

Active or Passive?
A Study of Taiwan's Internet Users' Political Participation

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Introduction

Classic democratic theories suggest that knowledgeable citizen is indispensable to democracy and empirical research findings also confirm that informed citizens, in general, are more politically active than their counterparts. Namely, people with higher political information are more likely to participate in political activities. In addition to family, school, working place and peer group, mass media plays a critical role on offering citizens information. In the past, people obtain political information via contact and discussion with others (i.e., social network) and television, newspaper, and radio (i.e., traditional mass media). However, as the rapid development of high technology, Internet becomes a new channel by which people are able to receive information faster and more convenient. We wonder that whether new technology plays a more effective role in promoting political participation since previous research indicates that the more information people obtain, the more likely they are involved in political activities.

To put it simple, this paper aims to investigate whether people who absorb information via Internet are more politically active than those who receive information via traditional mass media. By utilizing public opinion survey to measure to what extent respondents get involve in political activities in Taiwan, this paper will examine whether new technology promotes the development of democracy by enhancing users' political knowledge and establish the relationship between information channel and political participation.

This chapter is divided into five parts. In the first I review the literature on the relationship between the use of different types of mass media and political participation. In the second, we move to introduce the data source and method used in the study. The third section demonstrates empirical result, showing whether Internet users in Taiwan are more active or passive than their counterparts in politics. In the final concluding section, a summary of our research findings, theoretical implications, and limitations will be discussed.

Media Use and Politics

It is no doubt that mass media plays a critical role in political process. Mass Media not only guides the formation of public opinions but also makes a great impact on people's political behavior, especially political participation. Nevertheless, scholars have not reached a consensus on how mass media influences politics.

Some scholars indicate that citizens can utilize mass media to learn political affairs. Their research findings suggest that mass media can contribute to the increase

of voting participation by not only offering individuals with sufficient political information to feel they can make a right decision but also stimulating interest in elections (Chaffee and Kanihan 1997; Weaver 1996).

Furthermore, scholars who emphasize the positive impact of media use on political behavior demonstrate that mass media plays a significant role in enhancing people's political knowledge, efficacy, and participation (Eveland and Scheufle 2000). Robinson and Levy (1986) indicate that media use can stimulate individuals' political participation by reinforcing their political knowledge. Namely, the more frequently people access to mass media, the higher political knowledge and participation they possess. According to Huang and Chang (2008), Taiwanese citizens, regardless of their party identification, who pay more attention to electoral news are more likely to possess higher level of political efficacy, trust and electoral participation.

As for the effect of different forms of mass media on political behavior, communication scholars and political scientists find that reading newspaper is positively related to various types of civic and political engagement. Citizens who pay more attention to campaign information in newspapers are more likely turnout to vote (Weaver and Drew 2001; Scheufele 2002). Moreover, the positive relationship between television viewing and political participation is also proved (Norris 1996).

However, newspaper and television do not make an identical impact on individuals' political behavior. Newspaper reading makes a greater impact on individual's political participation than television viewing. The more frequently individuals read newspaper, the higher level of political participation they have (Chaffee and Kanihan 1997; Chen and Lo 2006). Smith's research finding also confirms that individuals who read about politics in newspaper tend to learn more than those who watch television (Smith 1989). In short, people who spend a lot of time on television viewing tend to possess lower level of political knowledge, efficacy, and interest than those acquire information via newspaper.

However, Scholars of other school analyze the relationship between media use and political behavior from different perspective, arguing that mass media makes a negative impact on citizens' political behavior. Mass media is criticized for its contribution to the long-term decay in political trust and involvement. Previous studies suggest that instead of focusing on substantive political information and candidate qualification, the press over-emphasizes horse-racing campaign process and negative views of government, political party and politician, increasing citizens' mistrust of political process and institution and decreasing voter turnout (Patterson 1993; McChesney 1999; Fallows 1996).

Peng's research suggests that traditional media use could not make a huge impact on people's participation while exposure to TV call-in program and TV debates

significantly influences individual's campaign participation (Peng 2001).

Moreover, Putnam (1995) argues that television in the United States has contributed to the erosion of social capital and civil engagement.¹ He suggests that television has destroyed social capital through displacing social activities outside the home. The amount of television viewing is significantly and negatively associated with social trust, group membership, and voting participation. However, the equivalent association with newspaper reading is found to be positive (1995: 678).

Nevertheless, Norris's research leads to a different conclusion (Norris 1996). Norris also agrees with that the amount of time people spent on watching television is significantly correlated to political participation. Namely, the more time people spend on watching television, the less politically active they are. Nevertheless, Norris argues that instead of focusing on the amount of time on watching television, scholars should focus on the content of what people watch. Individuals who watch news and public affair programs on television are significantly more likely to be involved in various types of political participation (Norris 1996: 476). Hence, Norris concludes that the relationship between television viewership and civic engagement is more complex than sometimes suggested.

The debates on Internet Politics

In addition to traditional mass media such as newspaper, television, radio, the Internet is becoming a quite important information source and as common as other mass media in people's daily life.

In fact, the population of Internet users is growing rapidly and including a wider representation of the whole population in Taiwan. According to Internet World Stats (2011), the number of Internet users in Taiwan is 16,147,000, which refers to around 70.0% of the total Taiwanese population (23,071,779). Namely, Internet, as a source of information and a tool for communication, is available to a majority of the Taiwanese public. The population of online users is rapidly changing not only in numbers but also in characteristics. In the past, people with access to the Internet were those who are from higher income families and better educated (Marlin 1999). However, as Internet becomes easier to access and cheaper, the relationship between Internet access and users' socioeconomic status has become not as significant as it was before.

Furthermore, the rising of the new media has already attracted scholars' attention. Among all types of mass media, Internet perhaps changes people's life more quickly and dramatically than any other technological innovation in the 20th century.

¹ According to Putnam (1995), social capital refers to the dense networks of norms and social trust which enable participants to cooperate in the pursuit of shared objectives.

Compared with traditional mass media, Internet is considered a more convenient and cheaper information source. Citizens report using the Internet for information because they are dissatisfied with traditional mass media (Tolbert and McNeal 2003). The Internet meets people's needs for information in a more convenient form and at a lower cost than traditional mass media. (Tolbert and McNeal 2003). Moreover, as Bean (2011) suggests, "the Internet different from other media in the degree discretion it gives users to determine the information they will pay attention to."

As a new type of media, what impact Internet makes on democratic politics has become a critical issue for communication and political science scholars. In fact, change in communication technology may make a huge impact on citizens' political participation. For example, a greater number of political parties and candidates have begun to run their own websites in recent years for attracting people's attention, offering information to their supporters, and gaining name recognition and fundraising. However, as the debate on the effect of television and newspaper on political participation, scholars also have not reached a consensus on whether Internet makes a positive or negative on political participation yet.

Previous empirical research on the role of Internet access in shaping citizen participation is mixed. Some scholars suggest that the using of internet contributes citizens' participation of campaign activities. Individuals who are internet user are more likely to be engaged in a variety of political activities (Shah, Kwak, and Holbert 2001; Weber and Bergman 2001).

Quintelier and Vissers, based on previous studies of Internet politics, suggest that there are four reasons that Internet may mobilize more people who were underrepresented to be involved in political affairs: (1) the Internet provides a lot of opportunities for political engagement, (2) the Internet the cost of participation; (3) Internet is quick and up to date and can provide a lot of information necessary to participate in civic life and public discussion; (4) Internet can strengthen the workings of direct democracy and improve relations between citizens, politicians, and their intermediaries through process like e-government (Quintelier and Vissers 2008: 2-3). As a result, according to mobilize hypothesis, the more time people spend on the Internet, the more likely they receive political information, thus increasing the level of political participation.

Tolbert and McNeal (2003) argue that access to Internet and online election news significantly increased the probability of voting. The Internet may increase voting participation by offering individuals greater access to political information, and in turn stimulating voter turnout. Their research finding shows that Individuals who reported viewing online election information were more likely to vote (Tolbert and McNeal 2003).

Moreover, according to Best and Krueger (2005), the accessibility of the internet contributes to discussion of public affairs and political participation indeed. Since most Internet users are the young citizens, the use of Internet thus serves as an important source of political participation, attracting young people who are normally not interested in politics and enhancing the young generation's political interest and participation.

Focusing on campaign activities in Taiwan, Wang (2006) indicates that compared with traditional mass media, Internet can offer much more information and people can acquire information more conveniently and thus enhance their interest. She makes a comparison between Internet users and traditional mass media users. According to her research, Internet is not associated with individuals' political attitudes and voting behavior. Nevertheless, Internet is the only medium which can predict campaign participation variables. Compared with other citizens, Internet users are more likely to make a campaign donation to candidates and attend to campaign rallies (Wang 2006).

Although, Internet can offer more plentiful and diverse information than other mass media and was expected to promote political participation, scholars of other schools argue that Internet use does not make a significant impact on people's political participation when most people are used to collect information from Internet which is not related to politics.

Scholars of this school propose a time-replacement hypothesis, arguing that media use has a negative impact on political participation. The time people spend on Internet cannot be devoted to other political activities (Norris 1996). Furthermore, online interaction limits face-to-face physical contact, which can be instrumental in increasing political participation (Nie and Erbring 2002). Moreover, online communication promotes homogeneous contact, stimulating the interaction among like-minded people. It motivates a more opinion polarization, thus not promoting political polarization (Mutz 2002). Hence, intensive Internet use is just associated with a withdrawal from public life, leading to a decrease of political participation (Nie and Erbring 2002; Putnam 1995).

Furthermore, some scholars even argue that Internet use may enlarge the information gap. Those who are Internet novices need to spend more time to collect on-line information. Moreover, individuals using the internet to acquire political information are those who have higher political interest and efficacy. For most Internet users, the main purpose of using Internet is for entertainment and communication. Therefore, it does not significantly contribute to political participation (Jennings and Zeithner 2003).

Jennings and Zeithner (2003) argue that there are three reasons why access to Internet retards civic engagement. First of all, Internet may enlarge the original

pre-Internet gap in civic engagement because Internet users are originally those who are more politically knowledgeable. Secondly, Internet offers various types of entertainment, thus lowering willingness and time people spend on acquire political information. Finally, Internet use lowers inter-personal trust, decreasing social groups and organizations' positive impact on political process.

In short, these scholars consider that access to the Internet did not make a significant impact on voting participation. The political behavior of those who use Internet to acquire information did not different from their counterparts who obtain information via other sources (Bimber 1999; 2001; Quan-Hasse and Wellman 2002).

According to aforementioned discussion, scholars apparently have not reached a consensus on whether and how individuals' media use affects their political participation. Moreover, previous research rarely examines the relationship between Taiwanese citizens' media use and their political engagement. As a result, we, in this paper, try to investigate whether Internet users in Taiwan tend to be more active in political affairs than citizens who utilize other media to acquire information.

Although what type of mass media makes a greater impact on citizens' civic engagement does not come to a firm conclusion, previous research may give us a useful hint. If political knowledge increases the likelihood of political participation as Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996) suggest, then Internet users should be more politically active than traditional mass media users. Based on Delli Carpini and Keeter's findings, we assume that Internet users tend to possess higher level of political participation.

Data and Research Design

According to our research target, we assume that individuals' media use influence their political participation. If this assumption is correct, we expect to see that Taiwanese citizens who are Internet users are more likely to be more active in political affairs.

In this study, we take advantage of public opinion survey to examine the relationship between media use and political participation. The main data source is Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study, 2010: the Elections of Taipei, Taichung, and Kaohsiung Cities (TEDS 2010C). It is an annual face to face interview project on metropolitan elections in 2010 and the principal investigator of TEDS 2010C is Professor Shioh-duan Hawang. TEDS 2010C includes variables which are useful for this research. I utilize these variables to investigate whether Internet users tend to be more politically active.

The dependent variable of this study is respondents' political participation and independent variable is the type of respondents' media use. In addition to media use,

we also include some respondents' demographic and psychological variables such as age, gender, education, party identification, political knowledge and political efficacy as control variables. The research structure of this study is showed in Figure 1.

[Figure 1 about here]

Dependent Variable: Political Participation

As for political participation, Verba, Nie, and Kim (1978: 46) define political participation as “those legal activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions they take.” Verba and his colleagues then go further to categorize political participation into four models: voting, campaign activity, communal activity, and particularized contacts (Verba, Nie, and Kim 1978: 53-54). However, due to the lack of survey questions to explore respondents' involvement of communal activity, and particularized contacts in TEDS 2010C, this study thus only include voting and campaign participation into the analysis, examining respondents' political participation.

According to Verba and his colleagues, voting is the most frequent citizen activity. It exerts influence over politicians through generalized pressure but it requires little information about voter preferences to politicians (Verba, Nie, and Kim 1978: 53). In TEDS 2010C survey, voting participation is measured by asking whether respondents turnout to vote in 2010 municipality mayoral elections. We define respondents who casted their votes are those have voting participation. On the contrary, respondents who did not vote in the election are classified as those were not engaged in voting participation.

Campaign activity is another form of citizen activity in electoral process. It also exerts a lot of pressure on politicians but it requires more information about the participants' preferences (Verba, Nie, and Kim 1978: 53). In fact, there are various types of campaign participation such as watch candidate debate, participate election march or rally, give money to party or candidate, and so on. Campaign participation, in TEDS 2010 C, is measured by asking respondents whether they did any campaign activity during 2010 municipality mayoral elections. Based on the degree of activeness and cost respondents need to spend on, we divide campaign activities into three types: Low, middle, and high. Campaign activities showed in TEDS 2010 C and the classification of respondents' campaign participation in 2010 municipality mayoral elections can be found in appendix.

Independent variables: Media Use

The independent variable of this study is media use. Media use is measured by asking respondents where they obtain most of their election news during the campaign season of this municipality mayoral election. We, based on people's source of electoral information, divide citizens into three groups: Internet user, traditional mass media user, and others.

Respondents who are defined traditional mass media users are those who obtain their election news from television news, newspaper, radio, political talk show. Internet users are respondents who obtain most of election news from Internet, Internet news, political party and candidate's website. As for "others", respondents who are classified as "others" are those acquire election information from social network such as relatives and friends, neighbors, village head, working place and so on. We will make a comparison to investigate whether respondents who obtain most of election information via Internet are more politically active than other respondents.

Control Variables

In addition to dependent variable, media use, we also include several demographic and psychological variables into analysis. These variables include: age, gender, education, party identification, political knowledge and political efficacy. We, in the section of empirical analysis, will examine whether media use make a significant impact on individuals' political participation when these demographic and psychological variables are controlled.

Empirical Findings

First of all, table 1 shows the proportion of the types of Taiwanese respondents' media use. According to table 1, 78.0% Taiwanese citizens chose traditional mass media as their major source of election news. Among these people, 69.2% used television, 6.8% chose newspaper, and only 2.0 respondents indicate they acquire election news via radio.

As for Internet user, 5.8% respondents reported that Internet is the major channel they used for obtaining election news in 2010 election. In addition, there are 13.2% respondents who claim that social network and other channels were used to collect election news and 3.0% did not express their choice on the question of their information source.

Apparently, a majority of citizens still utilized traditional information source when they need to gain election news. Although, as showed earlier, 70% Taiwanese population used Internet in their daily life, Internet, for the Taiwanese public,

obviously is not a main source of election information.

[Table 1 about here]

Table 2 demonstrates the relationship between Taiwanese respondents' media use and the level of political knowledge.² Compared with traditional mass media user and those obtain election information via other channels, Internet users tend to possess higher level of political knowledge than other respondents. The mean score of Internet users' political knowledge is 2.21, which is higher than 1.85 of traditional mass media users and 1.15 of other channel users. Since Internet users are more knowledgeable of political affairs than the rest of respondents, they are supposed to be more politically active as Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996) suggest.

[Table 2 about here]

Empirical results of whether Internet users are more likely to be involved in political events than other respondents are displayed in table 3 and table 4 respectively. Table 3 first indicates the relationship between respondents' media use and voter turnout. According to table 3, 88.4% traditional mass media users and 85.1% other channels users report that they casted their vote in 2010 municipality mayoral elections. However, only 77.5% Internet users report their voting participation in 2010 elections. Namely, Internet users, compared with other respondents, have the lowest voting participation among all types of media users. This result suggests that Internet users' higher political knowledge did not make a significant contribution to their voting participation. In other words, Internet users who are better-political informed prefer staying at home to turnout to vote on the election day.

[Table 3 about here]

The relationship between respondents' media use and the extent to which they are involved in campaign activities is showed in table 4. First, 15.0% traditional mass media users report they were engaged in at least one higher level of campaign activity during the period of 2010 municipality mayoral elections. The proportion is the highest among all respondents while a majority of this type of media users reports

² Respondents' political knowledge is measured by asking three questions including: "who is current President of the United States?", "who is the current premier of our country?", and "in our country, who or what institution has the power to interpret the constitution?". Respondents who know the correct answer of one of these questions can get one score. We sum the number that respondents answer correctly and create a 0-3 scale for examining the level of their political knowledge. The more score they earn, the higher political knowledge they possess.

their middle level participation.

The proportion that Internet users report their high campaign participation is slightly lower than that of traditional mass media users. Most Internet users had a middle campaign participation. Furthermore, only 20.5% Internet users claim that they did not involve in any campaign activity in 2010 elections which is the lowest among all respondents. 54.4% other channel users had a low campaign participation in 2010 elections. Apparently, other channel users tend to be less active than traditional mass media users and Internet users. The result showed in table 4 demonstrates that there is no a significant different in campaign participation between Internet users and traditional mass media users.

[Table 4 about here]

After showing the cross-tabulation analyses of relationships between respondents' media use and their voting and campaign participation, we go further to employ logit model to examine whether there is any change of this relationship when we control other variables. We, based on the characteristics of dependent variables, employ binary logit model for voting participation. The reference group of voting participation model is "not vote". As for campaign participation, multinomial logit model is utilized and the reference group of campaign participation model is "middle" campaign participation.

As table 5 shows, binary model for voting participation indicates that party identification, political knowledge, gender, age, and education are the significant factors associated with individual's voting participation. However, after controlling certain variables, neither Internet user nor traditional mass media user has a significant effect on voter turnout. Traditional mass media use is positively associated with voter turnout while the coefficient is weak and insignificant. Internet use has a negative effect on voting participation while the coefficient is not statistically significant. Both traditional media use and Internet use do not exert a significant influence on voter turnout. To be more precise, the empirical result suggests that Internet user is not more political active than those obtains information via traditional mass media in terms of voting participation.

Shifting the focus from voting participation to campaign participation, what has emerged in the multinomial logit model is a somewhat complicated picture of the relationship between media use and campaign participation. Party identification, political knowledge, political efficacy, and education show a significant effect on equation 1. As for the variable of media use, both traditional mass media use and Internet use are negatively associated with low campaign participation. More

explicitly, both traditional mass media user and Internet user are less likely to have a lower level of campaign participation.

In equation 2 of multinomial logit model, party identification and age are the variables making a significant impact on high campaign participation. Moreover, individuals' traditional media use shows a negative effect on high campaign participation. Namely, traditional media users are less likely to have a higher level of campaign participation. In addition, Individuals' Internet use shows a negative effect on high campaign participation while its coefficient is not statistically significant.

To integrate the results of equation 1 and equation 2, we find that respondents' media use is associated with neither low nor high campaign participation. In other words, both traditional media users and Internet users tend to have a middle level of campaign participation. In short, the difference of campaign participation between traditional mass media users and Internet users is insignificant.

[Table 5 about here]

Conclusion

Whether or not Internet use is capable of increasing individuals' political participation is the major concern of this research. However, the empirical results showed in this study do not correspond to our expectation. As we display earlier, even though most of the Taiwanese public uses Internet, Internet, according to TEDS 2010 C, has not become their major source of political information yet. A majority of Taiwanese respondents report that traditional mass media, particularly television, is still the major channel from where they learn about politics.

Moreover, our findings also reveal that Taiwanese respondents who receive election information are more politically-informed indeed. They tend to possess a higher level of political knowledge than respondents who obtain election news from other sources. Nevertheless, their higher political knowledge did not significantly contribute to political participation. Compared with traditional mass media users, those who receive political information from Internet were not more likely to vote in 2010 elections. Moreover, the difference of campaign participation between Internet users and traditional mass media users is not significant. In short, Internet user is not more political active than those obtains information via traditional mass media.

The results showed above do not confirm the argument that Internet users are more political active than those who acquire political information from traditional mass media since they are more aware of political affairs.

Why are these better-informed Internet users not more politically active? A

potential explanation is that a majority of Internet users is young citizens. Compared with other age groups, the youth may be the group with poorer personal economy and the cost for political participation is a greater burden for them. As a result, their political participation is not higher than other groups even though they possess a higher level of political awareness.

Finally, the results of this study do not suggest that mass media does not make a significant impact on individuals' political behavior. On the contrary, it suggests that the relationship between media use and individuals' political behavior is more complicated and scholars need to be more careful when they conduct a relevant research. Moreover, the research findings may remind scholars to reconsider whether the relationship between individuals' political knowledge and their participation is so positive and significant as previous studies suggest. Apparently, there is still potential for future research in this field.

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Appendix: Categories of Respondents' Campaign Participation

Campaign Participation	
(During last year's campaign, did you do any of the following activities?)	
Low	None of these
Medium	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Read the official election notice 2. Read candidates' leaflets, newsletters, or newspaper ads 3. Watch candidate debates or campaign speeches on TV 4. Remind your friends to watch candidate debates or campaigns 5. Purchase candidate' souvenirs 6. Hang or wear a flag or other symbol to express you support 7. Be invited by someone to participate election march or rally 8. Visit candidate's website (include community website, blog)
High	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Do volunteer work in campaign for either a candidate or party 2. Attend an election related gathering or banquet 3. Join a candidate's support organization 4. Encourage others to vote for particular candidate or party 5. Give money to a political party or candidate 6. Participate election march or rally actively

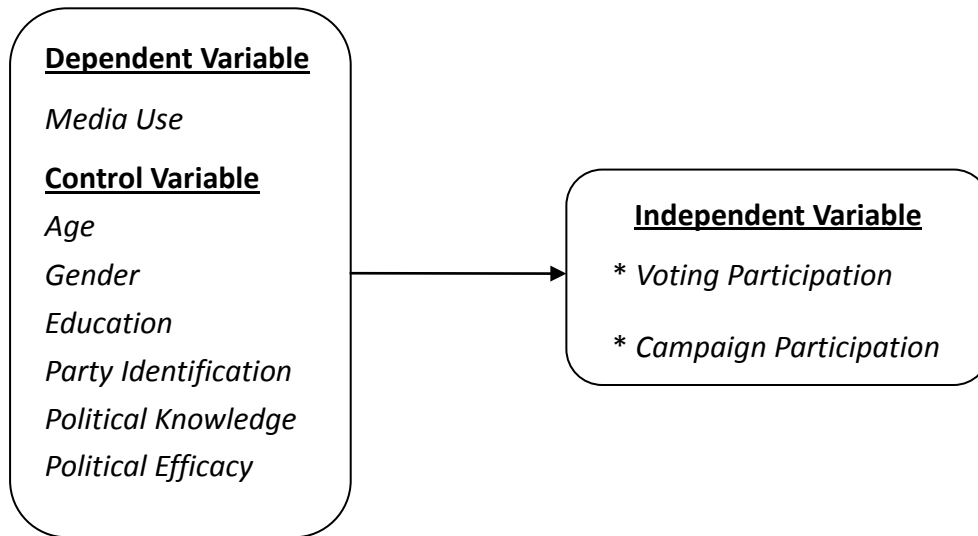


Figure 1 Research Structure

Table 1 Media Use of Taiwanese Respondents

	N	%	N	%
Traditional Mass Media	2712	78.0		
Television			2450	69.2
Radio			70	2.0
Newspaper			237	6.8
Internet	200	5.8	200	5.8
Others	459	13.2	459	13.2
No Response	105	3.0	105	3.0
Total	3476	100.0	3476	100.0

Data Source: TEDS 2010C

Table 2 Media Use vs. Political Knowledge

		Political Knowledge					
		0	1	2	3	Mean	Total
Media Use	Traditional Mass Media	258 (9.5) {7.7}	597 (22.0) {17.7}	1149 (42.4) {34.1}	708 (26.1) {21.0}	1.85	2712 (100.0) {80.5}
	Internet	9 (4.5) {0.3}	33 (16.5) {1.0}	65 (32.5) {1.9}	93 (46.5) {2.8}	2.21	200 (100.0) {5.9}
	Others	141 (30.7) {4.2}	148 (32.2) {4.4}	128 (27.9) {3.8}	42 (9.2) {1.2}	1.15	459 (100.0) {13.6}
	Total	408 (12.1)	778 (23.1)	1342 (39.8)	843 (25.0)		3371

Data Source: TEDS 2010 C

- Notes: 1. Figures in () are row percentages.
 2. Figures in { } are total percentages.
 3. $\chi^2=385.733$; $df=6$; $p<0.001$

Table 3 Media Use vs. Voting Participation

		Voting participation		
		Not Vote	Vote	Total
Media Use	Traditional Mass Media User	313 (11.6) {9.3}	2395 (88.4) {71.2}	2708 (100.0) {80.5}
	Internet User	45 (22.5) {1.3}	155 (77.5) {4.6}	200 (100.0) {5.9}
	Others	68 (14.9) {2.0}	388 (85.1) {11.5}	456 (100.0) {13.6}
	Total	426 (12.7)	2938 (87.3)	3364

Data Source: TEDS 2010 C

- Notes: 1. Figures in () are row percentages.
 2. Figures in { } are total percentages.
 3. $\chi^2=22.572$; $df=2$; $p<0.001$

Table 4 Media Use vs. Campaign Participation

		Campaign participation			
		Low	Middle	High	Total
Media Use	Traditional Mass Media User	753 (27.8) {22.4}	1549 (57.2) {46.0}	406 (15.0) {12.1}	2708 (100.0) {80.5}
	Internet User	41 (20.5) {1.2}	133 (66.5) {4.0}	26 (13.0) {0.8}	200 (100.0) {5.9}
	Others	249 (54.4) {7.4}	154 (33.6) {4.6}	55 (12.0) {1.6}	458 (100.0) {13.6}
	Total	1043 (31.0)	1836 (54.5)	487 (14.5)	3366

Data Source: TEDS 2010 C

- Notes: 1. Figures in () are row percentages.
 2. Figures in { } are total percentages.
 3. $\chi^2=144.952$; $df=4$; $p<0.001$

Table 5 Binary and Multinomial Logit Model of Voting and Campaign Participation

	Voting Participation: Binary Logit Model (Vote vs. Not Vote)			Campaign Participation: Multinomial Logit Model					
	$\hat{\beta}$	(Robust t S.E.)	$\exp(\hat{\beta})$	Equation 1(Low vs. Middle)			Equation 2(High vs. Middle)		
$\hat{\beta}$				(S.E.)	$\exp(\hat{\beta})$	$\hat{\beta}$	(S.E.)	$\exp(\hat{\beta})$	
Electoral Information (Others =0)									
Traditional mass media User	0.236	(0.174)	1.267	-0.826 ***	(0.136)	0.438	-0.446 *	(0.188)	0.640
Internet User	-0.202	(0.247)	0.817	-1.064 ***	(0.235)	0.345	-0.465	(0.294)	0.628
Party Identification (Independents =0)									
Pan-Blue	0.434 **	(0.136)	1.543	-0.362 **	(0.107)	0.696	0.632 ***	(0.163)	1.881
Pan-Green	0.819 ***	(0.155)	2.268	-0.545 ***	(0.118)	0.580	1.096 ***	(0.165)	2.992
Political Knowledge	0.242 **	(0.071)	1.274	-0.240 ***	(0.054)	0.787	0.062	(0.069)	1.064
Political Efficacy	0.070	(0.040)	1.073	-0.130 ***	(0.030)	0.878	0.056	(0.038)	1.058
Male (Female=0)	-0.397 **	(0.121)	0.672	0.176	(0.092)	1.192	-0.119	(0.113)	0.888
Age	0.029 ***	(0.005)	1.029	-0.006	(0.004)	0.994	0.019 ***	(0.004)	1.019
Education (Elementary school and below =0)									
Junior high school	-0.113	(0.378)	0.893	-0.580 **	(0.196)	0.560	0.273	(0.249)	1.314
Senior high school	-0.626 *	(0.306)	0.535	-0.774 ***	(0.173)	0.461	0.188	(0.224)	1.207
College	-0.677 *	(0.335)	0.508	-0.902 ***	(0.199)	0.406	-0.061	(0.256)	0.941
University and above	-1.137 ***	(0.320)	0.321	-1.081 ***	(0.191)	0.339	-0.068	(0.242)	0.934
Constant	0.141	(0.433)	1.151	2.636 ***	(0.333)	13.957	-3.006 ***	(0.435)	0.049
Model Information: N =2,888; Log Likelihood= -1021.0254; Wald χ^2 =175.60; df=12; $p < 0.001$; McFadden's pseudo R^2 =0.0874 Dependent Variable: 1"Vote"; 0"Not Vote"				N =2,889; Log Likelihood= -2608.4759; LR χ^2 =370.48; df=24; $p < 0.001$; McFadden's pseudo R^2 =0.0663 Base Category: Middle Campaign Participation					

