect. This suggests that the necessary societal prerequisites for relying on Internet technology to improve civic engagement are still not developed.

Table 3. Linear model of sub samples (Model II,III,IV)

Models	Indep. Variables	B	s.e.
Low RWCE (Model II)	Constant	5.912	2.182
	Internet use	.052	.058
	Gender	-.606	.450
	Age	.004	.029
	Education	-.039	.271
	Political efficacy	-.062	.103
	Political Knowledge	-.021	.111
	Political expression	.116	.117
	Political Trust	.060	.074
	Com. Participation)	-.140	.189
	Election Participation	.355 *	.158
	Political Attention	.320 **	.107
Med-RWCE (Model III)	Constant	2.128	2.139
	Internet use	.136 **	.042
	Gender	-.343	.302
	Age	-.086 ***	.019
	Education	.138	.162
	Political efficacy	-.008	.067
	Political Knowledge	-.064	.091
	Political expression	.627 ***	.094
	Political Trust	.022	.043
	Com. Participation	.087	.085
	Election Participation	.108	.100
	Political Attention	.351 ***	.081
High-RWCE (Model IV)	Constant	-1.06	3.866
	Internet use	.307 ***	.085
	Gender	.163	.673
	Age	-.081 *	.034
	Education	.315	.313
	Political efficacy	-.047	.124
	Political Knowledge	.140	.216
	Political expression	.180	.130
	Political Trust	.134	.085
	Com. Participation	.317	.172
	Election Participation	.172	.162
	Political Attention	.373 *	.147

Note: ***p<0.001 ; **p<0.01 ; *p<0.05; All models correspond to the assumption of Multicollinearity.

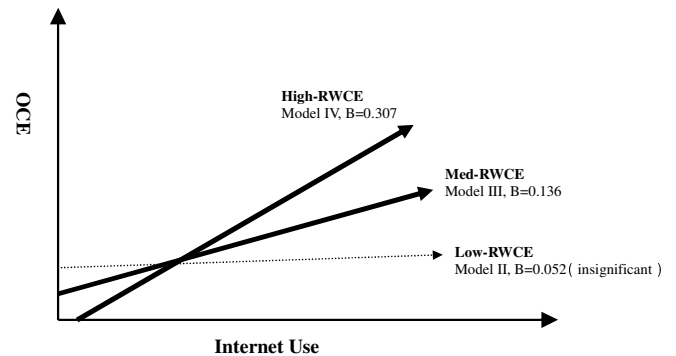


Figure 2. The coefficients of "Internet Use" in three models

Given these conclusions, an unbalanced IT infrastructure may worsen social status gaps, as pessimists have postulated, and results in Norris's [1] "democratic divide" effect. To prevent this from happening, there are at least four important points that should be considered in future electronic governance policy. The first point is an immediate need for modern governance. Its main purpose is to balance the reinforcement effect. The last four points are proposed for a long-term strategy.

- 1) **Keeping spending resources that could engage people in ways other than technology:** Government should not be fascinated by e-dreams and should not give undue attention on e-democracy tools. Since we have seen that the mobilization effect has not become a reality, governments should rethink arrangements of IT policy and IT budgets so that they can connect information-poor and information-rich individuals simultaneously. This is a way to counteract the reinforcement effect. For those who are not connected to the Internet, the first stage of engaging them is not increasing their Internet service, but keeping civic engagement channels in the "real world" open to them. In other words, mobilizing the RWCE is the base, or the first step that is necessary to enhancing technology's effects. We believe this is one of the items we called necessary societal prerequisites for technological optimism.
- 2) **More resources should be allocated to reduce the digital divide:** Governments around the world are actively pursuing the idea of "ubiquitous government," having realized that we cannot ignore the issue of the digital divide and its potential for causing social conflict between information-rich and information-poor people. According to this paper's findings, Internet usage has a reinforcing effect on the civic engagement in our society. To some extent, the reinforcement effect is worse than having no effect. This finding tells us that we should focus our work on reducing the digital divide. If we do not address this concern, we risk damaging the democratic institutions we have built.
- 3) **Future e-Government initiatives in Taiwan should be more strongly focused on users:** Recently, many scholars have criticized the supply-side perspective of e-Government because e-Government programs based on a supply-side perspective usually cannot provide a complete service framework to address everyone's needs. Questions such as, what the people's needs are for digital governance, what services the people expect, and what the most important digital service is for each interest group should be answered before implementing e-Government policies.
- 4) **These initiatives should include a synchronized reform between the on-line interface and off-line back office:** In addition to the online e-Government interface, the off-line back-office mechanisms for these services should be addressed in the initiatives, allowing a closer integration of these two systems. For example, questions such as, how to merge the expression of political opinion online with the "real world" decision making process and how to redesign the "real world" or back-office administrative process to cope with increasing policy complaints by e-mail, on discussion boards, and on government websites should be addressed.

These four proposed recommendations focus primarily on practical operations. They are all important key points when thinking of e-Government policy. We hope, academically, that further research can try to conduct a longitudinal survey and use panel samples to further clarify the relationship between IT and society, thereby further clarifying the true impact of Internet use on civic engagement.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The 1990s, a time of incredible technological progress, bore witness to nations around the globe seeking to reinvent the government's function through the concepts of e-Government, e-Democracy, and e-Governance. Researchers introduced new notions in the field of public administration that sparked intense discussion on the influence that the Internet has had on society. The core of this paper regards the concerns the recent developments in public administration and electronic government that have attracted the attention of academia, focusing on the issue of whether or not Internet technologies can promote civic engagement. Through statistical analysis, we were able to take the first steps in investigating the influence that information technology has had on civic engagement as well as discuss the possibility of governments applying new information and communication technologies to enhance civic engagement.

This paper's findings indicate that we are not yet at a juncture to adequately promote civic engagement through ICTs, as it is obvious that these efforts seek to promote online civic engagement are limited in effect to those traditionally active in public affairs. Additionally, this paper demonstrates that current systems for promoting e-Government are unable to satisfactorily address the needs of the people, instead giving undue attention to those already accustomed to technology and neglecting to address the need to promote comprehensive civic engagement.

However, in spite of these criticisms, optimism toward technology's use in government may prove justified, as these issues may arise from poor management and may not be inherent to these technologies. Consequently, policies may still be able to overcome these obstacles. Furthermore, approaching the statistics presented in this paper from another point of view, one might say that while ICTs' efforts are concentrated on a group of people who are already attentive to their governance, but not necessarily convinced of its efficiency, as long as these effects can promote participation in government and civic awareness -- even if only to the point of caring about one's government, not actively participating in it -- then maybe this alone could be considered a positive result and promotion of democratic values.

Although this paper relies on cross-sectional data as opposed to longitudinal data for its analysis, we believe such an exploratory study is already an important first step in understanding the effects of Internet use on online civic engagement and is a powerful reminder of the importance of this issue. Hopefully, future research can make deeper forays into this question, which has, in past years, grown into one of the key issues of e-governance. More involvement is needed by the academic community to spur dialogue on this topic and the topic of e-democracy. Since this topic has great significance in "real world" governance, academia must work with the public sector to determine how to address the issues raised in this paper in constructing a complete e-governance structure.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Operationalisation

variables	Operationalise items
Political efficacy (EFF)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Politics is too complicated? ○ People like me don't have the ability to influence public policy? ○ Public officials don't care what people like me think? ○ When the government is going to implement a policy, public officials don't care for the needs of the people?
Internet Use (INT)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ In the last year, how often have you browsed the Internet? ○ In the last year, how many days did you browse the Internet per week? ○ Excluding work use, how long do you use the Internet every day?
Political Knowledge (KNOW)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Do you know who our vice president is? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – How long are our terms of office? – How many years is the term of our president? – Which party is the majority in our Congress? – Who is the head of the Dept. of Education? – Who is the head of the DP party? – Which political party does Ms. Chen belong to? – Who is the administrative head of HK?

variables	Operationalise items
Real World Civic Engagement (RWCE)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Do you agree that people in government <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Don't have a plan for our future? – Waste a lot of the money that we pay in taxes? – Are doing the right thing? – Are corrupt? – People's needs are their biggest concern? ○ Do you trust politicians? ○ Have you participated in work like community reinvention? ○ Have you done volunteer work in your community? ○ Have you participated in any local democratic meetings? ○ Have you read the newspaper for the purpose of gathering political information? ○ Have you discussed political issues with your friends? ○ Have you expressed your political opinion in the newspaper? ○ Have you expressed your political opinion to a politician or your representative? ○ Would you persuade your friend to support the political candidate you support? ○ Would you join a political campaign? ○ Would you campaign for the candidate you support? ○ Would you join a political protest? ○ Do you usually vote? ○ Have you ever called in to talk shows on TV or radio? ○ Would you participate in a public survey to express your opinion? ○ In general, are you interested in politics? ○ In general, do you care about politics?
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Have you read political news through an e-newspaper, BBS, or political websites? ○ Do you discuss political issues with your friends over the Internet? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Use the Internet to express your opinions on political issues to the media? – Use the Internet to express your opinions on political issues to politicians or your representatives? – Use the Internet to express your opinions on political issues?
Dependent variable: Online Civic Engagement (OCE)	

Appendix B: Index Constructions of EFF, INT, and OCE

Variables	Items	Pearson's r with the Index	reliability (α)
Political efficacy (EFF)	Politics is too complicated.	.635(**)	0.707
	People like me don't have the ability to influence public policy.	.790(**)	
	When the government is going to implement a policy, public officials don't care for the needs of the people.	.799(**)	
	Public officials don't care what people like me think.	.701(**)	
	In the last year, how often have you browsed the Internet?	.950(**)	
Internet Use (INT)	In the last year, how many days did you browse the Internet per week?	.989(**)	0.813
	I use the Internet to express my opinions on political issues to the media.	.566(**)	0.805
Online Civic Engagement (OCE)	I use the Internet to express my opinions on political issues to politicians or my representatives.	.724(**)	
	I use the Internet to express my opinions on political issues.	.762(**)	
	I discuss political issues with my friends on the Internet.	.806(**)	
	I read e-newsletters to gather political information.	.770(**)	
	Have you read political news through e-newspaper, BBS, or political websites?	.749(**)	

** p<0.01

Appendix C: Factor Analysis of RWCE

Named Dimension	items	Load-ing	Variance	Reliabilit y(α)
Opinion Expression (EXP)	Have you ever called in to talk shows on TV or radio?	.831	24.121%	0.822
	Would you participate in a public survey to express your opinion?	.782		
	Have you expressed your political opinion in the newspaper?	.740		
	Have you expressed your political opinion to a politician or your representative?	.708		
	Would you join a political protest?	.647		
Political Trust (TRU)	People's needs are the biggest concern for policy decisions.	.768	12.99%	0.806
	The government works for the people's benefit.	-.764		
	Do you trust politicians?	.741		
	People in government don't have plan for our future.	.661		
	People in government waste a lot of the money we pay in taxes.	.660		
	People in government are doing the right thing.	-.657		
	Only a few of those running the government are	-.560		

Named Dimension	items	Load-ing	Variance	Reliabilit y(α)
	corrupt.			
Community Participation (COM)	Have you done work like community reinvention?	.815	8.369%	0.649
	Have you done volunteer work in your community?	.782		
	Have you participated in local democratic meetings?	.702		
Political Attention (ATT)	In general, are you interested in politics?	-.824	6.297%	0.754
	In general, do you care about politics?	-.808		
	Have you discussed political issues with your friends?	-.688		
	Have you read the newspaper for the purpose of gathering political information?	-.651		
	Do you usually vote for your representatives?	-.512		
Election Participation (ELE)	Would you campaign for the candidate you support?	-.883	5.033%	0.823
	Would you persuade your friend to support the political candidate you support?	-.836		
	Would you join a political campaign?	-.760		

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin=0.833
Communicative explained variance=56.81%

