

A Capabilities Approach to E-Participation in the Philippines:
Redefining the Modality of Socially Inclusive Governance

by

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ABSTRACT

The information and communication technology ‘revolution’ that has been powering the e-Development discourse of the past two decades has given way to a technological evolution coined Web2.0. Web2.0 has modernized social movements, empowering the masses and providing them with a platform to voice their political opinions through e-Participation and democracy. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development encourages governments across the globe to promote responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision making at all levels of government,¹ while the United Nations General Assembly recognizes the potential of e-Government in promoting transparency, accountability and citizen engagement in public service delivery.²

The potential benefits for improving governance using Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) have been well documented; however, this author would like to stress the word “potential.” Governments are still inclined to focus on enhancing ICTs and e-Government services rather than on encouraging citizens to participate in the governance process. This is because investments in e-Government services have the prospective to increase efficiencies and lower costs; whereas, investing in e-Participation reduces the governments control over information and decision making. Moreover, research has shown that improvements in e-Government do not necessarily lead to improvements in e-Participation.

To overcome these pitfalls, academics and institutions have been developing frameworks to promote e-Participation through socially inclusive governance. The most noteworthy attempt is the ‘Socially Inclusive Governance Framework’ introduced by the United Nations Public Administration Network (UNPAN) in their Global E-Government Readiness Report of 2005, which has been praised for shifting the attention of e-Government away from the government and onto the individual by taking a ‘universal access approach.’ This marked a seminal turn in the way citizens were perceived. The foundation of the framework was derived from Amartya Sen’s

¹ These are the criteria for Target 16.7 of the United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goals.

² These are the goals of UN General Assembly Resolution 69/327.

work on the capability approach, which UNPAN (2005) states was “a call to developing countries for shedding the emphasis on connectivity and access and substituting it with a focus on inclusion for all” (p. 112). However, this framework neglected Sen’s philosophical argument that the capability of individuals to convert resources into value should be observed; furthermore, the framework remains focused on access with little concern for the environment in which e-Participation takes place. Nevertheless, it is still one of the dominate policy models for crafting participatory e-Government initiatives.³

Although this is a good first step, UNPAN’s framework does not equate to inclusive participation. Where UNPAN’s framework for social inclusion falls short is in assuming that access to ICTs will foster other individual capabilities and opportunities to achieve valued functionings (UNPAN, 2005, p. 139). While rightly focusing on value, the framework too narrowly focuses on access without defining opportunity. When evaluating the level of entitlements, both the range of communication options and the ability of citizens to make use of these options to achieve their relevant functionings are important (Garnham, 1997, p. 34). Another notable endeavor at using the Capability Approach comes from Erwin Alampay. Alampay’s framework addresses Sen’s philosophical argument by accounting for the reasons why people use ICTs and to what end value is achieved but stops short of properly identifying the capabilities necessary to achieve said value (Alampay, 2006, p. 9). Within Sen’s approach, achieved value can be instrumental, as a means to an end, or intrinsic, in and of itself (Sen, 1992, p. 31).

The primary objective of this dissertation is to challenge the orthodox view that ‘access’ should be the principle driver for promoting e-Participation. This author argues that a more citizen centric framework is necessary that factors in the political and social conditions in which e-Participation takes place, referred to as the environment in this dissertation. By doing so, citizens may find value in participating in the governance process through Web 2.0 technologies. This is accomplished by a) identifying a core set of determinants that can

³ This framework was used in the drafting of the Philippine E-Government Master Plan during the Benigno Aquino III administration, as discussed by Under Secretary Mon Abraham and one of its contributors Prof Erwin Alampay.

enhance citizen's opportunities to achieve value through e-Participation; b) examining whether the use of Web 2.0 technologies are benefiting the government and the citizens they serve through a deepening of democracy by way of citizen engagement – specifically, in government systems where elite-dominated formal democracy is still firmly rooted; and c) developing a framework that alters the emphasis of the policy and development discourse away from resource based frameworks for promoting and encouraging e-Participation to one that accounts for the social conditions in which e-Participation takes place. By meeting these objectives, the central research question of this dissertation can be answered; namely, “despite the various attempts to encourage e-Participation, why have so many frameworks failed to achieve socially inclusive governance? More explicitly, what are the determinants affecting citizen's opportunities to achieve value through e-Participation?” a question that has been suggested by academics and institutions working in the fields of e-Government and human development, yet neither supported with convincing evidence nor presented with any degree of theoretical rigor.

The Philippines was selected as a research site based on its aggressive push to improve information and communication infrastructure (ICI), e-Government, and most notably e-Participation. Its citizens rank first in the world in time spent on social media (four hours and seventeen minutes per day) and sixth among countries with the largest number of active Facebook users (sixty-three million). The research for this dissertation was conducted over a three-year period using a qualitative and quantitative research design, while utilizing the philosophical foundation of the capability approach to identify the capabilities that are central to providing citizens with the opportunity to achieve value through e-Participation. This was done by examining each of the three spheres that comprise its function; specifically, government, technology and citizens – also referred to as G2C participation where ‘G’ represents government, ‘2’ represents technology and ‘C’ represents citizens. Priority was given to the qualitative data utilizing a sequential exploratory strategy (Creswell, 2003). Each sphere was carefully examined to identify the central capabilities necessary to increase the opportunities for citizens to value, or have reason to value, e-Participatory activities, which in turn can strengthen the State through a deepening of democracy, while empowering citizens.

Findings from this study show that Web2.0 technologies such as social media have indeed attributed to a deepening of democracy. Local politicians using Web 2.0 technologies such as Facebook, Twitter, Skype, Google+ and YouTube were able to stimulate e-Participation by providing citizens with information regarding proposed ordinances, while engaging citizens on legislation that directly affected their well-being whereby nurturing e-Democracy. Citizens were able to post comments and receive feedback regardless of their age, gender or socio-economic backgrounds. Additionally, local politicians would post information regarding public hearings as well as livelihood training to improve the daily lives of their constituents. Citizens felt empowered because they believed their voices were being heard by the politicians; moreover, ordinances, legislation, budgets and city plans were being drafted considering their inputs, meeting the first objective of this dissertation.

While social media proved to be a transparent and accountable platform on which to participate, the overall benefit on the everyday lives of citizens was contentious. Moreover, the transparency which social media affords can have negative repercussions; specifically, when deliberating over political affiliations. In such cases, politicians can exploit social media to identify and ostracize constituents that share opposing views or favor opposition parties. Certain capabilities beyond access to technology are needed to promote a true deepening of democracy.

This research concludes that there are an additional four capabilities beyond access which are influential to citizen's opportunities to achieve value through e-Participation – considering Sen's evaluative approach regarding the freedom to achieve value, not just the level of achievement (Sen, 1997 p. 31). These conditions are introduced in this dissertation as a normative set of capabilities following Ingrid Robeyns five criteria for the selection of capabilities (Robeyns, 2003a, p. 70) as well as criteria specific to e-Participation in the Philippines. The five capabilities include *access* as well as four additional 'existentially' focused capabilities that are cultivated rather than given, which are *expression, equality, knowledge acquisition and affiliation*. As existential capabilities, they are developed capabilities; moreover, their thresholds are not defined by the government or society merely influenced by them. They

provide the individual with the freedom achieve whatever level of participation they value or have reason to value.

Derived from the research findings, the ability of citizens to have affordable access to ICTs with low barriers to entry is important, but equality important are being able to express ones opinion without the fear of retribution; having equal opportunity and freedom to participate in the governance process; the means to understand and access relevant information that has not been manipulated; and the capability to interact socially and have the freedom to assemble. These capabilities meet the second objective of this dissertation.

The capabilities approach framework introduced in this dissertation accounts for Alampay's individual differences by placing the individual at the head of the framework. Citizens then have the opportunity to utilize ICTs and Information and Communication Infrastructure (ICIs) which includes e-Government services, civic technologies, as well as third party applications such as social media to interact with government. Whether e-Participation takes place is dependent upon the government and its actors who need to foster an environment for e-Participation and the citizens who must secure the core set of capabilities central to converting e-Government resources and services into value, intrinsic as well as instrumental.

As these capabilities are cultivated the conversion process itself is similar to Easton's political system or 'black box' where demands and supports are regarded as inputs but are instead converted into achieved fuctionings for citizens that likewise can benefit the government and its actors. This is accomplished through participatory governance, which as the research uncovers, produces ordinances, policies and administrative plans that are constructed through e-Participation. Unlike Easton's systems theory, the research findings show that the individual and the environment are symbiotically ingrained.

As a final component, the framework provides an empowerment loop, similar to the feedback loop presented by Easton that connects the consequences of the outputs with the inflow of inputs, thus incentivizing citizens to continue participating in e-Government. Although the

modality of the framework introduced in this dissertation is specific to the Philippines, the normative set of capabilities can be tailored to each country, meeting the third objective and answering the main research question of this dissertation.

The next logical step in the research process would be to do cross-country comparisons, which could ultimately lead to the operationalization of this approach. In order to do so, it is this author's suggestion to produce meta-rankings for each capability and to explore cross-country comparisons which meets Robeyns' forth criteria for differentiating levels of generality by drawing-up a more pragmatic list of capabilities specific to the countries in question, as constraints may change over time and within each cultural context.

This more existential approach for promoting e-Participation and social inclusion within the governance process provides a framework that better reflects the capabilities affecting citizen's opportunities to achieve value through e-Participation, whereby empowering citizens and strengthening the state through a deepening of democracy. Furthermore, this framework may assist policy makers and practitioners looking to implement more responsive, inclusive and participatory e-Government initiatives.

Keywords: E-Participation, E-Government, Web 2.0, Capabilities Approach, and Socially Inclusive Governance

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CA	Capability Approach
DILG	Department of the Interior and Local Government
DOST	Department of Science and Technology
EGDI	E-Government Development Index
EGMP	E-Government Master Plan
G2B	Government to Business
G2C	Government to Citizen
G2G	Government to Government
GISP	Government Information System Plan
ICI	Information and Communication Infrastructure
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
ICTO	Information and Communication Technology Office
IT	Information Technology
ITU	International Telecommunications Union
LGU	Local Government Units
MICS	Management Information and Computer Services
NCPAG	National College of Public Administration and Governance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
RFI	Requests for Information
RFP	Requests for Proposals
SES	Socioeconomic Status
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
UN	United Nations
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNPAN	United Nations Public Administration Network
US	United States
WSIS	World Summit on the Information Society

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon in his final address to the General Assembly told world leaders that social media has “connected the world in ways that were unimaginable when [he] took office,” for him “it is all a reminder of the power of individuals to change the world.” The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development through Target 16.7 encourages governments across the globe to “ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision making at all levels of government.”⁴ Governments have also taken notice and are establishing policies to harness the power of Web 2.0 technologies to stimulate citizen participation in e-Government. The United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) echoed Secretary Moon’s endorsement by passing Resolution A/RES/69/327 which recognizes the potential of e-Government for promoting transparency, accountability and citizen engagement in public service delivery.

The principle driving force linking Resolution A/RES/69/327 and Target 16.7 of the Agenda for Sustainable Development is e-Participation through socially inclusive governance. Socially inclusive governance means providing citizens with the means and opportunity to participate in the governance process using Information and Communication Technology (ICT). The matter of how to successfully engage citizens by way of socially inclusive governance has drawn the interest of international financial institutions, intergovernmental organizations and scholars across a multitude of academic disciplines.

This dissertation sets out confront the traditional access or resource argument for promoting socially inclusive governance. This argument centers on promoting services and reducing physical barriers such as access to ICTs. This dissertation builds on the research of contemporary scholars who are shifting the attention of e-Participation away from resources and onto the individual. They argue for an inclusive democracy where all individuals have the opportunity to participate in the governance process whereby shifting the focus of e-Participation

⁴ Target 16.7 is a Tier 3 target which means “no internationally established methodology or standards are yet available for the indicator, but methodology/standards are being (or will be) developed or tested.” Retrieved January 3, 2017, from <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/>.

from technology and onto the individual. To build a case for this argument, some scholars and institutions have turned to the capability approach.

The capability approach also known as the human development approach has been used across a multitude of academic disciplines as a theoretical tool for examining an individual's freedom or opportunity to do what it is they value or may have reason to value.⁵ Within the e-Government discipline, two frameworks stand out. The first is a universally applied framework presented by the United Nations Public Administration Network (UNPAN) and the second is a capability approach framework developed by Erwin Alampay, which expands on the UNPAN framework. Both frameworks successfully draw attention to the individual, yet neither framework considers the social or political conditions influence the opportunity to achieve value through e-Participation, hereinafter referred to as the 'environment' when identifying the capabilities that foster socially inclusive governance. Rather, the frameworks rely on access while discounting the environment in which e-Participation takes place.

This dissertation refines these frameworks by adopting a more 'existential' capabilities approach as a method to develop a framework that more deeply considers the individual over the technology. The term existential in this dissertation is defined in terms of capabilities.⁶ It could be argued that all capabilities are existential as they all relate to human existence; however to provide clear perspective for the readers, the term existential within the context of this research refers to capabilities that cannot be handed to the individual – for example, food to be well nourished; medicine to be healthy; or a bicycle to have mobility. As such, the framework supports subjective well-being by looking at the positive and negative affects e-Participation has on the individual. By taking this approach, a core set of capabilities that better reflect citizen's opportunities to achieve value through e-Participation can be identified. Unlike a computer,

⁵ The essence of this statement and why it applies to e-Participation can be traced back to Amartya Sen's writing in *Development as Freedom* where he states, "Attention is thus paid particularly to the expansion of the "capabilities" of persons to lead the kind of lives they value – and have reason to value. These capabilities can be enhanced by public policy, but also, on the other side, the direction of public policy can be influenced by the effective use of participatory capabilities by the public" (Sen, 1999, p. 18).

⁶ This should not be confused with existentialism. While it does incorporate existentialist thoughts about freedom and value, it only does so from the standpoint of capabilities.

Smartphone, or Wi-Fi connection, these capabilities can become ingrained in the individual, ideally making them more resilient. As existential capabilities, they are developed capabilities not given; furthermore, their thresholds are not defined by the government or society. If properly cultivated, they provide the individual with the freedom achieve whatever level of participation they value or have reason to value because without value, there is little incentive for citizens to participate in the governance process. This author contends that once citizens develop the core set of capabilities that fosters e-Participation, socially inclusive governance may take place, whereby addressing the goals and targets set forth by the United Nations.

1.1 Background

The prefix ‘e’ has been attached to many expressions related to technology from e-mail to e-commerce. This dissertation investigates another type of e, e-Development which focuses on the requirements and realities of using information and communication technologies (ICTs) to advance development goals such as Resolution A/RES/69/327 and Target 16.7 of the Agenda for Sustainable Development.⁷ One of the principal pillars of e-Development is e-Government.

The Economist around the turn of the century predicted that e-Government would be the next Internet revolution (Economist, 2000, p. 3). This ‘revolution’ that has been powering the e-Development discourse of the past two decades has given way to a technological evolution coined Web 2.0. Web 2.0 has modernized social movements, empowering the masses and providing citizens with a platform to voice their political opinions through e-Participation in the governance process also known as e-Democracy.⁸ The governance process is defined by the OECD in terms of relationships and therefore includes more than just public administration and the institutions, methods and instruments of governing, but also encompasses the set of relationships between government and citizens (OECD, 2000). ICT-driven development has

⁷ The definition was lifted from the abstract of “E-development from Excitement to Effectiveness” (Schware, 2005).

⁸ The impact of Web 2.0 technologies such as social media was highlighted in 2010 with the ‘Arab Spring’ revolutions in North Africa and the Middle East followed by the Occupy Wall Street protests in 2011 and the Million People March protests in 2013. Social media was credited for the mass mobilization and dissemination of all three social movements.

become the cornerstone of this new development paradigm (UNPAN, 2004, p. 3). The traditional boundaries of governance are being erased by the influx of Web 2.0 technologies. Studies such as Richard Labelle's ICT policy formulation guidebook have shown that a countries' ability to utilize technology effectively is directly related to its economic growth as it contributes to self-sufficiency and empowerment (Labelle, 2005, p. 37-38).⁹ The introduction of these contemporary technologies into the governance process has brought citizens and public servants closer together. This has been seen as a positive step for development (Macintosh, 2004).

While the Economist's prediction may not have foreseen the constructive impact Web 2.0 technologies would have, it did help usher-in a new way of thinking about governance. Coupled with the Economist's viewpoint, the United Nations-lead World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS)¹⁰ took stock of this 'digital revolution' and the need to incorporate civil society into the governance process. This lead UNPAN to title its 2005 Global E-Government Readiness Report "From E-Government to E-Inclusion." This also marked a seminal turn in the way e-Government was viewed. UNPAN presented a framework or 'vision' for restructured thinking about how to improve e-Government by appreciating the capabilities of each and every person; the choices they make; and the freedoms they partake in. The underlying concept of their Socially Inclusive Governance Framework drew upon Amartya Sen's capability approach to human development (UNPAN, 2005, pg112), which UNPAN's sister agency the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) was employing for their own Human Development Index (HDI).

As a theoretical tool, the capability approach has four prominent strengths. First, it has a strong theoretical base – the approach is easily defensible as it draws on a wide academic foundation to support its claims. Second, it considers variations in needs and people's freedom to pursue and achieve things they value or have reason to value (Sen, 1995). This includes

⁹ As stated in Erwin Alampay's article, *Beyond access to ICTs: Measuring capabilities in the information society*, "this is why it is important to know how people use ICT services and the barriers that prevent them from doing so in order to inform policy and adequately address the issue" (Alampay, 2006, p. 16).

¹⁰ The World Summit on the Information Society, UN General Assembly Resolution 56/183, took place in multiple phases commencing in 2003 in Geneva and finished in 2005 in Tunis. This author was a member of the 2003 UN delegation for the Asia Regional which adopted the Tokyo Declaration.

instrumental or measurable value, as well as intrinsic value such as feeling empowered or having purpose. As David Osimo concludes in his report for the European Commission's Joint Research Centre, titled *Web 2.0 in Government: Why and How?* focusing on the technologies and not the value is a common mistake that should be resolved with appropriate governance mechanisms (Osimo, 2008, p. 10). Third as just alluded to, the capability approach is inherently multidimensional, meaning it has the potential to incorporate both 'objective' as well as 'subjective' components and/or outcomes. Finally, the approach provides the basis for the conceptualization of inclusive democracy, where the individual has the freedom to develop the necessary capability to be able to choose between different opportunities (Sen, 2009). This provides an ideal foundation for determining the capabilities affecting citizen's opportunities to achieve value through e-Participation and to explore whether these opportunities are benefiting the government and the citizens they serve.

The field of research pertaining to e-Government is not rooted in any one conventional discipline. The paths being paved, cross between several research domains, particularly Political Science, Computer Science, Information Systems and Public Administration. Being a relatively new field,¹¹ researchers have been hesitant to challenge the dominant discourses as concluded by Richard Heeks in his compressive study of academic research in the field of e-Government (Heeks, 2007). This will be discussed further in Chapter 2.

1.2 Problem Statement

E-Participation is an emerging topic within the e-Government domain of research. The potential benefits for improving e-Participation through the use of ICTs have been well documented as this dissertation will show; however, this author would like to stress the word "potential." Governments are still inclined to focus on enhancing ICTs and e-Government services rather than on encouraging citizens to participate in the governance process (examples include Gurgess and Houghton, 2006; O'Toole, 2009; Verdegem and Hauttekeete, 2010; Jimenez, et al., 2012; Freeman,

¹¹ Early research started in the late 1980's as governments began utilizing ICTs in the office such as personal computers and the Internet (Yildiz, 2007).

2013). This is because investments in e-Government services have the prospective to increase efficiencies and lower costs; whereas, investing directly into e-Participation reduces the governments control over information and decision making (examples include Thompson, 2005; Flamm, et al., 2006; Hernon and Cullen, 2006; Verdegem and Hauttekeete, 2010; Lester & Hutchins, 2012). Furthermore, research has shown that improvements in e-Government do not necessarily lead to improvements in e-Participation (examples include Blakeley and Matsuura, 2001; Alampy, 2006; Cho, 2008; Kardan and Sadeghiani, 2011). Heeks estimated that perhaps one-third of public sector ICT projects in developing countries fail due to poorly developed plans with almost half not accomplishing their initial goals (Heeks, 2000, 2004).

To overcome these pitfalls, academics and institutions have been developing frameworks to promote e-Participation and democracy through socially inclusive governance,¹² while international institutions like the UN endeavor to set targets such as SDG Target 16.7 to spotlight its development.¹³ This move by governments and institutions to improve public services and representation through the use of ICTs may encourage citizens to participate more in the governance process by enlarging their choices and avenues for interacting with government; however, whether citizens have the opportunity to find value in utilizing these technologies is contentious.

This dissertation scrutinizes two significant frameworks utilizing the capability approach for promoting e-Participation to construct an alternative theory for cultivating socially inclusive governance. Heeks' (2007) study of research papers in the field of e-Government revealed that "e-Government literature has not yet been a generator or source of frameworks, let alone theories" (p. 22). Of the eighty-four research papers reviewed in his study, only one provided any theory-based work. In classifying e-Government as its own research domain, more theory-based papers need to be produced.

¹² The post-2015 agenda presented by the UN System Task Team stated that for inclusive social development to take place, institutions "should focus on effective governance of systems for social development, ensuring universal coverage and quality of service delivery" (UN, 2012, p. 26).

¹³ As referenced in footnote [4] Target 16.7 is a Tier 3 target which means "no internationally established methodology or standards are yet available for the indicator, but methodology/standards are being (or will be) developed or tested." Retrieved January 3, 2017, from <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/>.

1.3 Scope, Framework and Research Objectives

The primary objective of this dissertation is to challenge the orthodox modality that emphasizes access to ICTs as the principal driver for encouraging socially inclusive governance through e-Participation. Building on previous e-Government research from the government's perspective (Huffman, 2014); as well as preliminary research conducted in the Philippines from the citizen's perspective,¹⁴ this author argues that a more citizen centric framework to cultivate responsive, inclusive and participatory e-Government initiatives is necessary to provide citizens with the capabilities to enhance their opportunities to find value in participating in the governance process through Web 2.0 technologies. This will be accomplished by meeting the following objectives:

- a) Identifying a core set of determinants that can enhance citizen's opportunities to achieve value through e-Participation.
- b) Examining whether the use of Web 2.0 technologies is benefiting the government and the citizens they serve through a deepening of democracy by way of citizen engagement – specifically, in government systems where elite-dominated formal democracy is still firmly rooted, such as the Philippines (Quimpo, 2008).
- c) Developing a framework that alters the emphasis of the policy and development discourse away from resource-based frameworks for promoting and encouraging e-Participation to one that accounts for the conditions in which e-Participation takes place.

By meeting these objectives, this dissertation will attempt to redefine the modality of socially inclusive governance to provide academics and institutions with an alternative

¹⁴ The fieldwork that took place February 1-15, 2015 included key informant interviews with academics and government officials along with administering a test survey. The process helped identify case studies, case subjects and potential capabilities that could assist in meeting the objectives of this research study.

framework for meeting the goals of e-Participation set forth by the United Nations.¹⁵ Moreover, it is the hope of this author, that this research will push forward the field e-Government as its own research domain.

To accomplish these objectives, this dissertation sets out to answer the fundamental question:

“Despite the various attempts to encourage e-Participation, why have so many frameworks failed to achieve socially inclusive governance? More explicitly, what are the determinants affecting citizen’s opportunities to achieve value through e-Participation?”

A question that has been suggested by academics and institutions working in the fields of e-Government and human development, yet neither supported with convincing evidence nor presented with any degree of theoretical rigor.¹⁶ It is the position of this author that access to ICTs is no longer the prominent barrier to e-Participation and that focusing on access is the reason why so many frameworks have failed to achieve socially inclusive governance; furthermore to achieve value from e-Participation, it is necessary to consider the environment. By incorporating these conditions, a core set of determinates that fosters socially inclusive governance can be identified. To support this, a secondary question presents itself, namely:

“Given the core set of determinates within the context of the Philippines, what kind of value can be achieved through socially inclusive governance?”

This author contends that by fostering the capability of access in addition to four existential capabilities which are affiliation, equality, expression and knowledge acquisition, will provide value to citizens, intrinsically through public recognition and empowerment, and instrumentally through support during times of natural hazards, influencing local governance and gaining access to livelihood opportunities. This in turn provides value to the government by meeting the e-

¹⁵ This is in reference to Resolution A/RES/69/327 and Target 16.7 of the Agenda for Sustainable Development presented in the introduction.

¹⁶ A review of the various attempts will be presented in Section 2.3 Appraisal of E-Government Literature.

Participation targets and goals proposed by the UN through Resolution A/RES69/327 and SDG Target 16.7.

By evaluating the social arrangements, not just the resources, affecting citizens' opportunities to participate in e-Government a more 'existential capabilities approach' which facilitates the development of capabilities within the individual not only capabilities which can be given, may lead to an increase in socially inclusive governance, whereby empowering citizens influencing local governance and strengthen the state through a deepening of democracy. This is predicated on the notion that access to Information and Communication Technologies is no longer a prominent barrier to e-Participation, which is the underlying hypothesis of this research.

As this dissertation will show advancements in information and communication infrastructure (ICI) has expanded coverage, increased bandwidth and substantially lowered costs. By providing sufficient evidence to support this underlying hypothesis, while meeting the objectives stated above, it is this author's position that a more citizen centric framework that focuses on a core set of determinants will better facilitate socially inclusive governance through e-Participation. To meet these objectives an explicit methodology is necessary to substantiate the determinates and support the claims made by this author.

1.4 Methodology and Methods

The methodology section of this dissertation is divided into three subsections. The first section describes the interdisciplinary approach taken for this research that incorporates the principal theories of human development and political science within the multidisciplinary field of e-Government research. The second section introduces the three spheres of e-Participation; the research practices for each sphere; and how the data was collected. The final section provides an overview on how the data was analyzed to address the main research question and to meet the overall objectives. It also describes the criteria for the selection of capabilities central to achieving socially inclusive governance through e-Participation.

1.4.1 A Mixed-Methods Approach

In order to meet the multifaceted objectives of this research a mixed methods approach was taken. Priority was given to the qualitative data utilizing a sequential exploratory strategy. This method is especially advantageous when building new instruments (Creswell, 2003, p. 215-216).

A semi-inductive approach was taken to identify the core set of capabilities after testing the underlining hypothesis, which holds that: Access to Information and Communication Technologies is no longer a prominent barrier to e-Participation. While the research is based on an existing social theory it seeks utilize a mixed methods approach to support the underlying hypothesis and redefine the modality of socially inclusive governance.

By providing sufficient evidence to support the underlying hypothesis, a more existential framework was theorized and supported with scientific evidence in the Rawlsian tradition by supporting theory with scientific evidence.¹⁷ The theory, or revised approach, follows Fred Kerlinger (1979) definition of “a set of interrelated constructs (normative capabilities), definitions and propositions that presents a systematic view of phenomena (the opportunity to achieve value through e-Participation)” (p. 64). The next two sub-sections provide additional details on how this was accomplished.

1.4.2 Data Collection and Research Practice

Data collection for this research was separated into the three spheres of e-Participation that comprise its function. The first sphere technology consists of e-Government initiatives, Web 2.0 applications and access to ICTs. The second sphere government examines e-Participation through the lens of the politician. Lastly, the citizen sphere investigates citizen engagement and perspectives on e-Participation.¹⁸ Each sphere uses a different strategy for data collection.

¹⁷ A now common method John Rawls’ used to support his ‘original position’ set forth in his book *A Theory of Justice*.

¹⁸ The three spheres of e-Participation are based on the G2C nomenclature used to define e-Government participation. It is one of four types of e-Participation. This will be discussed further in Chapter 2.

Using more than one approach “permits the evaluator to combine strengths and correct some of the deficiencies of any one source of data” (Patton, 2015). This is also referred to as triangulation. The aim of this is to strengthen the rigor of the evaluative approach used for the selection of capabilities and to corroborate the benefits of socially inclusive governance across spheres.

Within the technology sphere, two government programs were identified for case study. The criterion for selection was based on their relevance in addressing the underlying hypothesis and in their ability to answer the main research question. The two initiatives chosen for case study were the TV White Space Initiative (TVWS) and the Technology for Education, Employment, Entrepreneurs, and Economic Development (Tech4ED) program, which is closely tied to TVWS and will ultimately be providing the internet connectivity to Tech4Ed. The case study method is used as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the opportunity to achieve value through e-Participation) within its real-life context; where the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin, 2003, p. 23). Third party Web 2.0 applications such as YouTube, Twitter, Skype and Google+ were initially studied; however, Facebook was determined as the primary Government to Citizen (G2C) interface to be documented due to its large user base and penetration rate.¹⁹ By examining these cases studies, linkages could be made between phenomenon and context to better understand the capabilities needed for citizens to have the opportunity to achieve value through e-Participation. As should be expected, the technology sphere has broad overlap with the other two spheres of e-Participation.

For the Government sphere an ethnographic approach was used in the field to observe traditional G2C interaction between citizens and local politicians as well as to evaluate the role that Web 2.0 technologies play in the governance process. Three local politicians were identified for ethnographic study over the period of one full administrative term. The general election for

¹⁹ Facebook is the dominate Web 2.0 social media application with over 1.87 billion active users. It holds a 18% market share, which is 7% more than the next closest competitor that is also owned by Facebook (<https://www.statista.com/>, accessed 09/01/2017); additionally, Facebook as a penetration rate of 52% in the Philippines or approximately 54 million Filipino users. Retrieved September 1, 2017 from <http://www.internetworldstats.com/asia.htm>. It is the most popular social media platform in the Philippines beating out its closest competitor Google+ by 8%. Retrieved September 1, 2017 from <https://wearesocial.com/uk/>

the administrative term was held on May 13, 2013 with each politician being sworn-in on June 30, 2013. In total, four field visits were conducted in the Philippines from June of 2013 to April 2017.²⁰ This included traditional interactions between politicians and citizens such as office visits, town hall meetings and *pulong-pulong* (which are formally arranged gatherings) as well as the daily monitoring of the politician's Facebook accounts. Due to the high demands of ethnographic research and the pure challenge of finding local politicians willing to be studied and scrutinized over an entire administrative term it was concluded that three politicians from one region of the country would be feasible for this research study. This approach provided additional insight into how government actors interact traditionally and virtually within their communities to promote social inclusion and democracy. In total, 3,918 Facebook posts as well as 19,998 comments were reviewed and documented using a netnographic approach. Netnography is an ethnographic research method which is applied to understanding social interactions using Web 2.0 technologies.²¹ Additionally, an appraisal of all major national ICT policies and strategies related to e-Participation were reviewed dating back to the Estrada Presidency of 1998~2001 to gain a better understanding of the environment. Finally, qualitative data was collected through in-depth interviews with key informants from the Department of Information and Communication Technology (DICT) as well as local e-Government administrators at the City of Cebu, Mandaue City, Quezon City and City of Tagbilaran to strengthen the findings.²²

The data collection on citizens was carried out through interviews and questionnaire/surveys collected from citizens in the two major metro regions of the Philippines, Manila and Cebu. In total, 144 hours of interviews were logged over a two-month period starting in September of 2015 and finishing in October of the same year. The general locations and dates

²⁰ The administrative term ended on June 30, 2016; however, the ethnographic research extended until April 12, 2017 as each case subject was willing to extend their observations past the 2016 general election.

²¹ Netnography was originally developed by Robert Kozinets and presented in his article *On Netnography: Initial Reflections on Consumer Research Investigations of Cyberculture*. Retrieved October 15, 2018, from <http://acrwebsite.org/volumes/8180/volumes/v25/NA-25>.

²² Key informant interviews took place during the four field visits with follow-up discussions taking place through social media and email. Specific dates of conversations will be cited in-text.

for distribution of the questionnaire/surveys and interviews can be found in Appendix M.²³ For the questionnaire/surveys, participants were given the option of filling-out the research questionnaire/surveys in English, Tagalo or Cebuano.²⁴ Best efforts were made to obtain a random sample using a heterogeneity sampling method. The purpose of this non-probability method is to collect a diverse set of opinions from Filipino citizens to identify patterns and relationships between responses. Of the 466 Filipinos surveyed, 249 were female and 217 were male. The age of respondents totaled 275 between the ages of 15~21; 115 between 22~34; 64 between 35~54; and 12 respondents were over the age of 55, in-line with the Philippines' bottom-heavy population pyramid which boasts a median age of 23.3 based on 2010 census data from the Philippine Statistics Authority. Of the 15 regions that make-up the Philippines including the National Capital Region (NCR) and the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) only Davao in region 11 was not represented statistically, although two interviews with citizens from that region were documented. Appendix E identifies the number of questionnaire/surveys respondents for each region of the Philippines. The classification of citizens by income was reasonably distributed with 27% coming from Class E, 31% coming from Class D; 29% coming from Class C; and 13% coming from the upper classes, Class A&B.²⁵

Prior to administering the questionnaire/surveys, an exploratory study was done to help narrow down the capabilities affecting citizen's participation in the governance process. This included interviews with academics working in the field of e-Government research in the Philippines. It was determined from the exploratory study that the uprising intellectual class was the main proponents of e-Participation activities in the Philippines, as such, it was deemed important to engage in dialogue with young university students. They are what Paula Klein calls the Net Generation with their life long exposure to new media; moreover, as Klein points out, the

²³ Interviewees were not required to provide their names, only socio-economic data considered relevant to the research. As such, any in-text citations will only include socio-economic data and the location where the interview took place. Any interviews that took place outside this timeframe will have the date included in the citation.

²⁴ *Tagalo* is the foundation of the Philippine national language Filipino and is the most spoken language in Metro Manila. Cebuano, colloquially called Visayan, is the official language of the Visayas and the most spoken language in Cebu and Tagbilaran.

²⁵ Income level by socioeconomic class is defined by the Philippine National Convention on Statistics (NCS) as: Class E 0~5200php; Class D 5201~1600php; Class C 16001~50000php; Class A&B 50001~150000php; class A&B are considered high-income, while class C and D are middle to low-income. Citizens in class E are the lowest of the socioeconomic classes and typically reside in squatter communities.

ones entering into public service are eager to make change and are now being given an opportunity to drive the policy agenda (Klein, 2008). In addition to the questionnaire/surveys six round table discussions were carried out at two universities in the National Capital Region, the University of the Philippines, Diliman and Ateneo de Manila University.

1.4.3 Data Analysis

Before finalizing the capability set, the research hypothesis was tested. To test the hypothesis the capability of ‘access’ was broken down into three indicators as defined by the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) and the International Telecommunication Union (ITU).²⁶ The three most prominent barriers to access are availability of service; ability to use the internet; and cost of internet access. These barriers may also refer to inequalities between individuals, households, or geographic areas, usually at different socioeconomic levels or other demographic categories – this is known as the digital divide. The questionnaire/surveys were the primary source of data, analyzed by SPSS Ver.22 using binomial testing, bivariate correlation analysis and chi-square cross-tabulation. The significance level for the p-value was set at 0.05. Once the hypothesis could be supported at this level, the study turned to isolating its normative set of central capabilities utilizing a semi-inductive research approach.

The criteria for the selection of capabilities were predominantly based on Ingrid Robeyns' five criteria for the selection of capabilities. As the foremost scholar on normative theories and methods within the field of human development and capabilities her criteria for the selection of capabilities are a natural fit for this research. First, all proposed list elements should be explicit, so they can be discussed and debated; second, the method of generating the list should be made explicit so it can be scrutinized; third, the level of abstraction of the list should be appropriate to its purposes, whether for philosophical, legal, political, or social discussion; fourth, if the list is intended for empirical application or public policy then it should be drawn-up in two distinct stages first an ideal stage and then a pragmatic one; fifth, the list should include all important elements and those elements should not be reducible to others. Robeyns claims that valuational

²⁶ These indicators are based on a mix of WSIS Action Line Items and the ICT Development Index (IDI) published by the United Nations International Telecommunications Union (ITU) which is based on internationally agreed upon ICT indicators for access.

procedures that meet her criteria provide epistemic, academic, and political legitimacy for empirically exploration (Robeyns, 2003).

Based on Robeyns' criteria for the selection of capabilities, popular central capabilities such as life, health, emotions, and education did not merit strong consideration. In addition to Robeyns' criteria, the research applied supplementary conditions for the selection of capabilities. These conditions were formulated based on previous research (Huffman, 2014) as well as preliminary fieldwork which took place from February 1~15, 2015. Foremost, the capability identified should facilitate citizen's participation in the governance process by lowering the barriers to e-Participation within the environment where e-Participation takes place; furthermore, the capability should be applicable to all groups regardless of socio-economic status; finally, the capability should be normative – while this somewhat runs counter to the other two conditions, the goal is not to measure the results but to recognize the capabilities that provide the greatest opportunity to achieve value through e-Participation. As Robeyns states:

The capability approach does not consider the functionings that a person has achieved as the ultimate normative measure. In Principle, we are concerned with people's real freedoms, that is, with their capability to function, and not with her achieved functionings-level (Robeyns, 2003b, p. 13).

By meeting these supplementary conditions, a list of capabilities central to socially inclusive governance through e-Participation could be realized. Capabilities that were primarily identified as potential candidates such as freedom of speech, the right to vote, trust, respect, inclusion and accountability were ultimately not considered due to ambiguity, a lack of evidence to support them, or reducible elements that could be expressed by a more appropriate capability.

Findings taken from examining the three spheres of e-Participation were integrated to constrict the core set of capabilities used in the Capabilities Approach Framework for E-Participation presented in Figure 13, page 112. The framework draws on the philosophical foundation of Sen's capability approach for human development and Easton's theory of a political system. While the selection of capabilities runs counter to Kerlinger's way of conceptualizing

theory, it only does so from the standpoint of Robeyns' fifth criteria. Even then, it can be argued that the core set of capabilities are interrelated with regards to the 'natural phenomena.'

1.5 Research Significance and Challenges of Change

While introducing a new approach may be an interesting academic exercise, this dissertation will move beyond anecdotal evidence by conducting a comprehensive investigation across the three main spheres of e-Participation. The results of this research are three-fold. First, it builds on previous socially inclusive governance frameworks, while advancing the field of e-Government as its own research domain.²⁷ This is accomplished by presenting a 'capabilitarian' perspective²⁸ that suggests a normative set of capabilities necessary for fostering e-Participation in the governance process through the Capabilities Approach Framework for E-Participation. By utilizing a semi-inductive approach, this dissertation provides academics and researchers with a theoretical base on which to better appraise e-Participation initiatives, something that has been lacking in previous research (as identified by Gronlund, 2007, Heeks, 2007 and Jafarkarimi, 2014). Secondly, it may assist developing countries in crafting better e-Government policies;²⁹ and more importantly, in implementing more successful e-Government projects and programs. The purpose is as Max Millikan (1959) puts it, "to deepen, broaden, and extend the policy-maker's capacity for judgment – not provide him with answers" (p. 167) as major donors and international finance institutions are increasingly basing their aid and loans to governments that can demonstrate good governance policies and practices (Smith, 2007; UNESCAP, 2009); such as the ones presented in UN Resolution A/RES/69327 as well as SDG Target 16.7 of the Sustainable Development Goals. Furthermore, local governments with limited resources are being challenged to operate more efficiently while improving the delivery of public services (OECD, 2005). Tools to foster these challenges are essential for governments wishing to improve e-Participation in their countries. Finally, as SDG Target 16.7 is considered a Tier 3 target there

²⁷ Refer to section 1.2 Problem Statement, for Heeks' observations regarding the academic field of e-Government.

²⁸ Capabilitariansim is an approach or a flexible and multi-purpose framework for evaluating and assessing social arrangements as well as prioritizes certain individual's beings and doings and their opportunities to realize those beings and doings. The term has been recently popularized by Robeyns, 2016 and Nielsen and Axelsen, 2016.

²⁹ The author utilized Kraft's scientific approach to policy analysis as an academic exercise to justify the Capabilities Approach Framework for E-Participation presented in Chapter 7 (Kraft and Furlong, 2013, p.117-141).

is no internationally established methodology or standard yet available for the indicator. This dissertation may assist in establishing a methodology or standard for testing.

1.6 Organization of the Dissertation

The remainder of this dissertation is organized into four main sections. The first section is divided into two chapters. Chapter 2 provides working definitions and overviews of the key terms. It provides a brief prologue into the history and evolution of e-Government research and provide a detailed account of the dominate e-Participation theories, models and arguments related to this field. Lastly, it will offer a new approach for promoting e-Participation in the governance process and touch on some of the challenges facing this line of research. Chapter 3 examines governance and democracy within the Philippine context while taking a closer look at the scholarly works taking place in the country. It provides insight into the governance process and provides a detailed account of e-Government policy as it relates to e-Participation. The second section spans three chapters, Chapters 4 through 6 and will provide a detailed investigation into the three spheres of e-Participation. Each chapter examines e-Participation through a different lens in order to formulate the interrelated constructs to address the main research question and to meet the objectives of this dissertation. By doing so, the third section, Chapter 7 redefines the modality of the traditional resource argument and inclusive democracy frameworks for e-Participation by presenting a framework based on an existential capabilities approach that builds on the previous works influenced by Sen and Alampy among other scholars. It integrates theory into practice by presenting a Capabilities Approach Framework for E-Participation which attempts to cultivate citizen's existential capabilities beyond access alone – accounting for the environmental conditions, while scrutinizing each of the capabilities incorporated into the framework for e-Participation. It concludes by providing insight into how to operationalize the approach and provides suggestions for further research. The final section, Chapter 8, synthesizes the results and how they relate to the main research question and objectives of this research.

CHAPTER 2: INTRODUCTION TO E-GOVERNMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT

Chapter 2 begins by defining the key terms of the dissertation and provides working definitions to provide context to the reader. As introduced in Chapter 1, the research utilizes a semi-inductive approach with priority given to the qualitative method; as such, much of the literature use will be presented at the end of the dissertation in-line with Creswell's research design for inductive research (Creswell, 2003 p. 32). Given it is still a semi-inductive approach, it is important to provide a prologue into the history and evolution of e-Government research and offer a detailed account of the dominate e-Participation theories, models and arguments related to this field. By extrapolating the current literature, this author would like to end the chapter by proposing a new approach for promoting e-Participation in the governance process while touching on some of the challenges facing this line of research.

2.1 Defining the Terms

E-Governance and e-Government are somewhat synonymous, while the terms are often used interchangeable; there are a few distinct differences. For the purposes of this dissertation e-Governance is a comprehensive term that refers to all aspects of governance through the use of technology. SDG Target 16.7 operates at this inclusive governance level, with the ultimate goal of strengthening the state through responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision making. Conversely, e-Government refers to the use of ICTs by government agencies to provide information, infrastructure and public services to its citizens. Resolution A/RES/69/327 targets this administrative level of governance for encouraging transparency, accountability, and citizen engagement. To accomplish these goals and targets, citizens need to engage in this electronic form of governance. This term is commonly referred to as e-Participation, which is defined by UNPAN as the sum total of both the government programs to encourage participation and the willingness of citizens to do so (UNPAN, 2005, p.19).

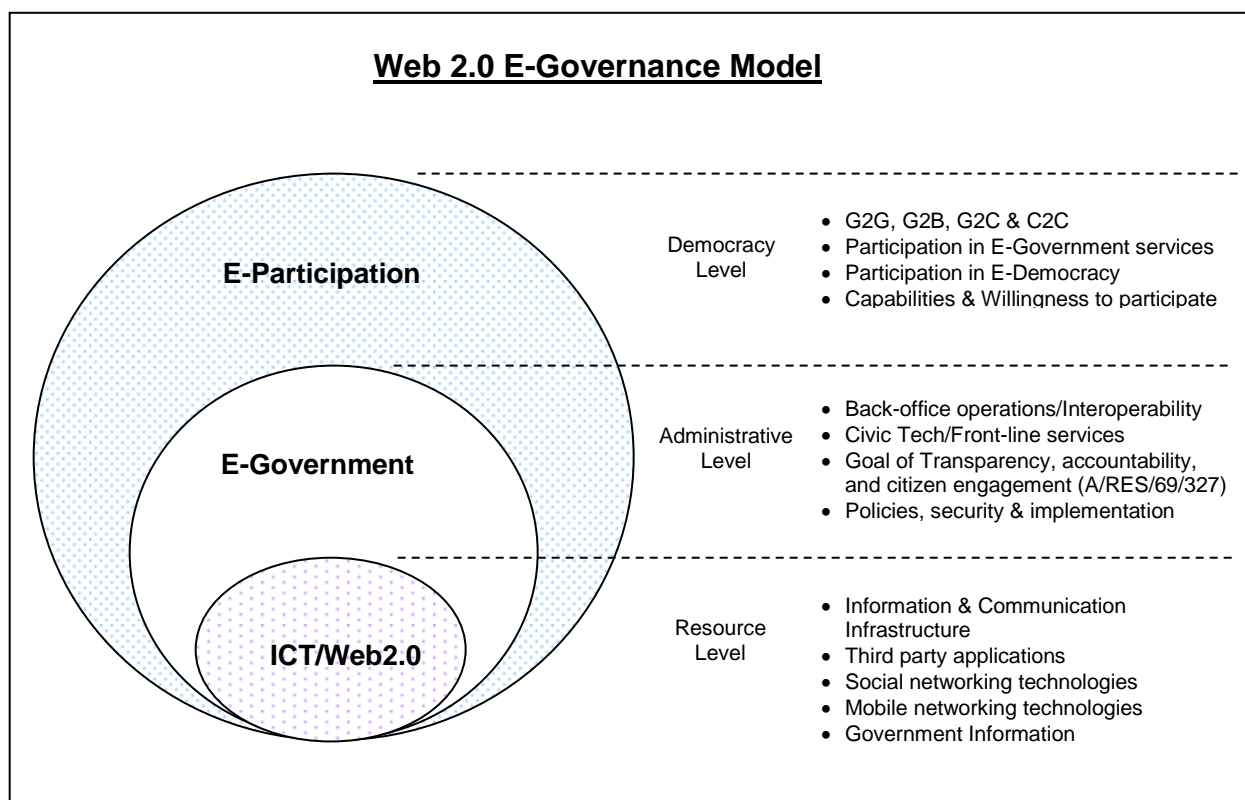
E-Participation itself can be broken down into four e-Government nomenclatures. The first is Government to Government (G2G) which involves conducting electronic exchange

between government-actors at all level of government. The second is Government to Business (G2B), which many e-Government services are designed to promote, such as online business permits and property tax payments. The third and fourth nomenclatures refer to Government to Citizen (G2C) and Citizen to Citizen (C2C). These two classifications are at the heart of this research as they have a direct influence on socially inclusive governance.³⁰ A final element of e-Participation is e-Democracy.

E-Democracy is an umbrella term that broadly describes moving citizens from passive consumers of information to active ICT participants within the democratic/governance process (as defined by Garson, 2006; Backus, 2001; Lee, et al., 2011). While e-Government tends to follow a top-down approach, e-Democracy tends to be bottom-up, although as Breindl and Francq (2008) contended, there are differing viewpoints on this (p. 15). For example, Steven Clift sees e-Democracy operating as a filter between citizens and governance whereas Stephen Coleman views it in the more traditional sense as a tool to provide citizens with a voice (Clift, 2004; Coleman, 2005); no matter the case, E-Democracy at its core is predicated on the capability of citizens to take part in the governance process. In terms of scope, for this dissertation, e-Democracy is more than just online voting, it encompasses all aspects of citizen engagement and dialog with government using ICTs; chiefly Web 2.0 technologies and civic technologies, which are often one in the same. Once Web 2.0 technologies such as social media, wikis, and folksonomies become integrated into e-Government solutions they become civic technologies. These include public and private sector applications as well as e-Government infrastructure. The Web 2.0 E-Governance Model illustrates these terms within the governance process, see Figure 1 on the next page.

³⁰ While G2G participation between government agencies and G2B participation between government and the private sector were also investigated, they do not fall under the broad term of socially inclusive governance – this term describes providing all citizens with the opportunity to participate in the governance process.

Figure 1: Web 2.0 E-Governance Model



Source, revised from: (Huffman, 2017b). *E-Participation in the Philippines: A Capabilities Approach to Socially Inclusive Governance*. *EJournal of eDemocracy and Open Government*, 9(2) p. 28

Lastly, the governance process itself is a system. The most noteworthy of these systems is David Easton's theory of a political system which he introduced with his 1965 publications of *A Framework for Political Analysis* where supports and demands are processed into decisions and policies.³¹ These outputs influence the environment which in turn generates feedback in the way of new supports and demands. Similar to Nath's ICT empowerment loop, which asserts that individual participation in governance can have a multiplier effect as citizens gain greater control and capacities to act (Nath, 2003, p. 3). This dissertation, as a working definition, interprets the governance process as a system that promotes responsive, inclusive, participatory and

³¹ This approach encapsulates the field of systems theory; however, this orthodox interpretation of a political system requires substantial modifications to be used as a model for e-Participation. This approach will be more thoroughly discussed in Chapter 7.

representative decision making, with the goal of deepening democracy and providing instrumental as well as intrinsic value to citizens through e-Participation. However, unlike Easton's theory of a political system, which will be discussed later, the environment in which e-Participation takes place influences the governance process, not necessarily the other way around. With the key terms defined, a brief prologue into the evolution of e-Government is essential to provide a foundation for exploring the scholarly works in this emerging field of e-Development.

2.2 The Evolution of E-Government

Before the turn of the century, the clear majority of e-Government services were almost exclusively supply driven. The goal was to provide citizens with information through static websites. In developing countries this was accomplished through 'telecenter' projects³² (Best, 2002). Governments worked closely with NGOs to provide citizens with access to information (Bhatnagar, 2004). Information was web-based and provided citizens with content related to weather, market prices and government services.³³ While some of these telecenter projects became sustainable, they were more often the exception than the rule (Best, 2008). ICTs at the time were expensive and in developing countries it was difficult to find the human capital to manage the technologies.

By the start of the new millennium, governments were still focused on providing static services to citizens and the 'digital divide' was separating the haves from the have-nots. Progress was being made to bridge the gap by implementing wireless technologies and incorporating citizens into the development process (Huffman, 2002). However, e-Government was still in its infancy.³⁴

³² Also referred to as tele-centres or cyber cafes.

³³ This included health information, educational materials as well as links to other government offices.

³⁴ The term electronic government can be traced back to the 1993 United States National Performance Review, while the term e-Government was not popularized until the turn of the century, with e-Government research making its way into academia around the same time. Refer to section 2.3 Public Discourse and the Road Ahead.

In 2002 UNPAN along with the American Society for Public Administration released a report detailing the state of e-Government across 190 UN member states. This report provided an overview of the e-Government landscape and was a precursor to the renowned Global e-Government Survey, which assesses e-Government development across a number of indices. The 2002 report provided a benchmark or ‘reference point’ for governments and policy planners to measure future progress. It highlighted government’s need to improve services while cutting costs. Before this point in time, global e-Government data was sparse and not well organized; furthermore, countries were not harvesting the benefits of e-Government, just picking the low-hanging fruits of simple automation (OECD, 2008, p. 11).

A year following the release of UNPAN’s 2002 report *Benchmarking E-government: A Global Perspective*, UNPAN released its first E-government Survey. This survey was historic in that it measured more than just websites – the survey detailed e-Government development along three key lines, information communication infrastructure (ICI), human resource development (HRD) and e-Participation. At the time, e-Participation was still considered an afterthought in relation to ICI an HRD. The findings from the survey indicated that there was an urgent need for governments to divert intellectual and financial capital to improve its human capital base and telecommunication infrastructure (UNPAN, 2003, p. 58). The state of e-Government at this time was centered on establishing ICT policies and improving government from within. Citizen participation did not start becoming a relevant factor until midway through the decade.

In 2005 e-Government took a major step forward. The United Nations-lead World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) highlighted the need to incorporate civil society into the governance process. Good governance was starting to be incorporated into government policy, while ICTs for development started playing a more active role in academic research – although capacity building and equal access were the central theme for most e-Government research.³⁵ Nevertheless, e-Participation became an important point of debate in the governance process; specifically related to the digital divide with a focus on equal access and inclusion (Datar et al., 2008). The UN’s Global E-Government Readiness Report 2005 presented a framework or

³⁵ These issues relate to the digital divide that has been a central topic of debate for the past two decades.

‘vision’ for restructured thinking about how to improve e-Government by appreciating the capabilities of each person; the choices they make; and the freedoms they partake in (UNPAN, 2005, p. 112). This approach marked a new way of visualizing e-Government.

Nearing the end of the first decade of the new millennium the cost of ICTs dropped substantially around the globe. Digital Subscriber Line (DSL) connections across 30 developed countries fell by 19 percent, while broadband speeds increased by 29 percent (OECD, 2005). The cost savings of ICTs also benefited developing countries. As an illustration, cellular subscriber lines tripled in Cote d’Ivoire from 470 thousand to 1.53 million in just one year and in Guyana, Internet users increased from 500 in 1996 to 145,000 in 2004.³⁶ This reduction in the cost of ICTs helped governments restructure back-end operations. Vertical and horizontal integration between departments and agencies became common practice.³⁷ This led to governments centralizing their e-Government services taking a ‘whole-of-government’ approach in order to increase efficiency and transparency, two of the key goals of moving to an e-Government solution. The decreased cost of ICTs and the increased speed of Internet services increased the viability of e-Government. Governments worked to enhance public services; moreover, an emphasis was placed on incorporating citizens into the governance process. E-Participation was becoming more of a reality.

By the end of the decade there was a shift in the way e-Government was being utilized. Advances in technology and infrastructure worldwide grew exponentially. At the same time the global financial crisis forced governments to rethink how they do business. Moreover, applications started to take center stage in the form of social media and civic technologies, which were reinforced through the infusion of Web 2.0 into the governance process.

Never was this more evident than in the 2008 election campaign of Senator Barack Hussein Obama II (D-IL) who was campaigning against party favorite Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-NY). Senator Obama consulted with Marc Andreessen the former founder of

³⁶ UNDESA. Statistics Division. <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/default.htm> Accessed 09 September 2015.

³⁷ Interoperability is still an ongoing concern of governments and will be for the foreseeable future.

Netscape and a board member for Facebook to see how he could utilize social media to stimulate e-Participation in his run for the White House. Senator Obama eventually hired Chris Hughes a founder of Facebook, to manage his presidential campaign's social media efforts (Daniels, 2012). By utilizing social media, the Obama campaign was able to encourage civic engagement in their cause, promote transparency and trust in their campaign and stimulate the youth vote – eventually winning the general election and becoming the 44th President of the United States.

Following Obama's unprecedented rise to power, academics started to more seriously discuss whether Web 2.0 technologies might be an influential tool for reshaping governance (Cole, 2009; Willard, 2009). Resulting from the Obama campaign Cole (2009) states, "these aren't just toys, gizmos or youthful fads. Social media are powerful global communication tools we can deploy to help rejuvenate civic engagement" (p. 3). Because of this event, Web 2.0 shifted from being a novelty to becoming a powerful government strategy for improving governance throughout all levels of government. While interactive ICT tools have proven to be an effective means for politicians and policy makers to identify the preferences, needs and demands of citizens it is not sufficient to just push out new technologies – it is essential to identify user's needs and how to engage them (OECD, 2008; UNPAN, 2010). Unfortunately, this gap in research has not been filled with significant studies addressing these issues.

Within the past decade, e-Government development has continued to make headlines. This view was reinforced by the World Wide Web Consortium's (W3C) paper *Improving Access to Government through Better Use of the Web* (W3C, 2009). Where historically governments have focused on back-end operations to improve efficient, accountability and transparency, they are now incorporating front-line operations into their policy debates; moreover, civil society is also being provided with a platform to express their views and provide suggestions to governments – empowering citizens through civic engagement and providing them with a voice in the governance process. Furthermore, politicians are capturing these advancements to push forward their own agendas.

While these advancements have provided a wider platform and increased opportunities for expression, it has not come without controversy. Like President Obama, Obama's successor President Trump was able to generate support for his campaign by stimulating the marginalized masses living in the interior of the United States. This voter base was mainly made up of middle to lower-middle class Americans who felt the incumbent party had abandoned them. He utilized a combination of Web 2.0 applications to promote his agenda but by and large his most prominent social media platform was Twitter. Between the times President Obama won his first presidential election to the time President Trump won his, Twitter had exploded from 6 million users to over 319 million.³⁸ Critics such as outspoken University of California Berkeley Emeritus Professor George Lakoff have been quick to attack President Trump's use of social media calling it "a weapon to control the news cycle...his tweets are tactical rather than substantive" (GeorgeLakoff, 2018); going so far as to introduce a taxonomy of Trump Tweets, which highlights how Trump has weaponized Twitter. President Trump has countered this perspective stating "Censorship is a very dangerous thing & absolutely impossible to police. If you are weeding out Fake News, there is nothing so Fake as CNN & MSNBC,³⁹ & yet I do not ask that their sick behavior be removed..." (realDonaldTrump, 2018). If the old adage holds true that 'information is power' one must question the quality and source of the information being acquired if it is to empower citizens.

As the latest UNPAN report advocates, current trends in e-Government focus on citizen empowerment, participatory governance and crowd sourcing (UNPAN, 2016). Previously, citizens were seen as consumers and the role of government was to provide information and services. Now citizens are being seen as actors in the governance process. ICTs are continuing to develop exponentially providing increased access to citizens around the world through lower costs and better service. Governments are harnessing the power of these tools to improve back-end and front-line operations. As of 2014 all UN member states have at least a national web

³⁸ Retrieved August 19, 2018 from <https://www.thebalancecareers.com/twitter-statistics-2008-2009-2010-2011-3515899> with secondary support from <https://www.statista.com/statistics/282087/number-of-monthly-active-twitter-users/>

³⁹ Both CNN and MSNBC are prominent news media outlets with a well-established 'left' leaning bias, which is in opposition of President Trump's political ideology.

presence. Unfortunately, the vast majority of e-Government data is collected at the national level, more work needs to be done to assess issues related to e-Government at the local level. Finally, while initially the digital divide was primarily an issue of resources and access, a new theory is emerging that focuses on improving the capacity and capability of individuals to cultivate e-Participation and democracy (UNPAN, 2015, p. 124). This inclusive governance argument looks to incorporate citizens into the governance processes. To gain an understanding of why this provides a better framework for benchmarking and promoting citizen engagement through e-Participation it is essential to turn to the broader field of e-Government research.

2.3 Appraisal of E-Government Research

E-Government research has roughly followed the progress of ICT implementation as introduced in the previous section. To underscore the academic contribution of this research it is important to first provide a review of some of the larger ongoing dialogue and research in the field of e-Government to investigate why certain frameworks have failed to achieve socially inclusive governance while others are making progress.

During the last decade of the 20th century Yildiz (2007) noted that “e-Government research was dominated by studies that focused on the observation and evaluation of the output of e-government initiatives” (p. 658). There was little academic debate. Studies were more like descriptive reports than actual academic research (such as Jonas, 2000). The majority of papers concentrated their attention on accessing government websites and presenting ‘best practice’ cases (examples include Abramson, 2001; West, 2003a, 2003b). What little debate there was, centered on reinventing governments in developing countries (examples include Osborn, 1992; Issic-Henry, 1997); investigating the concerns over ICT integration into local communities (such as Talero, 1995; Jackson, 2002); and exploring the effects it had on the traditional power relations between citizens and the State (which include Kraemer & King, 1986; Bekkers, 1999; Zuurmond, 1998; Snellen, 1998),⁴⁰ while assumed and not debated, the digital divide still garnered an

⁴⁰ The research in all four of these studies showed that ICTs reinforced the existing power relations.

immense amount of attention as the indicators for measuring the digital divide were for the most part objective and scholars could use the measurements as an antecedent for their own arguments.

At the beginning of the 21st century Information Technology (IT) was being coined the second industrial revolution (Warschauer, 2002). The new 'Age of Information' brought about a change as the integration of ICTs into government operations started becoming more prevalent. Research still examined back-end operations, with the discourse centering on interoperability (examples include Gartner, 2000; Haldenwang, 2002; OECD, 2003) and the pace at which ICT could be incorporated into the governance process (such as Moon, 2002; OECD, 2003; Bekkers & Homburg, 2005; Seifert, 2006; Keane, 2009; Freeman, 2013). The majority of research still heralded the achievements of e-Government, developing models and theories such as Standforth's (2007) Actor-Network Theory that focus on promoting good governance, "but as a theoretical position within the broader debate of the studies of the sociology of technology" (p. 56). However, a change in basic assumptions was taking place with regards to ICT integration into the governance process. Front-line services were being questioned and a pessimistic view was starting to take shape (Best, 2008).

By the end of the decade research regarding citizen participation in the governance process was escalating. Some argued that ICTs are not the cause of social change but provide the platform necessary to make that change possible (Mesch, 2010); moreover, ICT-based 'direct democracy' should not be a replacement for 'representative democracy' but rather a means to improve interest, articulation and decision making (Haldenwang, 2002). Others cautioned that access to information is empowering and that the loss of power by elites could slow down progress as elites will be hesitant to share information in their control. As Vikas Nath (2003) points out "these governance structures are often captured by a few who exercise their economic and political superiority to chart its agenda and operations. Information does not flow freely and fairly under such regimes and therefore tends to be exploitatively used" (p. 4). Conversely, without participation in policy-making elite pluralism which does not necessarily account for the voice of the people or people with less power may take affect (Bucy & Gregson, 2001). This deliberation of citizen participation using ICTs is referred to as e-Participation.

Currently, e-Participation in itself is an emerging research field (as stated by Macintosh, 2006 and Tundjumsir, 2011). Historically, in each of the UN development decades, citizen participation has been advocated and pursued to varying degrees and methods. It has further been recommended that governments should implement appropriate measures to ensure more active participation takes place (CIMS, 2004) – which resolution A/RES/66/288 states is an essential precondition for achieving sustainable development.⁴¹ This ideal has pushed e-Participation to the forefront of e-Government research (examples include, Asgarkhani, 2005; Madon et al., 2009; Melin et al., 2008; Verdegem & Verleye, 2009; OECD 2009). Although the writings in this area are still limited both in academic theory and in practice – the prevailing arguments for achieving the goals set forth by the UN for enhancing e-Participation can be broken down into two classifications.

The next two subsections elaborate on these contending arguments. The first argument which will be called the resource argument for enhancing e-Participation highlights technology and the need to overcome the digital divide by improving access to ICTs – these include government sponsored or private sector studies. The second more recent argument which will be called the inclusive democracy argument for enhancing e-Participation deals with e-Democracy and whether it promotes socially inclusive governance.

2.3.1 The Resource Argument for Enhancing E-Participation

The resource argument for enhancing e-Participation is rooted in the digital divide and back-end processes. The objective is for governments to ensure an adequate level of access. Studies just in the past six years such as Magro (2012) are still claiming that “the digital divide is a major barrier to e-participation” (p. 155). Magro maintains “the burden of erasing the digital divide falls mostly upon the shoulders of the governing entities” (p. 155); additionally, Yadav (2012) claims that the future of e-Governance rests in back in processes such as “Open Source Software and Cloud

⁴¹ UNGA A/RES/66/288 Annex ‘Common Vision’ Point 13. Retrieved March 2, 2017 from http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/66/288&Lang=E

Computing” (p. 42). At the same time, social media and other prominent Web 2.0 technologies are gaining traction in the technology focused discourse. Whether Web 2.0 technologies are effective tools for e-Participation is still up for debate.

As Kavanaugh, Fox, Sheetz, Yang, Li, Shoemaker, Natsev and Xie conclude in their study of Web 2.0 use by government; governments still use social media without knowing the costs and benefits or who their actual audiences are (Kavanaugh, et al, 2011). This is indicative of the resource argument as the focus remains on the technology instead of the citizens that are supposed to use it. Joanne Kuszma’s (2010) study of governments in Asia concluded the same results, noting that governments in developing nations are not taking advantage of effective methods for e-Participation and that there is a “lack of strategic direction in their governmental approach” (p. 10).

For many scholars who support the resource argument, the interesting question is not whether governments can leverage these resources, but rather how can governments effectively encourage e-Participation. Scholars such as Terri Willard (2009) do not believe Web 2.0 technologies like social media “fundamentally alter the dynamics of the political landscape” (p. 26). Willard’s justifies his position by using the Rational Democratic Governance (RDG) approach, which he states is “the most common approach for analyzing sustainable development governance” (p. 25). He recommends an resource approach to make the most out of the potential governance benefits by establishing policies that will guide individual’s access to further his sustainable development agenda (p. 31). Sivarajah and Irani present a conceptual model for the integration of Web 2.0 applications into e-Government in hopes of filling the void in the normative literature (Sivarajah & Irani, 2012, p. 13); however, while they identify the lack of participation despite financial and government resources for improving e-government, their model does not address this issue, instead opting to focus on cost, benefit and risk analysis and impact factors unrelated to citizens or their needs.

Included in the resource argument for enhancing e-Participation are private sector studies. As Lehtonen points out, many of these studies are sponsored and paid for by governments or are

studies that have to meet the objectives of politicians and administrators (Lehtonen, 2007). This exact sentiment was echoed by Rose, Gronlund and Andersen in their book, which itself was sponsored and paid for by government (Rose, et al., 2010, p. 7). As Milton Friedman once stated:

“Almost all government programs are started with good intentions, but when you look at what they actually achieve, there is a general rule. Almost every such program has results that are the opposite of the intentions of the well-meaning people who originally backed it.”

Carolyne Stanforth (2006) in her article on e-Government implementation in developing countries using Actor-Network Theory stated, “it is a poorly kept secret in the computer industry that information systems are more likely to fail than succeed” (p. 37). For these reasons, private sector and government sponsored studies tend to present a view sometimes opposite of reality.

The IBM Center for The Business of Government released a highly cited report titled *Leveraging Web 2.0 in Government*. While the private sector study investigated citizen’s perceptions the findings from the study were all technology based, with their first recommendation being “Just do it” (Chang and Kannan, 2008, p. 33). While this is not to say private sector and government sponsored studies do not hold unbiased or academic importance, it does generate a vergence in the literature towards one particular outcome.

While the resource argument does not focus on the individual it does provide in-depth analysis of the role ICTs play in the governance process. The literature also provides objective evidence which is straightforward and measurable. This makes the argument popular among researchers investigating the effects of e-Participation. The obvious drawback is that the resource argument for enhancing e-Participation lacks sustainability, is susceptible to profiteering, and does not necessarily consider the demands of the individual. By providing resources, rather than fostering the capabilities inherent to the individual, the individual becomes reliant on the entity providing the resources – typically the government or government funded organizations and non-governmental organizations, as suggested by Heeks (Heeks, 2002). There is however a second

prominent argument; one that considers the individual as a contributor in the governance process. This argument will be discussed in the next sub-section.

2.3.2 The Inclusive Democracy Argument for Enhancing E-Participation

The inclusive democracy argument focuses on increasing the opportunities for individuals to take part in the governance process. The objective is to ensure equal opportunity for citizens to express their views through e-Democracy. As such, Web 2.0 technologies such as social media play an integral role. The ability to harness the potential of Web 2.0 technologies to stimulate citizen engagement as well as representative decision making, all while promoting transparency and accountability is a widely discussed topic. It is also the target of SDG 16.7 and the goal of Resolution A/RES/69/327. This has generated some debate on the validity of e-Democracy as it has become a popular target for detractors.

Some authors warn about the disconnection between e-Government and e-Democracy (examples include Kardan, 2011; Blakely, 2001; Cho, 2008),⁴² while others see e-Democracy as a detrimental force to e-Governance (as noted by Poster, 2001; Norris, 2002; Freeman, 2013). As Aristotle articulated, “in a democracy the poor will have more power than the rich, because there are more of them, and the will of the majority is supreme.” Christian von Haldenwang warns that ICT-based ‘direct democracy,’ should not be seen as an alternative to representative democracy but rather as a means to improve interest, articulation and decision making (Haldenwang, 2002).⁴³ This sentiment is echoed by Coleman in his book chapter *The History and Future of an Idea* (Coleman, 2005).

While some believe governments can benefit from e-Democracy others believe that governments function more effectively without input from civil society. As Sir Winston Churchill once infamously stated “The best argument against democracy is a five minute talk

⁴² The disconnect being that E-Government is a technical research field, while e-Democracy is a social one.

⁴³ Jafarkarimi distinguishes Direct Democracy (people making decisions directly) from Representative Democracy (elected representatives make the decisions) in his paper “The Impact of ICT on Reinforcing Citizens’ Role in Government Decision Making” (Jafarkarimi, 2014).

with the average voter,”⁴⁴ while Max Weber insisted that if ordinary people are entrusted to make political decisions, they are liable to respond emotionally (Shaw, 2008).⁴⁵ More research is needed to determine the linkages between e-Participation and inclusive democracy. Tony Bovaird’s research of six case studies across the UK showed that social media and civic technologies risk empowering the already empowered as pointed out by Dennis Linders in his paper on citizen coproduction in the age of social media (Linder, 2012, p. 425). Jaeger and Bertot state, the benefits of e-Participation “have not been uniformly distributed [and are not] equally available to all” (Jaeger & Bertot, 2010, p. 373); moreover Scholzman, Verba and Brady (2010) in their article titled *Weapons of the Strong?* show that a lack of access reinforces “well-known SES [socioeconomic status] stratification” when examining participatory inequality in political activity (p. 494). According to Geoff Mulgan (as cited by Bovaird, 2007) “it is hardly progressive to distribute responsibilities to the powerless”⁴⁶ (p. 18).

Bertot, Jaeger and Grimes while identifying similar issues regarding the criticisms of e-Democracy provide some rare suggestions based on qualitative evidence identifying usability and functionality to go along with broad based accessibility to overcome these issues (Bertot, et al., 2010); while these may be short-term actions, Bertot, et al. (2010) further describes that to be truly transformative, “e-Government must be citizen-centered in its development and implementation” (p. 267).

While there are a number of critics, the dominate theory is e-Democracy promotes citizen engagement and enhances e-Governance (examples include, Toffler 1994; Rheingold, 1994; Dyson 1998; Clift, 2004; Macintosh, 2006). In modern social theory such as the one presented in Castells’ book *The Rise of the Network Society* governments are regarded as a structure of society where e-Democracy provides a driving force for change. Rose, Grönlund, and Andersen, articulate Castells’ perspective by saying that “much of the technological support associated with

⁴⁴ This is an often-cited quote, but the origins of the quote have never been verified; however the essence of the quote is not lost on this author. It goes without saying that the average voter is not well informed. The argument becomes, is this the cause or effect of traditional governance?

⁴⁵ This means average citizens are potentially a dangerous destabilizing political force.

⁴⁶ Mulgan, G. (1991). Citizens and responsibilities. In Andrews, G. (ed). Citizenship. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

eParticipation [such as Web 2.0 technologies] is developed in response to societal demand, rather than promoted by government” (Rose et al, 2010, p. 7). Meaning the drivers for e-Participation tend to be value driven and governments are beginning to take notice. Quimpo (2008) further suggest that “to turn the tide in democracy’s favour” that transformation needs to take place at the institutional level (p. 351). Freeman and Quirke (2013) state that by doing so, “these initiatives offer citizens spaces for engagement through ongoing dialogue and a greater degree of power in decision-making processes” (p. 150). Whether Web 2.0 technologies are effective tools for e-Participation is still up for debate.

Effing, Hillegersberg and Huibers use Ann Macintosh’s model of e-Participation to investigate e-Democracy in the Netherlands. They examined the use of Web 2.0 technologies by politicians to engage citizens as citizens moved through each level of e-Participation as outlined by Macintosh. Macintosh’s first two levels are firstly about supporting individuals that do not have access to the Internet and secondly about engaging a wider audience through a top-down approach; her final level supports active participation recognizing the role of citizens in the policy process; what she calls E-Empowering (Macintosh, 2004). This value is also at the forefront of Jeremy Millard’s model for evolving societal values which he presents in his paper *Government 1.5 – is the bottle half full or half empty?* where-in he places ‘empowerment values’ at the top of his model (Millard, 2010). Effing, et al. concludes that while the rise of social media could create opportunities for political participation, social media does not play a big role yet – and does not always result in a more effective political campaign. They emphasized the need for further research as capabilities must be identified that enable or prevent citizens from becoming active (Effing, et al., 2011).

While both the resource argument and the inclusive democracy argument have their merits they are neither independent nor resilient to the environment in which e-Participation takes place. So while not mutually exclusive, this dissertation will introduce a new argument based on the inclusive democracy argument to build an approach for identifying the core set of determinants that can enhance citizen’s opportunities to achieve value through e-Participation by incorporating the social and political conditions into the environment in which e-Participation

takes place. As Macintaosh highlights, e-Participation evaluation is in its infancy and there is a need for coherent theoretical frameworks – this is in part due to the somewhat recent debate that governments need to engage citizens in the governance process (Macintosh, 2006); inopportunately, only a few scholars have address this topic (examples include, Whyte and Macintosh, 2003; Fewer and Rowe, 2005). Furthermore, only a minority of research considers the value citizen’s place on participating in the governance process or provided any theories to promote socially inclusive governance.

2.4 Theories, Models and the Capability Approach to Governance and Development

Within the field of e-Government, there are approaches being taken to advance e-Government research. Heeks conducted an analysis of 84 e-Government specific research studies and found that the majority of papers focused on model-based work and category-based work with only one paper focusing on theory-based work;⁴⁷ moreover, less than 15 percent conducted any kind of fieldwork (Heeks, 2007, p. 27). This is because the majority of studies fall under the first argument of technology and government sponsored or private sector studies as introduced earlier in Section 2.3.1. These studies often speculate on the potentials of e-Government or have agendas that are not completely academic as the literature review revealed.

This is not to say the field of e-Government is without theory-based work. There are a handful of endeavors to generate theories and models to assist policy makers in incorporating e-Participation into the governance process, such as Diffusion of Innovation (DOI),⁴⁸ Technology Acceptance Model (TAM),⁴⁹ Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB),⁵⁰ Theory of Reasoned Action

⁴⁷ Model-based work presents a model without reference to any deeper framework of knowledge, while Category-based work presents a set of categories or lists of factors whereas Theory-based work makes clear use of an identified theory, either applying, testing or developing a theory.

⁴⁸ Diffusion of Innovation (DOI) examines at what rate new ideas and technologies spread – focusing on innovation over time among participants in a social system, like e-Participation (Rodgers, 2006).

⁴⁹ The Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) is a measurement scale for predicting user acceptance of ICTs (Davis, 1989).

⁵⁰ The Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) links an individual’s beliefs with their behaviors to predict actions (Ajzen, 1991).

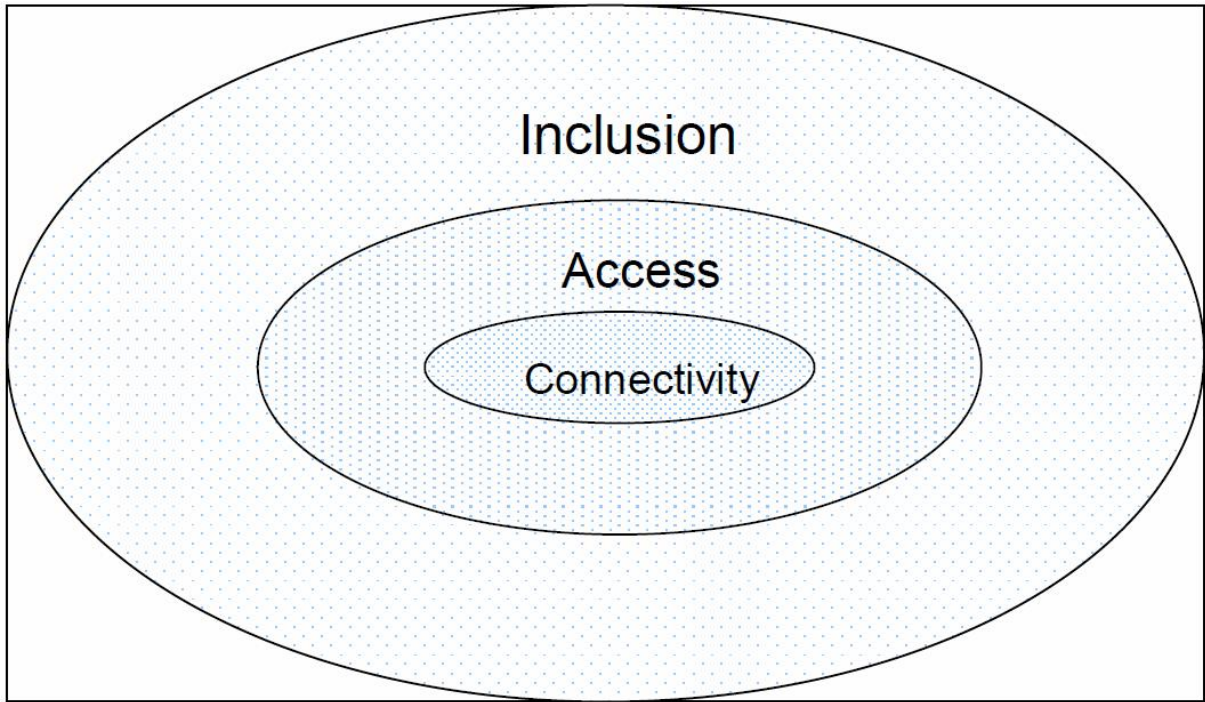
(TRA)⁵¹ and Unified Theory of Acceptance and Use of Technology (UTAUT).⁵² Unfortunately, while these studies provide useful insight into user's preferences, they all have one thing in common; they view citizens as users of information and services rather than participants in the governance process. As touched upon in the previous section, there is a handful of theory-based work that applies the inclusive democracy argument.

In UNPAN's most recent e-Government report, e-Participation is still an evolving concept. The report sharpens its focus on policy decisions that better reflect the needs of citizens, while expanding its theoretical approach to include more current technologies such as tablets, cloud computing and open data (UN, 2016, p. 51). Although this is a positive step for achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs); chiefly Target 16.7, it does not resolve the shortcomings of its approach. When evaluating the level of entitlements, both the range of communication options and the ability of citizens to make use of these options to achieve their relevant functionings are important (Garnham, 1997, p. 34). The foundation of the UNPAN framework is based on Amartya Sen's capability approach to human development, which was introduced in Chapter 1. Figure 2 on page 36 illustrates this framework.

⁵¹ The Theory of Reasoned Action aims to explain the relationship between attitudes and behaviors among individuals (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975)

⁵² The Unified Theory of Acceptance and Use of Technology (UTAUT) is a theory that attempts to explain the intentions of individuals for using ICT systems, such as e-Government (Venkatesh et al., 2003)

Figure 2: A Framework for Inclusion



Source: United Nations Global E-Government Readiness Report 2005 – From E-Government to E-Inclusion, UNPAN, 2005, p. 8

At the center of the framework are ICTs such as the Internet, PCs, mobile phones, satellite communications, etc. Surrounding the ICT ‘connectivity’ layer is the ‘access’ layer. The access layer consists of access to ICTs, technical skills, education, appropriate content, even income, but with the deliberative goal of ensuring equal opportunity, which is illustrated in the outer most layer of the framework as ‘inclusion’ for all.

UNPAN’s framework is meant to be a holistic framework to shift the emphasis away from connectivity and access and on to the individual. It attempts to focus on reducing inequalities between citizens to realize socially inclusive governance. This is one of the major contributes of the framework as it sheds attention on the individual not just the technology. The framework however does not consider the capabilities of citizens beyond access or the importance of utility – the value which citizens place or have reason to place on participating in the governance process, which is not necessarily a bad thing. However, Nicholas Garnham, like

Sen, rejects the idea of using resources as a tool for measurement and instead turns to the 'beings and doings' of individuals, such as being well-nourished; these beings and doings are what Sen refers to as 'functionings' (Sen, 1992 p. 5). The linkage between value and capability is referred to as 'valued functionings.'

It is the position of this author that although it is important to appreciate the capabilities, choices and freedoms people want, it is necessary to move past 'appreciation' and to identify a core set of capabilities that can empower citizens which in turn can strengthen the state through a deepening of democracy – as these conditions have a propensity for encouraging e-Participation. Furthermore, it is necessary to look beyond access to achieve socially inclusive governance, something which the Sen inspired UNPAN framework fails to define appropriately.⁵³ While it does hint at the need to remove political, economic, technological and social barriers, its ultimate goal is to promote access to opportunities that are equitably distributed for economic and social empowerment. While this perspective has merit for achieving socially inclusive governance, its deliberative or democratic position does not allow it to consider the individual.

Before dissecting Sen's approach more thoroughly, one can argue that capabilities are not the appropriate political target and that we should be focusing on functionings instead. This has been debated by illustrious human development scholar Martha Nussbaum repeatedly (Nussbaum, 2000a, 2000b, 2006). To borrow one of her assertions, "many people who are willing to support a given capability as fundamental ...would feel violated were the associated functioning made basic" (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 60). For example, does a fundamental capability such as having ownership over your own body, allow you to sell yourself into slavery? While people may endorse individual's rights to do what they want with their own body, condoning voluntary slavery as a fundamental entitlement would be unreasonable. That is why it is this author's position that capabilities are the evaluative space in which to build a framework for socially inclusive governance through e-Participation.

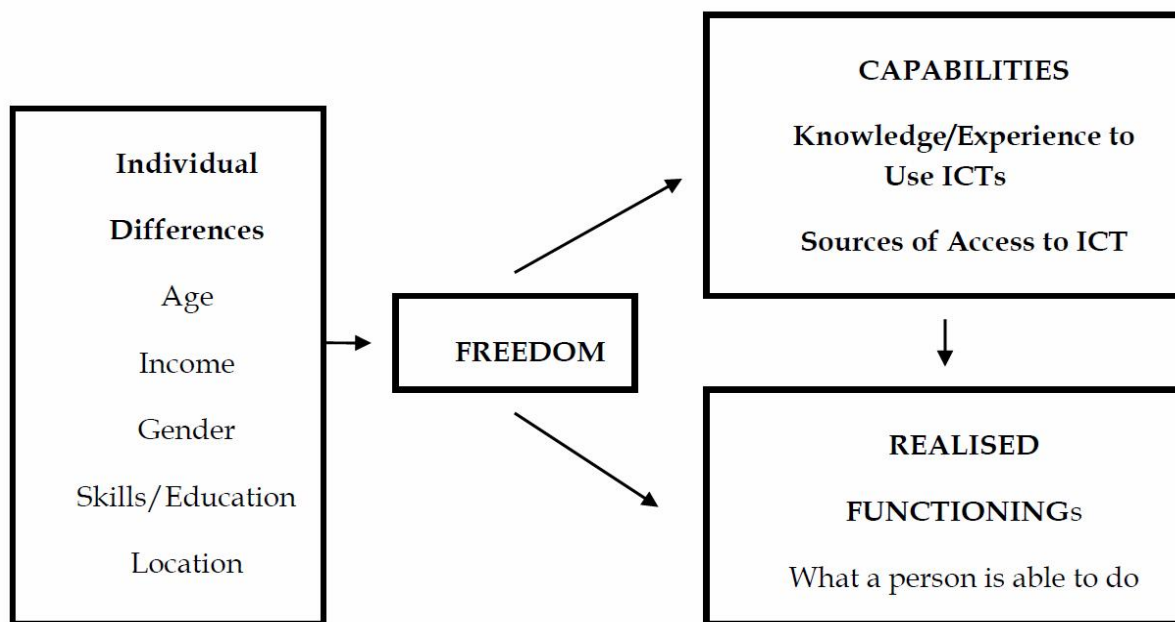
⁵³ Although citizens are the central theme of the e-Government Report, they are still seen as customers.

Returning to Sen, Sen's capability approach has been applied to numerous fields of study, with varying degrees of success. Three of the pioneers are Sabina Alkire, Martha Nussbaum and Ingrid Robeyns.⁵⁴ There have even been attempts to operationalize the approach (examples include, Balestrino, 1996; Chiappero Martinetti, 1996 and 2000; Klasen, 2000; Qizilbash and Clark, 2005). The most noteworthy are Kotaro Suzumura's welfare approach, the Alkire-Foster method for generating a multidimensional index of poverty, Bhutan's Gross National Happiness (GNH) Index, and UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI). Yet there has been almost no empirical research done in the field of e-Government utilizing Sen's theoretical foundation.

Another notable endeavor at using the Capability Approach comes from Erwin Alampay. Alampay's framework addresses Sen's philosophical argument by accounting for the reasons why people use ICTs and to what end value is achieved but stops short of properly identifying the capabilities necessary to achieve that value (Alampay, 2006, p. 9). Within Sen's approach, achieved value can be instrumental, as in a means to an end, or intrinsic, in and of itself (Sen, 1992, p. 31). Analogous to the UNPAN framework, Alampay's major contribution is to illustrate how Sen's approach can be applied to universal access, but in a way that prioritizes the individual's socio-economic condition or freedom to make use of ICTs. Alampay (2006) implies that access to ICTs do not guarantee development, what matters are people's actions as "actual opportunities may or may not translate to realized functionings" (p. 16). See Figure 3 on page 39 for more details.

⁵⁴ A few of their more seminal works can be found here: Alkire, 2002; Nussbaum, 2000a and 2003; Robeyns, 2003b

Figure 3: The Capability Approach Applied to Access to ICTs



Source: Alampy, 2006 p. 15

In Alampay’s framework, citizens, not technologies are at its core. He views capabilities as a gateway or detour for achieving what it is a person values. Moreover, he argues that by taking this approach, the capabilities of knowledge and access may lead to additional capabilities, although he does not have specific evidence to support this claim (Erwin Alampay, personal communication at University of the Philippines, October 10, 2015). Alampay (2006) is more concerned with “the purpose and the reasons for why people use ICTs, and the ends they are able to achieve with them” (p. 15) Through this perspective he identifies knowledge and experience to use ICTs as central capability because without knowledge of what services are available, socially inclusive governance cannot take place. Alampay also appropriately sees access as a capability.

The OECD’s E-Government Agenda 2020 warns that “a holistic approach to public service delivery with the user at the core is not enough. It is also about engaging them” (OECD, 2008, p. 8). For governments to leverage e-Participation to progress human development and empower citizens, understanding the capabilities of citizens to engage government is essential. Moreover, it is necessary to consider the environmental conditions discussed in the previous

section when determining which central capabilities may lead to realized functions, something Alampay's framework neglect to account for when identifying capabilities.

Within the scholarly field of Human Development and Capabilities the issue of selecting relevant capabilities falls into two camps. The first position is the 'democratic position' that is supported by Sen and which argues that relevant capabilities should be decided by the public themselves; although Sen is reluctant to specify any particular set of capabilities. Other notable scholars such as Crocker and Alkire support the democratic or 'deliberative' position. The other position is the philosophical or 'normative' position which is lead by Martha Nussbaum. Nussbaum argues that the selection of capabilities should be determined through theoretical reasoning in order to ensure a minimum threshold as opposed to the notion of full 'capability equality' (Nussbaum, 2003, p. 37). This author supports Nussbaum's normative argument, but cautions against determining a minimum threshold as the thresholds for each capability are somewhat arbitrary. By utilizing Sen's approach along with the philosophical position of Nussbaum this author would like to propose an alternative 'existential' argument on which to build a framework that alters the emphasis of the policy and development discourse away from the resource argument for promoting and encouraging e-Participation to one that focuses on the existential capabilities of citizens.⁵⁵ This existential capabilities approach will be discussed in the next section.

2.5 Existential Approach to Governance and Development

The UN E-Government Survey for 2014 highlights the need for collaborative leadership and new governance frameworks to support a citizen-centric approach (UNPAN, 2015, p.75). As was evident from this dissertation's exploration into the evolution of e-Government, e-Participation is instrumental in improving e-Government and social inclusion. It is being recognized as a fundamental prerequisite for achieving sustainable development.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ As presented in Section 1.3, this is the third objective of the research.

⁵⁶ "The Future We Want", outcome Document of Rio+20, United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development. <http://www.uncsd2012.org/thefuturewewant.html>

This author would like to suggest an alternative argument on which to build a framework for social inclusion, one that incorporates access but also takes a philosophical position by placing emphasis on a normative set of capabilities central to e-Participation. This existential argument will expand on the works of Alampay, and the Sen inspired UNPAN model, by identifying relevant capabilities based on theoretical reasoning and empirical evidence. It is not the intention of this author to reject either Alampay’s framework or the Sen inspired UNPAN model, but instead, provide evidence to support an alternative framework that builds on their works. Table 1 identifies the similarities and differences between the traditional resource argument that was discussed in Section 2.3.1, the inclusive democracy argument which the UNPAN framework follows; and the existential argument presented by this author.

Table 1: Approaches to E-Participation

	Implementation	Sustainability	Drivers	Goal
Resource Argument	Measurable: Easy to implement and objectively measure	Unsustainable: Does not account for the individual; susceptible to profiteering	Supply Driven	Paternalistic: Ensuring an adequate level of access
Inclusive Democracy Argument	Empirical Gap: Concept is difficult to apply with consistency	Potential for Sustainability: Focuses on increasing opportunities	Socially Inclusive / Resource and Value Driven	Deliberative: Ensuring equal opportunity
Existential Argument	Empirical Gap: Concept is difficult to apply with consistency but does not boast universality	Sustainable: Focuses on cultivating the capabilities of individuals; empowering	Social Inclusive / Value Driven	Normative: Ensuring an adequate threshold

Source: Author

Table 1 presents a matrix that breaks each argument down into four categories. The strength of the resource argument is presented in the first category. Promoting socially inclusive governance utilizing this method is straightforward and measurable. The concept is not abstract, and implementation does not necessarily require the involvement of citizens. The major drawback is that it is susceptible to profiteering and does not necessarily account for the needs of

the individual beyond access. This makes the argument very supply driven and paternalistic, meaning the government knows what citizens want, better than the citizens themselves. The goal of the resource argument is to reduce the digital divide by ensuring an adequate level of access. The inclusive democracy argument which includes the UNPAN framework, and to some extent the framework presented by Alampay, considers access to be an essential determinants to e-Participation. Due to the empirical gap, implementation can be difficult as the concepts are more subjective and not easy to apply with consistency. This will be elaborated on in the next chapter when discussing the Philippines' E-Government Master Plan.⁵⁷ Unlike the resource argument, the inclusive democracy argument focuses on the individuals, which makes it more sustainable and value driven. To reiterate Rose et al. (2010) "eParticipation is developed in response to societal demands, rather than promoted by government (p. 7). Sustainability in this context refers to the sustainability of citizens to participate in the governance process. This author argues for a more existential approach to, as Creswell (2003) puts it, "build new instruments" (p. 215-216). The existential argument presented by this author is similar to the inclusive democracy argument, but differ on two key points. The first being that it does not boast universality, meaning the goal of e-Participation is not to ensure equal opportunities for all rather, provide citizens with an adequate threshold. This means implementation is potentially easier than the inclusive democracy argument, but still subjective as an approach. Additionally, the existential argument focuses on capabilities that can be cultivated. Many of these capabilities are influenced by societal conditions – they are developed over time and not given. As such, they are also more likely to be sustainable capabilities than ones which are given as they become inherent to the individual. This can have an empowering effect over time as citizens utilize these capabilities to gain greater control and capacities to act.

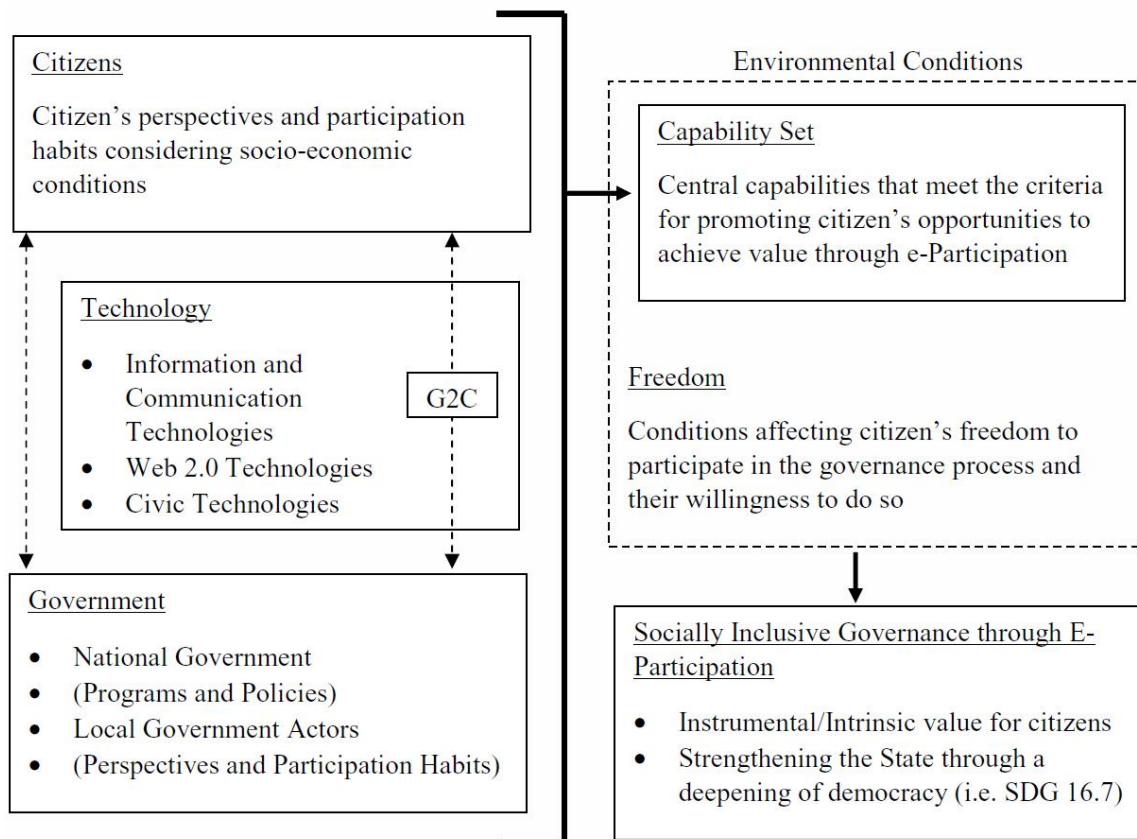
Distinct from UNPAN's framework for inclusion which is largely resource driven and Alampay's capability approach framework that focuses heavily on the socio-economic freedoms of the individual, the existential approach framework aims to promote a normative set of central capabilities, which can ensure an adequate threshold for e-Participation. As previously mentioned

⁵⁷ The UNPAN framework was used in the drafting of the Philippine E-Government Master Plan during the Benigno Aquino III administration, as discussed by Under Secretary Mon Abraham (personal communication, February 4, 2015). Also one of its contributors was Professor Erwin Alampay.

in the last section, the goal is not ensuring equal opportunity, as Sen’s deliberative position would have us strive for. Instead it is this author’s position that the goal should be to achieve an adequate threshold of capabilities that foster e-Participation.

The theoretical framework used for this existential approach is provided in Figure 4. To recognize which capabilities are relevant to e-Participation, the first step is to examine each of the three spheres that influence the phenomenon vis-à-vis the opportunity to achieve value through e-Participation. This framework pushes forward the philosophical ideals of the Sen inspired UNPAN framework and the one presented by Alampy by moving from a reductive focus on access to a more holistic approach to e-Participation.

Figure 4: Theoretical Framework for the Existential Capabilities Approach



Source: Author

The theoretical framework taken in this dissertation is rooted in the capability approach. As such, the namesake of the existential capabilities approach, hereinafter referred to as the ‘existential approach’ is drawn from this term. The approach is based on the existential argument presented in Table 1. This dissertation sets out to identify a core set of determinants that can enhance citizen’s opportunities to achieve value through e-Participation. To do this, the three spheres that comprise G2C e-Participation are examined to identify a capability set that can lead to socially inclusive governance through e-Participation and provide value to the government and the citizens they serve because without value, either intrinsic or instrumental, citizens have little reason to participate in the governance process whereby deterring socially inclusive governance. Moreover, without e-Participation the government cannot achieve the goals set forth by Resolution A/RES/69/327 or SDG Target 16.7. It should be noted that while each sphere is clearly separated in the theoretical framework, they are not mutually exclusive. To establish the core set of capabilities it will be necessary to examine both traditional interactions between government and citizen as well as interaction through ICTs; specifically Web 2.0 technologies such as social media. Furthermore, this research will account for the social and political conditions that make-up the environment in which e-Participation takes place and the conditions affecting citizen’s freedom to participate in the governance process. By doing so, this author would like to suggest a new ‘existential’ capabilities approach framework for promoting socially inclusive governance.

By applying this theoretical framework to investigate the reasons so many other frameworks have failed to achieve socially inclusive governance,⁵⁸ it is this author’s expectation that a revised framework that alters the emphasis of the policy and development discourse away from resource argument for promoting and encouraging e-Participation to one that focuses more on the existential capabilities of citizens will provide practitioners and academics with a tool that can better account for the environment in which e-Participation takes place. Whereby redefining

⁵⁸ In addition to the UNPAN framework that is part of a broader e-Government survey which includes indices for e-Participation and e-Government Development, the majority of e-Participation frameworks are measurement based. These include UN DESA’s Measurement and Evaluation Tool for Citizen Engagement and E-Participation (METEP) as well as The Global Open Data Index (GODI), which framework only examines e-Participation from the standpoint of information sharing. As the framework notes, there is no successful e-Participation process if citizens are not well-informed.

the modality of socially inclusive governance. The next chapter looks at this environment and examines the scholarly works within the Philippine context.

CHAPTER 3: E-PARTICIPATION IN THE PHILIPPINES

The Philippines was selected as the research site for this research based on its long history of democracy and aggressive push to improve information and communication infrastructure (ICI), e-Government, and most notably e-Participation. Its citizens rank first in the world in time spent on social media (four hours and seventeen minutes per day) and sixth among countries with the largest number of active Facebook users (sixty-three million).⁵⁹ Although the Philippines has a high penetration rate of mobile phone technology of more than one per citizen and improved ICI through policies like Executive Order No. 265, s. 2000, e-Participation regressed substantially over a nine year-period from 2003 to 2012. This reverse correlation between ICI and e-Participation can be seen in Figure 5 on the next page. Figure 5 illustrates e-Government in the Philippines over the past fifteen years.⁶⁰ During this time, e-Participation in the Philippines dropped by 69 percent,⁶¹ while the country's infrastructure index more than tripled.⁶² This is an ideal example of the criticism regarding the resource argument discussed in the previous chapter. However, over a two-year period from 2012 to 2014, the e-Participation Index in the Philippines has leapfrogged 15 countries (UNPAN, 2015). This is a remarkable jump over a short period of time makes the Philippines an interesting case for observation. The initial research for this dissertation commenced in June of 2013 which is distinguished by the dotted line.

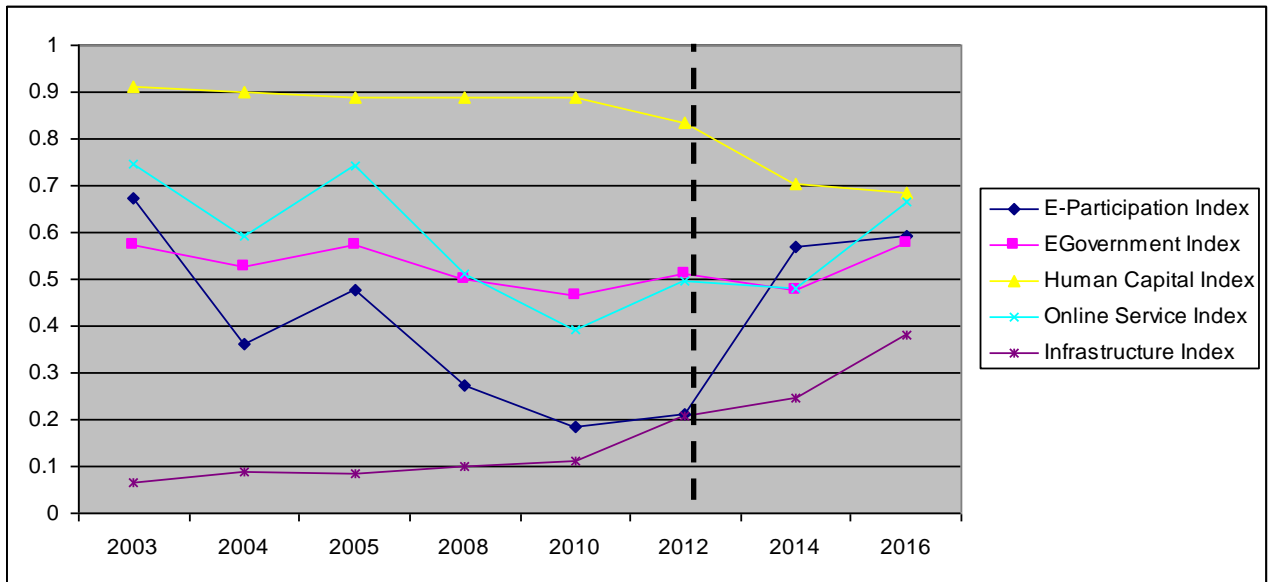
⁵⁹ The data was collected from Statista. Retrieved June 6, 2017 from <https://www.statista.com>, accessed: 6/17/2017, which supports Kemp's 2014 study by We Are Social. Retrieved June 8, 2017 from <https://wearesocial.com>.

⁶⁰ Mathematically, the EGDI is a weighted average of three normalized scores on three most important dimensions of e-government, namely: (1) scope and quality of online services (Online Service Index, OSI), (2) development status of telecommunication infrastructure (Telecommunication Infrastructure Index, TII), and (3) inherent human capital (Human Capital Index, HCI). $EGDI = 1/3 (OSI \text{ normalized} + TII \text{ normalized} + HCI \text{ normalized})$

⁶¹ From an e-Participation index ranking of 0.672 to an index ranking of 0.2105.

⁶² This is the largest drop by any country in the world over this period of time, as noted by United Nations' E-Government Development Database. Retrieved January 30, 2015 from <http://unpan3.un.org/>

Figure 5: UN E-Government Survey Data for the Philippines



Source: UNPAN Data Center: <https://publicadministration.un.org/egovkb/en-us/Data-Center>, accessed: 10/27/16

Prior to 2012 the Philippine government was following UNPAN’s model presented in Figure 2 on page 36. Moreover, policy and strategies were being crafted by the Arroyo administration (through the Philippine Digital Strategy Paper) and the Aquino administration (through the E-Government Master Plan) based on the information obtained from the UNPAN reports.⁶³ This strategy was echoed by the then Information and Communication Technology Office’s (ICTO) Deputy Executive Director during an interview (Mon Abraham, personal communication at ICTO, February 4, 2015). Not until recently has the reverse correlation between ICI and e-Participation corrected itself, mainly due to the centralization of e-Government services and web hosting through Administrative Order No. 39, which this author consulted on.⁶⁴ Additionally, the ICTO, which as of May 23, 2016 has become the Department of Information and Communications Technology (DICT) through Republic Act No. 10844, has focused its efforts on addressing the key e-Participation indicators of the biennial UN E-Government Survey. Unfortunately, the vast majority of the indicators are supply driven and do

⁶³ Erwin Alampay was a contributor to the EGMP.

⁶⁴ The A.O.39 policy consultative meeting took place at the ICTO on August 27, 2013.

not factor-in the existential capabilities of citizens to convert these opportunities and services into value. Without value, there is little incentive for citizens to participate in the governance process; hence, subduing e-Democracy and ultimately weakening the state in areas of inclusive, participatory and representative decision making, all key indicators of SDG Target 16.7.

3.1 Governance and Democracy in the Philippines

The Philippines' continuing political and social unrest have been seen as obstacles to the consolidation and deepening of democracy in the political system (Quimpo, 2008). As Silliman and Noble (1998) point out it "remains one of the weakest governing structures in Asia, as is evidenced by its inability to maintain order, implement decisions, and extract resources from society" (p. 20).

However, recent trends suggest that distinct factors may be influencing this paradigm shift in citizen's engagement in the governance process – most noticeably, contemporary social movements which are no longer broad, class-based, ideologically cohesive protest but are now a complex blend of individual, institutional or organizational types that are not bound by socioeconomic conditions (Clarke, 1998, p. 123) as well as the influx of Web 2.0 technologies as discussed in Section 2.3. An example of this new trend took place on August 26, 2013 in Luneta Park, Manila. The Million People March as it was coined was a social movement that spread through social media, which initiated a series of protests in the Philippines to abolish the Priority Development Assistance Fund, more commonly referred to as the 'pork barrel' fund that was being used as a discretionary fund to defraud tax payers of nearly 10 billion Philippine pesos (192 million USD). Pressure from social media and the protests through cries of "*tama na, sobra na!*" which means "enough is enough!" expedited the Supreme Court's decision to rule the PDAF unconstitutional by August of that same year.⁶⁵ For these reasons and the reasons previously mentioned, the Philippines presents a fascinating case for researching the capabilities affecting

⁶⁵ This chat of *tama na, sobra na!* was also used in 1986 as Filipinos toppled the long-standing reign of the dictator Ferdinand Marcos in four days of nonviolent protests.

citizen's opportunities to find value through e-Participation. The next section elaborates on what has just been discussed by investigating the scholarly works taking place in the Philippines itself.

3.2 State of e-Government in the Philippines

This chapter will provide a more refined review of the scholarly works within the context of the Philippines. E-Government research in the Philippines has been well documented. There is significant, albeit limited research addressing the issue of e-Participation and socially inclusive governance. E-Participation research in the Philippines has followed two trains of thought similar to the mainstream discourse going on outside the country. The first track takes the traditional resource argument to socially inclusive governance addressing issues regarding the digital divide and providing recommendations on how to leverage the power of ICTs while the second track incorporates environmental factors and begins to turn the e-Participatory discourse towards the individual.

The resource approach track has been supported with academic research as well as conventional reports. As part of an independent reporting mechanism, Open Government Partnership released the Philippines Progress Report 2013- 2015 (OGP, 2015). In the report, it is suggested that governments should generally seek to consult, involve, collaborate or empower citizens through civic engagement by “promoting new technologies that offer opportunities for information sharing, public participation and collaboration” (Mangahas, 2015, p. 24). Similar to OGP, Lourdes Montenegro in his 2016 ICT Manifesto for the Philippines concluded that to empower both government and citizens a more robust, affordable and accessible ICT ecosystem in the Philippines is necessary (Montenegro, n.d., p. 18). His key policy recommendations take on an access approach for inclusive development focusing on policy and technical solutions such as public-private partnership and TV White Space-based connectivity. While both studies identify promising benefits to socially inclusive governance through e-Participation, neither study provided significant evidence to support their claims.

Conversely, Guzman, Zaplan, Austria and Siy (2014) research study on e-Participation for better governance in the Philippines applied Macintosh's e-Participation Model as a theoretical basis for their study. By applying her model, they arrived at the general conclusion that efforts to increase citizen participation "can be achieved through the use of ICTs making public participation more accessible to constituents" (p. 6). This underscores one of the weaknesses of Macintosh's e-Participation Model in which Macintosh (2006) argues that "there is a need for evaluators to ask appropriate questions from the political, technical and social perspectives" (p. 4), yet views the technical and social perspectives as being one and the same. Thus the outcomes of evaluation never consider the capabilities of citizens to reach her model's ultimate goal of e-Empowerment. Another noteworthy study was conducted by Gabriella Iglesis. Iglesis (2005) conducted a broad study titled *The Value of Information and Communication Technology in Local Governance*. In her article she warns that "attempts to provide e-Governance may marginalize citizens by virtue of their inability to access services provided through the internet" (p. 38). She went on to affirm that her findings showed that the digital divide is a "real issue here because poor families will not be able to afford the required hardware, connectivity and training to the Internet." Regrettably, as the title of her research indicated, value was never assessed and the four case studies she examined were heavily 'techno-centric.' Furthermore, she cites that her "study was only able to describe the factors that respondents cited." Leaving the reader guessing as to which indicators should be included in her framework.

A final significant study was conducted by Sheila Siar. Siar's research findings on e-Governance at the local level reinforces UNPAN's model for socially inclusive governance by concluding that "technological access has been pinpointed as the most serious constraint to the slow adoption and application of ICTs for governance" but like Alampay's Capability Approach Framework notes that the gap is not just in access but also "social divisions of class, income, education, gender, age, ethnicity and social geography" (Siar, 2005, p. 159). As Alampay (2007) warns "often the issue of access has been tackled from the supply side and not the demand side. It is the demand-side where people's participation should be encouraged" (p. 13). This sentiment has been echoed by Bhatnagar who has claimed that e-Participation across the Asia Pacific region

has failed not only due to the limited capacities of government, but also due to the limited capabilities of its citizens (Bhatnagar, 2004).

The second track of research attempts to derail the traditional resource argument for e-Participation. Both Alampy and Roxas reiterate the inadequacies of adopting a techno-centric perspective when developing an e-Participatory framework. Roxas, Borra, Cheng and Ona's (2011) framework "adheres to the idea that e-Participation must be viewed as a social-organizational phenomenon" (p. 9).⁶⁶ This view sees e-Participation as being transformational with the idea of looking at the effects of ICT in the various aspects of e-Government and the individual. It goes on to recommend the need to go beyond current Web 2.0 models of e-Participation and explore applying Web 3.0 models for achieving socially inclusive governance. However, to do this, one must consider the environment in which the phenomenon takes place. A more in-depth look at the social conditions is needed.

According to a UN study on public administration in the Philippines, public opinion is bureaucrats are not honest, not transparent and not neutral (Lallana et al., 2002). In their study Lallana, Pascual and Soriano determined that in the Philippines technology is no match for a hostile bureaucracy and that the individual, not technology, is critical to promoting participation in the governance process – concluding that "the most important challenge of public administration in the Philippines is the lack of credibility of government structures and officials;"⁶⁷ a sentiment reverberated by Quimpo as an obstacle to the consolidation and deepening of democracy in the political system. Cabotaje and Alampay (2013) attempt to link e-Democracy to a healthy democratic environment in their paper on citizen engagement through social media stating it is "important since citizen engagement depends on the robustness of the democratic environment that government presents" (p. 227). Their findings are based on two case studies conducted in the Philippines and supported by Bautista's argument that in a healthy democratic environment, citizens experience genuine participation (Bautista, 2006). Bautista (2004) analysis of case studies in Pakistan, India and the Philippines revealed that without this

⁶⁶ This research investigated ICT use in the Philippine legislative process.

⁶⁷ <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un/unpan000198.pdf>, p.9 (accessed 2/12/15)

environment ‘token’ participation is only achieved and that there needs to be a shift from “individual expression into collective effort” (p. 254).

If genuine participation is to take place Ilago (2001) review of participatory governance through local government websites revealed that governments should consider a participatory design which will “facilitate the identification of the cultural trends and factors, the so-called context of participation which affect the level and quality of participation” (p. 15). Jody Salas (2015) takes this idea one step further. Salas views citizen engagement forming according to common goals and shared values. While she does not take a Capabilitarian approach, her research findings show that for governments to institutionalize e-Participation in the Philippines certain values, norms and behaviors are required. They comprise “having available data from the government, people having the consciousness, competence, confidence and connectivity to the internet as well as learning community that will foster these behaviors” (p. 22). These ‘shared’ values, norms and behaviors are deliberative taking on Sen’s democratic position of ensuring equal opportunity. Salas’ theory, while taking a democratic position and focusing on access seems to be open to the idea of an existential approach to e-Participation. Regrettably, her ideas are not well developed and rely mainly on library research, secondary data and browsing online resources.

In order to move beyond simple reports or academic works such as the one presented by Iglesias (2005) who believes e-Participation frameworks should be tied to “existing performance management systems such as the Minimum Basic Needs survey” (p. 66), we must develop new theories that challenge the assumptions of scholars such as Salas and Alampay by conducting methodological research that provides empirical evidence coupled with in-depth capability analysis. By doing so, we can challenge the particular dominant discourses as mentioned by Heeks and generate alternative theories with superior frameworks. This dissertation pushes forward the scholarly works of the second track. As scholars such as Alampay, Bautista, Cabotaje, Lallana et al., Quimpo and Roxas all cautioned, e-Participation and democracy in the Philippines needs a healthy democratic environment to flourish. As this is a major component of the Capabilities Approach Framework for E-Participation being presented in Chapter 7, a review of

ICT Policy in the Philippines is essential to explore the political conditions of the environmental in which e-Participation takes place.

3.3 ICT Policies for Development

Over the past half-decade, the Philippines has made substantial progress in reversing its downward trend in the e-Participation index rankings. The Philippines has developed a number of policies related to improving e-Government and e-Participation; though the general trend in the Philippines has been to fund large scale infrastructure development projects and interoperability within government – applying the resource argument to e-Participation. The Aquino administration took the first steps to integrate citizens into the ICT policy agenda by taking a citizen-centric approach to service delivery. This was followed by the Duterte administration that by and large followed the strategy of President Aquino. Table 2 on the next page provides a more detailed timeline of policies and strategies that have been put into action over the past 20 years.

Table 2: Timeline of Philippine ICT Policies and Strategies

Year(s)	Title	Administration	Highlights of Document
2000	Republic Act No. 8792	Estrada	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition of online transactions
2004	Government Information Systems Plan	Estrada	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve information and communication infrastructure • Reduce telecommunication costs
2005	Republic Act No. 9336	Arroyo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Created a 1 billion pesos e-Government Fund
2006~2010	Philippine ICT Roadmap	Arroyo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase bandwidth • Improve information and communication infrastructure
2011~2016	The Philippine Digital Strategy	Arroyo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve economic and social development through ICTs • Increase public trust • Reduce transaction times
2013~2017	E-Government Master Plan	Aquino	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Centralize e-Gov Services • Improve interoperability • Improve ICT infrastructure • Take a citizen-centered approach to service delivery
2017~	E-Government Master Plan 2.0 <i>Draft</i>	Duterte	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continue working to meet the objectives of the E-Government Master Plan • Establish a National Government Portal (NGP) for E-participation • Implement a resource pooling strategy

Source: Author, based on data collected from the ICTO office, now called DICT.

The establishment of e-Government in the Philippines can be traced back to one important piece of legislation introduced during the Estrada presidency. Republic Act No. 8792 also referred to as the Electronic Commerce Act or e-Commerce Act, which laid the foundation for online transactions. The main objective of the Act was to “recognize the authenticity and reliability” of emails, online forms and documents, as well as promote the wide spread use of electronic transactions between government, business, and the general public. Buried in the legislation, but of paramount importance was the need to “aggressively promote and implement a policy environment and regulatory framework” that will improve the communication infrastructure of the country, reduce communication costs and encourage better e-Governance through such avenues as web portals. This Act set the foundation for all ICT policies and plans that followed it.

Shortly after the e-Commerce Act was passed President Estrada passed the Government Information System Plan (GISP), Executive Order No. 265. The plan reorganized many of the efforts that were previously implemented. With regard to ICT and e-government, one piece of legislation is worth mentioning, Republic Act No. 7925. This privatized the telecommunication sector and required private sector firms to expand information and communication infrastructure (ICI) within the country. This exponentially improved communication infrastructure and reduced the cost of telecommunication and data service. The main objective of the GISP was to increase the use of ICTs in government and ensure wider public access to information through faster and more efficient means.

Republic Act No. 9336, which appropriated 1 billion PhP (20 million USD) into the countries e-Government fund back in 2005, is still being used for ICT and ICI development across the country. This key piece of legislation provided the Commission on Information and Communication technology (CICT) with the monetary tools necessary to start implementing last mile connectivity, improving government interoperability, and providing e-Government services to all levels of government. In-line with the evolution of e-Government, the Philippines, like most other countries, took an access approach to e-Development.

Building on Republic Act No. 9336, the Arroyo administration drafted The Philippine ICT Roadmap using a multi-stakeholder approach. The focus of the plan was to increase bandwidth and improve ICI to support the growing Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) industry by drafting a legally based policy agenda for the ICT sector. The ICT Roadmap was the main driver for infrastructure development; especially around the province of Cebu, which is known as a BPO investment destination. However, the bandwidth goals have not been met, showing how difficult it is to develop ICI through policy means.

The Philippine Digital Strategy (PDS) paper was the first comprehensive effort to incorporate Web 2.0 technologies into government operations. The PDS is a byproduct of efforts by the CICT to formulate a five-year strategy to improve economic and social development in the country through the use of ICTs, with the goal of increasing public trust, reducing transaction times, enhancing e-Government services and stimulating civic engagement. The focus of the PDS was on central government agencies, but also focused on e-Governance at the local level. This was the first indication that the Philippines was committed to socially inclusive governance with the launch of its Community e-Centers (CeCs). The primary function of the CeCs were to “reduce the digital divide by reaching out to connect and empower Filipinos. In particular, it [was] aimed at serving rural communities by encouraging local residents to use ICT tools in their daily activities and livelihood.” Under the E-Government Master Plan the name CeC was changed to Tech4Ed, but the objectives of the CeCs remains the same. Based on these objectives, Tech4Ed was identified for case study as a ‘best practice’ attempt at socially inclusive governance.

The E-Government Master Plan (EGMP) took the PDS one step further. This came on the heels of the Philippine Government Action Plan for 2012 titled *Institutionalizing People Power in Governance*, which revolved around the recently elected President’s commitment to fight corruption and patronage by promoting participatory governance. Following President Aquino’s Executive Order No. 47 which dissolved the CICT and moved its attached agencies under the Department of Science and Technology (DOST), a new e-Government strategy was initiated. It adopted a philosophy of inclusive growth under the slogan “*Daang Matuwid*,” which roughly

translates to *good economics with good governance* with a more direct translation of following a *straight and moral path*. The EGMP echoed many of the suggestions made by the United Nations e-Government Survey of 2012, adopting a whole-of-government approach (UNPAN, 2012). The plan built on many of the strategies presented in the PDS, focusing on transparency and interoperability, while taking a citizen-centered approach to service delivery. Moving from the non-integrated path of ICT development and agency-specific applications, toward a path that leads to, as DOST (2013) states “an e-Government model that creates more valuable and meaningful services through interoperability and maximization of resources” (p. 1). One of the key projects to come out of the EGMP is the Integrated Government Philippines (iGovPhil) project. The iGovPhil project aimed to increase the level of e-Government across sectors by focusing on infrastructure and public services. To accomplish this, the ICTO in partnership with the DOST launched the Government Network (GovNet) during their National ICT Summit on June 28, 2016. The summit was meant to help transition e-Governance to the next administration and help symbolize the creation of the new Department of Information and Communications Technology (DICT). It has been this author’s view that creating a separate department for ICT directly under the Office of the President would “institutionalize ICT initiatives that promote Web 2.0 technologies and increase the likelihood of implementing [those] policies” (Huffman, 2014, p.109). While the inauguration of the DICT as its own department will potentially strengthen e-Development in the Philippines, the creation of the DICT, coupled with the recent election of Rodrigo Duterte as the country’s 16th President, has potentially altered the future course of e-Participation in the Philippines.⁶⁸

The latest incarnation of the EGMP under the Duterte administration EGMP 2.0, reads much the same as the plan presented by the Aquino administration. In fact, at the time of this writing it is still a ‘work in progress.’ It highlights some of the accomplishments of the iGovPhi program while still sticking to the main objectives of the EGMP. The primary emphasis is now on establishing a National Government Portal (NGP) for E-participation and implementing a resource pooling strategy, which involves the improvement of human resource capacities to

⁶⁸ This turn of events had minor repercussions on the findings and policy recommendations offered in this dissertation but neither influenced the main findings nor the proposed framework for e-Participation.

support such a government system. Despite the efforts of this author, the latest revisions to the plan still do not focus on the capabilities of citizens to make use of e-Government offerings.⁶⁹ Instead it throws-in the typical rhetoric that “for society to be digitally empowered, not only should access to ICTs be provided, but also access to information [through] enabling policies.”⁷⁰ Likewise, the EGMP 2.0 goes on to say “this will translate to a government that is not only digitally empowered but also digitally empowering by being integrated, transparent and responsive to societal needs.”⁷¹

The question reminds, what are the needs of society and equally importantly, given the core set of determinates within the context of the Philippines, what kind of value can be achieved through socially inclusive governance? It is the expectation of this author to address this question, which directly relates to the main research question of this dissertation.

3.4 Shifting the Focus of Governance

The Philippines presents a fascinating case for conducting research on e-Participation because of the elements just presented in this Chapter. The country has above average ICI and although citizens are highly technical and actively using Web 2.0 technologies, governments have been slow to tap into this resource. Moreover, the policies written to promote e-Governance have been well written, saying all the right things and regurgitating the proposals made by international organizations such as the UN and World Bank; although, not everything international organizations say, or survey for that matter, are the de facto correct courses of action. Implementation and the environment seem to be concerns as the literature review in Section 2.3 page 26, the e-Governance Survey, and the Worldwide Governance Indicators would all suggest. While most of the policies presented in Table 2 on page 54 focus on the national government, LGUs are still directly affected. Moreover, they have an opportunity to benefit from the resources

⁶⁹ This author consulted the (DICT) Department of Information and Communication Technology on EGMP2.0 (April 12, 2017).

⁷⁰ E-Government Master Plan accessed from iGovPhil. Retrieved March 28, 2018 from http://i.gov.ph/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/eGovMasterPlan_Final-Version.pdf, p.39

⁷¹ E-Government Master Plan 2.0 (draft) p.39 accessed from iGovPhil. Retrieved March 28, 2018 from http://i.gov.ph/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/egmp-2.0-popular-version_final.pdf, p.2

offered through RA9336 and AO39; unfortunately, the Philippines has a history, at least over the past decade, of creating policies that cannot be implemented effectively; although since DICT has become its own Department the timing for implementation has been improved; particularly regarding the Tech4ED case that will be presented in the next chapter.

The following three chapters investigate e-Participation from each of the three major spheres of e-Participation. Chapter 4 examines two cases studies while testing the underlying hypothesis which challenges the access argument for e-Participation. Chapter 5 explores e-Participation through the lens of the politician, while Chapter 6 assesses citizen's perspectives on e-Participation in the governance process. The findings from these three chapters will be used to satisfy the objectives of this dissertation and to answer the two main research questions. By doing so, this author would like to propose an alternative framework which redefines the modality of e-Participation by shifting the academic discourse away from access to technology and onto the capabilities of citizens to convert e-Government programs and services into value for the government and the citizens they serve.

CHAPTER 4: E-GOVERNMENT CASE STUDIES AND OVERCOMING THE DIGITAL DIVIDE

This chapter investigates the technical sphere of e-Participation to provide a general synopsis of the ICT environment in the Philippines. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section supplies quantitative evidence backed by qualitative findings to support the underlying hypothesis which states: access to Information and Communication Technologies is no longer a prominent barrier to e-Participation. The two sections that follow introduce the case studies and provide qualitative evidence to support main hypothesis. By doing so, the primary objective of this dissertation, which is to challenge the orthodox modality that emphasizes access as the principal driver for encouraging socially inclusive governance through e-Participation could be achieved. The final section discusses the integration of third party applications.

4.1 Access as the Principal Determinant for Promoting E-Participation

This dissertation set out to address the notion that access is no longer the principal determinant for e-Participation. To justify the need for a definitive capability set, the underlying hypothesis must first be supported with empirical evidence.

To test the hypothesis the capability of ‘access’ was broken down into three indicators as defined by the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) and the International Telecommunication Union (ITU). The three most prominent barriers to access are availability of service; ability to use the internet; and cost of internet access. These barriers may also refer to inequalities between individuals, households, or geographic areas, usually at different socioeconomic levels or other demographic categories – this is known as the digital divide. The questionnaire/surveys were the primary source of data for the qualitative research,⁷² analyzed by SPSS Ver.22 using binomial testing, bivariate correlation analysis and chi-square cross-tabulation. The significance level for the p-value was set at 0.05.

⁷² A detailed breakdown of the respondents can be found in Section 1.4.2 Data Collection and Research Practice located on page 10.

The first indicator, availability of service was examined by looking at each of the socio-economic characteristics used in the questionnaire/surveys. Citizens between the ages of 22 to 34 had the lowest percentage of Internet availability at 78.2%, while high income Class A & B citizens had the highest percentage of Internet availability at 98.2%. Table 3 illustrates a breakdown of Internet availability by gender, age and income.

Table 3: Internet Availability by Socioeconomic Characteristics

			Internet Availability		Total
			No	Yes	
Gender	Male	Count	22 (10.4%)	190 (89.6%)	212 (100%)
	Female	Count	18 (7.5%)	221 (92.5%)	239 (100%)
Total		Count	40 (8.9%)	411 (91.1%)	451 (100%)

			Internet Availability		Total
			No	Yes	
Age	15~21	Count	6 (2.2%)	268 (97.8%)	274 (100%)
	22~34	Count	24 (21.8%)	86 (78.2%)	110 (100%)
	35~54	Count	9 (15.8%)	48 (84.2%)	57 (100%)
	55+	Count	1 (10.0%)	9 (90.0%)	10 (100%)
Total		Count	40 (8.9%)	411 (91.1%)	451 (100%)

			Internet Availability		Total
			No	Yes	
Income	0~5200	Count	11 (9.2%)	108 (90.8%)	119 (100%)
	5,201~16,000	Count	21 (16.0%)	110 (84.0%)	131 (100%)
	16001~50000	Count	4 (3.1%)	126 (96.9%)	130 (100%)
	50001~150000	Count	1 (1.8%)	56 (98.2%)	57 (100%)
Total		Count	37 (8.5%)	400 (91.5%)	437 (100%)

Source: Author

Besides gender, age and income, education and region were also used as control variables for this research. Stratified inferences based on education could not be made as the sample size

for some subgroups of different education levels was too small; the overall results mirrored gender, age and income with a 91.1% positive response rate based on 451 respondents. Outside the two main metro regions of the Philippines, only Region 6, Western Visayas, did not have a positive rate of response (50.0%). This was attributed to the small sample size in the region of only 4 respondents. When speaking to the DICT Regional Cluster Director stationed in Iloilo, the director confirmed that the response rate for his region, Region 6 was a little under the mean average of 91% (Rik Amores, personal communication, October 3, 2016). For the two major metro regions of the Philippines the results were mixed. The Manila Metro Region had an almost perfect response rate of 98.2% based on 225 respondents while the Cebu Metro Region was just under the mean average at 79.5% based on 146 respondents. On the whole, the findings support the underlying hypothesis.

The second indicator has to do with technical literacy. The leading perception regarding the ability to use the internet is focused on age, with youth historically having a broader capacity to learn and use ICTs effectively while older adults are more limited in their capability. To test this perception, three conditions were examined, the ability to use a computer; the ability to make use of the Internet; and the ability to text on a mobile phone. Tables 4~6 present the findings based on the three conditions.

Table 4: Ability to Use a Computer

			Computer Proficiency		Total
			No	Yes	
Age	15~21	Count	4 (1.5%)	271 (98.5%)	275 (100%)
	22~34	Count	19 (17.0%)	93 (83.0%)	112 (100%)
	35~54	Count	9 (15.5%)	49 (84.5%)	58 (100%)
	55+	Count	4 (36.4%)	7 (63.6%)	11 (100%)
Total	Count	36 (7.9%)	420 (92.1%)	456 (100%)	

Source: Author (Questionnaire/Survey Q:5 Appendix A)

The ability to use a computer fell in line with the leading perception that age has an affect on technical literacy. There was a substantial discrepancy of 34.9% between youth 15 to 21 and

older adults over the age of 55. The Tech4ED Centers are working to improve this discrepancy by providing technical training as part of their second objective to improve content development.

Table 5: Ability to Make Use of the Internet

			Internet User		Total
			No	Yes	
Age	15~21	Count	7 (2.5%)	268 (97.5%)	275 (100%)
	22~34	Count	20 (17.7%)	93 (82.3%)	113 (100%)
	35~54	Count	15 (25.9%)	43 (74.1%)	58 (100%)
	55+	Count	6 (54.5%)	5 (45.5%)	11 (100%)
Total		Count	48 (10.5%)	409 (89.5%)	457 (100%)

Source: Author (Questionnaire/Survey Q:5 Appendix A)

The ability to make use of the Internet had similar results to the ability to use a computer. It should be noted that some participants were unclear of what this option meant.⁷³ As the Internet means different things to different people; for example, on two occasions citizens commented they can use a smart phone, but does that make them Internet users. Qualitative findings from Chapter 6: Citizen Engagement and Perspectives would suggest that these numbers should be slightly higher.

Table 6: Ability to Text on a Mobile Phone

			Text with Mobile		Total
			No	Yes	
Age	15~21	Count	2 (0.7%)	273 (99.3%)	275 (100%)
	22~34	Count	9 (8.0%)	103 (92.0%)	112 (100%)
	35~54	Count	6 (10.3%)	52 (89.7%)	58 (100%)
	55+	Count	0 (0.0%)	11 (100%)	11 (100%)
Total		Count	17 (3.7%)	439 (96.3%)	456 (100%)

Source: Author (Questionnaire/Survey Q:5 Appendix A)

⁷³ Q5: Technical Literacy on the Questionnaire/Survey.

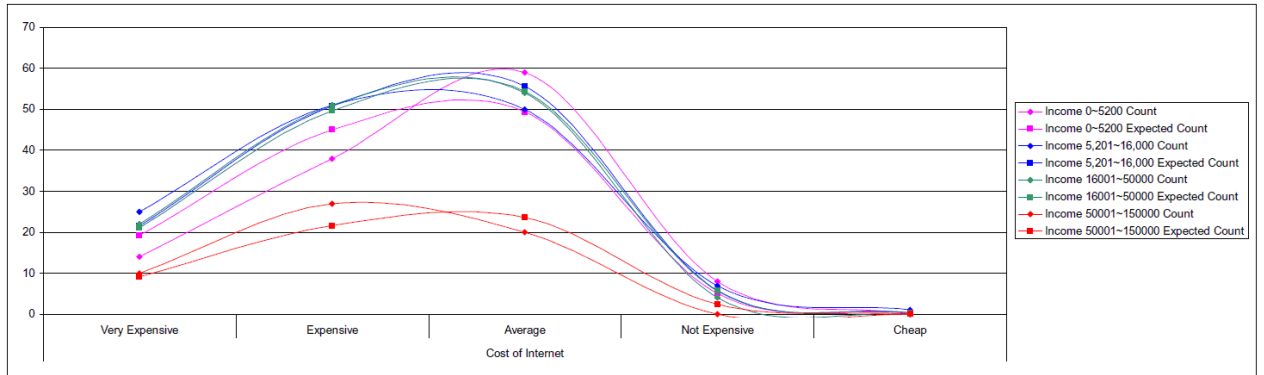
The ability to text with a mobile phone or smart phone was extremely high regardless of age. Consequently, all participants over the age of 55 answered in the affirmative. This reinforces the hypothesis that access is no longer a prominent barrier to e-Participation.

Overall, for Internet usage there was a significant correlation between age and the ability to use the Internet, with citizens aged 15~21 having a 97.5% (268 respondents) positive response and citizens aged fifty-five or older having only a 45.5% (5 respondents) positive response. The ability to use a computer fared slightly better, but also showed a significant correlation between age and computer usage with citizens aged 15~21 having a 98.5% (271 respondents) positive response and citizens aged fifty-five or older having a 63.6% (7 respondents) positive response. The ability to text with a mobile phone was positive regardless of age, ranging from 89.7% to 100%, so while not all platforms provided access across all socio-economic classifications, the vast majority of citizens had the technical capacity to participate in one form or another.

The final indicator that was tested had interesting results. For cost of Internet access, the study looked at income as the unit for measurement. To do this, a Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between income and perceived cost of Internet access. The findings showed a slight reverse correlation between the two variables, $r = -.126^{**}$, $n=441$, $p = \leq .008$. Contrary to the expected outcome, Class E citizens with a lower income were more likely to perceive the cost of Internet as cheap, while citizens in Class A & B perceived the cost of Internet to be more expensive. Figure 6 on the next page illustrates the distribution of answers to the same question by different income levels; showing the outcome as well as expected outcome with the number of respondents represented on the y-axis.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ A larger illustration of Figure 6 that emphasizes the high and low ends of the income spectrum can be found in Appendix K.

Figure 6: Cost of Internet Service by Socio-Economic Class



Source: Author (Questionnaire/Survey Cross Tabulation Q:6 with Q:9 Appendix A)

For a more detailed summary of Figure 6, Table 7 shows the distribution of responses by category for question nine of the questionnaire/survey, which states “Is access to the Internet expensive?”

Table 7: Cost of Internet Service by Socio-Economic Class

		Very Expensive	Expensive	Average	Not Expensive	Cheap
0~5200	Count	14	38	59	8	0
	Expected Count	19.2	45.1	49.4	5.1	0.3
5,201~16,000	Count	25	51	50	7	1
	Expected Count	21.6	50.7	55.6	5.8	0.3
16001~50000	Count	22	51	54	4	0
	Expected Count	21.1	49.6	54.4	5.6	0.3
50001~150000	Count	10	27	20	0	0
	Expected Count	9.2	21.6	23.7	2.5	0.1

Source: Author (Questionnaire/Survey Cross Tabulation Q:6 with Q:9 Appendix A)

Results from the qualitative research, which primarily relies on the face-to-face interviews revealed that citizens in the lower socio-economic classes tended to use cyber cafes, hot-spots or free Wi-Fi services offered in shopping malls or other similar venues, while citizens from the upper classes had monthly contracts with telecom providers. While interviewing a Class E,

homeless pregnant women from Central Visayas, she was asked about her partner who dries fish for a living. She said she found him online through Facebook (personal communication in the streets of Cebu, September 28, 2015). Although she was a young girl of simple means, she was able to access social media through a local cyber café. There are cyber cafés throughout Central Visayas which are accessible for as little as 1PHP (.02USD) which provides five minutes of internet access for its customers. This converts to less than one US dollar for 4 hours of Internet access. The Management Information and Computer Services (MICS) director for the City of Cebu said “we have coin operated computers in Internet cafés all over the city, in even the poorest neighborhoods” (William Cries V. Artajo, personal communication, March 31, 2017). Tech4ED also provides free Internet services throughout Central Visayas which are specifically aimed at providing access to the underserved and marginalized. While citizens of all social-economic classes had access to the Internet, their methods of accessing it were considerably diverse.

Based on the results from the quantitative research, along with supporting evidence from the qualitative findings, the hypothesis could not easily be rejected. While age does influence the ability of citizens to use certain ICTs, it does not affect the availability of Internet access or the cost of obtaining it. Given that the regional representation is under represented, the findings for Internet availability do not support access throughout the country. Access should still remain a core capability because of the research findings presented, but it is not necessarily the principal driver for socially inclusive governance. Access should be viewed more as a gateway capability that can foster other capabilities as suggested by Alampy. The next two sub-sections scrutinize the case studies. The cases studies were selected based on their relevance to the research questions and the objectives presented in this dissertation.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ A third case study of the National Broadband Network was also included in this research, but was ultimately dropped due to corruption and its discontinuation by the Duterte administration, which started on June 30, 2016.

4.2 Addressing Access the TV White Space Initiative

The first case study, the TV White Space Initiative (TVWS) was designed to provide free wireless data connectivity throughout the country by repurposing unused television frequencies in the VHF and UHF bands. The initiative was selected for case study based on its aim of accelerating the government's efforts to further reduce the geographical digital divide and enhance internet access for all Filipinos. TVWS was approved by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) for data communication in 2010 and was first implemented by the Philippine government in 2013. It is based on the IEEE802.22 standards set by the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers (IEEE). TVWS utilizes broadcasting frequencies in the wireless spectrum that are being left unused as the country switches to a fully digital television network. The use of hybrid and wireless spread spectrum technologies for low-cost last mile connectivity has been well documented (Huffman, 2002).

According to DICT's Regional Cluster Director tasked with overseeing its pilot testing, TVWS uses the vacant analog TV frequencies in the UHF and VHF range (between 54 MHz and 806 MHz) which can potentially deliver up to 6 megabits per second of data throughput at a maximum range of 10 kilometers (Rik Amores, personal communication, September 24, 2015). In reality, the data throughput rates are much lower and using Web 2.0 application such as YouTube and Facebook can be somewhat trying. When reviewing the requests for information (RIF) and requests for proposal (RFP) provided by DICT's Public Information Officer (PIO) it was evident that the government must partner with the private sector to build-out the Information and Communication Infrastructure (ICI), requiring an extremely high initial investment. DICT is only offering two-year contracts to telecom providers, who must front large infrastructure costs, without the safety net of a long-term contract. The private sector's feeling towards a two-year contract was apparent by RFPs being left without bids. While interviewing DICT's PIO before his CNN interview regarding the same subject matter, the PIO was also hesitant to confirm the successfulness of the initiative (PIO, personal communication, February 4, 2015).

A review of additional secondary data on the current rollout of ICI confirmed that policy was to blame for the hindrance in deployment.⁷⁶ Unfortunately, policy does not allow for the clustering of lucrative regions with less densely populated ones. This is in-part a legal move to fight corruption, but at the cost of universal access. The Regional Cluster Director has said full deployment is still two to three years away and other low-cost wireless technologies are also being tested (Rik Amores, personal communication, September 24, 2015). While TVWS has the potential to enlarge citizen's choice in access, at the time of this writing it is still years from becoming a reality; moreover, it does not support the underlying hypothesis of the dissertation and has little effect on the capabilities of citizens to participate in the governance process beyond supporting the second case which will be presented next.

4.3 Expanding Capabilities through Tech4ED

The second case study, the Technology for Education, Employment, Entrepreneurs, and Economic Development (Tech4ED) evolved from the Philippines Community center Program (CeC). This program was started by the Department of Information and Communication Technology (DICT), to promote citizen participation in e-Government services and provide IT education to the masses; specifically, the underserved and marginalized citizens within the country. Presidential spokesperson Harry Roque stated in a press briefing on February 3, 2018 that "the Tech4ED center acts as delivery channel for critical e-government and ICT-enabled services in communities with minimal or no access to information and government services." Based on interviews conducted with two Tech4ED project managers at DICT, it was determined that the main goal of Tech4Ed is to enlarge the capabilities of citizens through relevant ICT-enabled services and content for socio-economic development; specifically, in underserved communities with the aim of improving citizen's well-being (Christine Miles A. Labyrinth and Genie Della Coeval, personal communication at DICT, March 22, 2017).

This case study examined the four main objectives DICT outlined for its program while attempting to gather supporting evidence to answer the main research question and first two

⁷⁶ Provided by the PIO (Public Information Officer) at DICT on February 6, 2015.

objectives of this dissertation. DICT's first objective for its program is to establish sustainable Tech4ED centers throughout the country. This has been extremely successful and is likely a best practice example for rural telecenter deployment. DICT has moved from a Local Government Unit (LGU) based initiative to a multi-sectorial stakeholder approach which has allowed them to deploy 2,222 Tech4ED centers as of May 2018. Despite Tech4ED's high growth rate, while visiting a Tech4ED center in Quezon City on October 5, 2015, citizens without a student ID were not allowed to use the facility. This is an example of policy being set at the national level not propagating to the local level.

The second objective, content development, was found to address Alampay's concern for fostering knowledge acquisition; however, it was found that while robust, the content provided at the Tech4ED centers were almost exclusively in English, which for a country with two official languages, nineteen regional languages and over one-hundred dialects, creates a considerable barrier to many Filipinos; especially citizens with limited education and literacy. The Tech4ED centers do provide an English language e-learning application, but without having a basic grasp of the English language, the content provided at the centers is for the most part ineffectual.

The third objective aims to build the capability of Tech4ED Center knowledge workers; this has been successfully achieved through training courses and support at the national level. Additionally, programs and workshops are offered to, and provided for, the Tech4ED Center Knowledge Workers at the local level. At the national level DICT hosts a 'Knowledge Exchange Conference' for its knowledge workers. DICT also hosts a provincial 'Tech4Ed Center Managers Conference' for knowledge workers in each province. Citizens were able to confront their barrier to knowledge acquisition through the assistance of trained knowledge workers who provided them with language assistance. This assistance was somewhat limited and regrettably for at least one young lady from Quzon City, she felt nervous to even enter the Center (anonymous, personal communication, October 11, 2015). DICT is trying to overcome this mindset by meeting its final objective.

The final objective is the advocacy and promotion of the Tech4ED Centers. Tech4ED has done a fine job of partnering with international organizations such as the UN to promote the capabilities of citizens at the local level. A good example of this is the International Girls in ICT Day co-sponsored by the DICT and the International Telecommunications Union (ITU). The promotion encourages all Tech4ED centers to “organize activities, forum and events that recognize the opportunities for girls in the field of ICT.” This is part of a greater initiative to create a global environment that empowers and encourages girls and young women to participate in the ICT sector. Currently, Tech4ED has 105,321 registered users as of May 2018. The program has also established a social media presence on Facebook with 14,841 likes and 14,785 followers as of May 2018.

The Tech4ED case study touches upon two important existential capabilities, knowledge acquisition and equality. Knowledge acquisition is discussed in the UNPAN model but not clearly defined or defended model and identified as a capability in Alampay’s framework. From the perspective of Nussbaum this is an internal capability that if fostered could become a combined capability through government support (Nussbaum, 2000a). Tech4Ed has demonstrated the positive effects of knowledge acquisition through its various programs, but also how knowledge acquisition can become a barrier by implementing an English only interface. The second capability 'equality' partially means having the same opportunity to access information as ever other person; not only 'paper freedoms,' but real opportunities as defined by Sen in his 1984 Dewey Lectures (Sen, 1985). The Quezon City Tech4ED center is a perfect example of paper freedoms not translating into real opportunities for citizens.

TVWS and Tech4ED have provided the Philippines with a strong technical foundation on which to expand e-Development and participation. While TVWS is still under development, it has the potential to reduce citizen’s barriers to access. An example of this will be presented in Chapter 5 when discussing the Bohol earthquake and subsequent typhoon Yolanda. Both case studies have fallen into the trap of enhancing ICTs and e-Government services rather than on expanding opportunities and encouraging citizens to participate; although Tech4ED has the potential to accomplish these goals. To do this, policies need to be implemented that focus on

cultivating the existential capabilities presented in this section. Additionally, paper freedoms need to be converted into real freedoms whereby expanding the opportunities for citizen's to convert e-Government resources into sustainable value. The next section discusses the use of third party applications, which are any applications running on a device that is not manufactured by the application developer.

4.4 Integration of Third Party Applications

Third party applications in the Philippines are providing the government with direct access to citizens through a platform that is recognizable. Any application running on a device that is not manufactured by the application developer is considered a third-party application. These include popular 'apps' such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and Instagram. When integrating third party applications into e-Government services they become what are referred to as civic technologies. The recognizable advantage of third party applications is their benefits characteristically outweigh their costs; moreover, they are not susceptible to regime changes or other physical factors that may impede their use. Web 2.0 technologies like Facebook, Twitter, and Skype are free to use without contracts or enterprise license agreements. Their architecture provided redundancies, so downtime is minimized. This provides a unique opportunity for governments to integrate third party applications as civic technologies or standalone applications for promoting e-Participation in the governance process.⁷⁷ The ethnographic research results presented in the next chapter will provide evidence in support of these findings. Also presented in the next chapter are examples of local politicians linking third party applications together to cultivate and promote responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision making.

There is however concerns with integrating third party applications; specifically, in relations to the UN General Assembly Resolution for promoting transparency and accountability in public service delivery. As mentioned in the literature review section regarding the access argument, there is incentive for private sector research and government sponsored research to

⁷⁷ The ethnographic research results presented in the next chapter will provide evidence in support of these findings. Also presented in the next chapter are examples of local politicians linking third party applications together to cultivate and promote responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision making.

skew information. This misinformation or misguided information has led to an over appreciation towards infrastructure development and civic technologies that are monetarily driven. While attending a meeting with a private sector IT firm and a public servant of the national government, it was clear that the private sector firm had an ‘inside track.’ This was made possible as they were the consulting firm helping to draft the RFP which they themselves would be applying for.⁷⁸ Additional examples of the cost and benefits of integrating third party applications into the governance process will be presented over the next two chapters.

⁷⁸ The meeting took place in Cebu on August 23, 2013; the parties wish to remain anonymous.

CHAPTER 5: E-PARTICIPATION THROUGH THE LENS OF THE POLITICIAN

This chapter examines the government sphere to gain a superior perspective of e-Participation in the Philippines and to observe whether citizen engagement through the use of Web 2.0 is benefiting government through a deepening of democracy by way of SDG Target 16.7 and Resolution A/RES/69/327. Moreover, this chapter documents the effects e-Democracy is having on the capabilities of citizens and explores how the characteristics of governance are changing within the Philippine context.

5.1 Ethnographic Study of Three Local Politicians

Three local politicians were identified for ethnographic study over the period of a full administrative term lasting from June 30, 2013 to June 30, 2016, with follow-up interviews and observations lasting until April 12, 2017.⁷⁹ This included traditional interactions between politicians and citizens such as office visits, town hall meetings and *pulong-pulong* (formally arranged gatherings) as well as the daily monitoring of the politician's Facebook accounts utilizing a netnographic method. This provided insight into how government actors interact traditionally and virtually within their communities to promote social inclusion and democracy as illustrated in the Theoretical Framework presented in Figure 4, page 43. Findings from the government sphere assisted in refining and strengthening the capability set.

Of the three politicians that were selected for ethnographic research, one is the current Mayor of the City of Tagbilaran, Mayor Baba Yap, now serving his second term and two were City Councilors for the City of Cebu representing the Bando Osmeña Pundok Kauswagan (BOPK), which during the time of this research was affiliated with the Liberal Party, Councilors Bob Cabarrubias and Nida Cabrera. All three case subjects preferred to use Facebook as a means of interacting with their constituents online, although Councilor Cabarrubias was active across many Web 2.0 platforms. By examining e-Participation habits between politicians and citizens,

⁷⁹ All three politicians were initially part of this author's master's research on upgrading local governments in the Philippines (Huffman, 2014).

patterns could be established to provide guidance in identifying and substantiating the types of capabilities that are fundamental for broadening e-Participation and socially inclusive governance. Substantial ‘spikes’ in Facebook activity were carefully reviewed. See Appendix H, I, and J for a breakdown of activity by politician. Each of the politicians utilized social media in different ways.

5.1.1 Mayor Baba Yap

Mayor Baba Yap is a member of the Net Generation. He served one term on Tagbilaran’s city council before declaring his candidacy for mayor. The incumbent mayor was his uncle. Though he inherited one of the top-ranked e-Government enabled LGUs in 2013 when he was first elected, through his forward-looking vision, he overhauled the city’s web presence by focusing on Web 2.0 technologies like Facebook. In his 2016 bid for re-election, Mayor Yap set a historic record by collecting 39,390 (83.21%) of the total votes. This was in large part due to his use of social media which this chapter will substantiate. The city of Tagbilaran is a 3rd class municipality with a population of roughly 105,000 residents.

Through social media, Mayor Baba Yap received a tremendous amount of comments and shares around the time of the Bohol earthquake and subsequent typhoon Yolanda; accounting for a 183% increase in comments and an astonishing 442% increase in shares on the year. During the earthquake the City’s website and all its servers went down; however, since Facebook is a third-party platform, it continued to function. One local citizen, a middle-aged man with a wife and two sons used social media to ask:

Please Mayor Baba my family and other friends they are now in Bantolinao Antequera, *problema sila sa pagkaon ang tulay sa bakong naguba dili maagian*, [we are having a problem in getting something to eat because the bridge in Bakong is damaged and is unpassable], Please we need your help (Delusa, 2013).

Unfortunately, his request went unanswered. This author later learned that he did receive some local government relief goods, although they were delayed. When asked if he found value in

using social media to interact with the mayor, he responded by saying he supported the mayor's efforts: "Mayor Yap is newly involved in politics he a good man. I saw him sincerity of his job if you saw Tagbilaran City is 90% of roads are repair and cement all villages some are in progress" (Mr. Delusa, personal communication, June 15, 2016).

While Mayor Yap was not able to respond directly to every citizen, he was able to provide them with incident reports, where to find relief goods, power updates, class suspensions and advisories, as well as 'hotline' information for contacting public safety services. Citizens were able to share this information with people in their social circles whereby empowering others through increased engagement and distribution of critical information. It is worth noting that TVWS was providing emergency Wi-Fi coverage during this time.

While early in Mayor Yap's term feedback was limited, later on he assigned staff to provide feedback to citizens via his Facebook account. Staff assisting Mayor Yap mentioned that Facebook has:

Helped us in our information dissemination, it helped us generate citizens' participation in city-wide projects; it has also served as an avenue to provide timely information, especially during a calamity (Mrs. Busano, personal communication May 10, 2018).

Mayor Yap, with assistance from his staff, was able to utilize his Facebook page to engage citizens on legislation such as Republic Act 9994 related to senior citizens. The legislation received 180 comments from citizens with an additional 294 shares. A break-down of Mayor Yap's Facebook activity over the three-year period of his inaugural term can be found in Appendix H.

Mayor Yap's most successfully use of social media was in offering prize money to citizens that could guess the outcome of NBA playoff games, often generating over 2,000 likes with comments reaching up to 3,281. In some ways this is reminiscent of the traditional patron-

client relationship by providing instrumental reward in addition to intrinsic value through public recognition of achievement. However, there was no observable reciprocation on the part of citizens, although they may have been more inclined to vote for Mayor Yap in the 2016 elections. No additional evidence of patronage was apparent; although his overwhelming popularity with citizens can be traced to three things, his family connection to the incumbent mayor, his promotion of sports and his road construction projects, the latter two are promoted through Facebook.

Mayor Yap has taken advantage of some of the innovative new social media applications such as Facebook LIVE where he hosts a live online radio broadcast that can be heard and seen locally. As one of Mayor Yap's Facebook administrators stated "Boholanos abroad can still connect with us and post their comments or suggestions – it has reinforced our promotions and publicity, widening our reach. At no cost, we are able to advocate programs and elicit people engagement" (J. Busano, personal communication, May 10, 2018).

While Mayor Yap has done an exceptional job of running a transparent inclusive government with the assistance of Web 2.0 technologies, the majority of e-Participation has to do with citizens airing out their complaints. For example, citizens could engage the mayor on issues such as a dilapidated road in Calceta that needs temporary asphaltting or the likelihood of a new traffic scheme to deal with the heavy traffic volume in the city. Opportunely, all these common complaints are documented and considered during planning – for instance when the Mayor crafts his new Comprehensive Land Use or Development Plan as well as his Annual Investment Plan for the city. Additionally, Mayor Yap includes hashtags or what Tim O'Reilly⁸⁰ calls folksonomy (in contrast to taxonomy) to provide collaborative categorization for liked minded citizens to share views on specific topics – like Mayor Yap's hashtag *#AsensoPaMore*, this is his political battle cry for [more progress] or in his own words "the progress never stops" (Baba Yap, personal communication, June 16, 2018).

⁸⁰ Tim O'Reilly is credited for coining the term Web 2.0. Folksonomy comes from his March 2007 paper "What Is Web 2.0 (O'Reilly, 2007).

5.1.2 Councilor Bob Cabarrubias

The second case subject, Councilor Bob Cabarrubias made the political jump from barangay captain to city councilor. An electrical engineer by trade he decided to join public service in 1989. He linked social media platforms together such as Skype, YouTube and Facebook to promote his agenda and encourage e-Participation from his constituents in the City of Cebu. The City of Cebu is a 1st class highly urbanized municipality with a population of roughly 922,600 residents. It is the fifth most populated city in the Philippines and the most populated city in the Visayas with revenue exceeding 4.5 billion Philippine pesos or 85.9 million USD.⁸¹

All City Council sessions were streamed live via Skype, which could be accessed from his Facebook page. Citizens could quickly interact with him and he often responded to inquires in-person. An example of Councilor Cabarrubias linking Web 2.0 applications together was a posting he made regarding the city council's regular session "We are on regular session today, should you be interested to know our Public hearing on 1.) Transfer of Cellular Towers on residential areas due to health hazard. 2.) Ordinance requiring all hospitals, Private and Public and home health care of home for the aged operating on the city of Cebu to provide for an elderly friendly health facility. Please click your Skype account and log in to bobcab" (Cabarrubias, 2014). In this session Councilor Cabarrubias could respond directly to citizen's concerns. For example, an older adult male asked:

Sir how about CCMC [Cebu City Medical Center]! Definitely it is compliant wd your ordinance for hospitals. Better fix it first accordingly so that it becomes the model for other hospitals. Have had surgery there recently and its so deplorable. *Dili na ba gyud mapangtaan ug laing lugar nga mas appropriate mintras naghuwat kanus-s mahuman ang tukoron pa nga bag-o nga hospital* [can a new location be found while the new hospital is being built]? To build the new hospital will take time for the mean time

⁸¹ Statistics retrieved from the City of Cebu's website. Retrieved November 26, 2018 from <http://www.cebucity.gov.ph>.

kaloy-an pud unta nato ang kasamtangang mga pasyete [we should give pity to those current patients] Tnx (Rallon, 2014).

While another father of four asked:

Dli man unta gyud angayan butang tower duol sa residential area tungod kai hazardous ni [The tower should not be built near the residential area because it is hazardous]. *Maayo unta* [Well maybe] after the ordinance is passed immediate action of transfer will take place... but then it will take years to do it (Belarmino, 2014).

Councilor Cabarrubias took the time to respond to both citizens by saying “*Mel John gagahapon ang expert sa department of health mitambong sa public hearing og nagpadayag nga karon panahona walay scientific finding nga nagmatood nga makadaot ang radio frequency or maka cause og cancer.*” His response translates as [the other day an expert from the department of health attended the public hearing and the expert conveyed to the people that there are no scientific findings that proves radio frequency are harmful or that it causes cancer]. While the citizens did not directly influence city ordinances, in this case, their concerns did have a meaningful impact on the Councilor. Additionally, the citizens were able to receive timely feedback that was responsive, inclusive and participatory; moreover, it was in their local language. This also provided indirect value to citizens, as other less vocal citizens could still benefit from the explanation provided by Councilor Cabarrubias.

An instance where citizens did influence ordinances included an ordinance prohibiting the use or operation of motor vehicles with noisy modified mufflers within the city. This proposal was presented via Facebook using Google Docs. Councilor Cabarrubias left the proposed ordinance up for public discussion on his Facebook wall saying, “This is my proposed Ordinance, you may read the substance of the ordinance and make comment about it” (Cabarrubias, 2014a). The proposal garnered 110 comments from citizens. Many of the respondents were critical of the proposal. Such as a young man from Cebu working in the retail sector that said: “if its a one-sided ordinance its an act of abuse (ABUSE OF POWER)” (Davalan, 2014).

Other respondents were critical of the councilor himself saying:

Sir maayu unta na imo ipost diri ang measurement procedure sa imo proposal arun makahibaw ang tanan. Kay sa imo mga tubag na balik balik murag si napoles [Sir it would be good if you can post your measurement protocols of your proposal so everyone will know. Because your answers that you keep on repeating you sound like Napoles].⁸² Put some sense on comments seems like you are not fully knowledgeable on the law that you are trying to implement and even saying you authored. Have you heard about ctrl+c and ctrl+v (Nangit, 2014).

Nangit's reference to Napoles is a reference to an alleged money launderer of fake government projects. Another citizen posted:

Drugs, traffic, floods, broken roads, education, corruption, economy, socio, crime, gangwars, poverty and many many more. There are so many problems in cebu that needs to be solved BUT STILL you made the wrong move. So unwise (Villahermosa, 2014).

Some of the comments were off-topic. To the Councilors credit, he did an exceptional job of engaging citizens, answering questions, and keeping the discussion on-topic. It was evident that many of the citizen's suggestions were taken into consideration. This proposal provided clear confirmation of the strength Web 2.0 technologies play in promoting responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision making, while providing evidence in support of Resolution A/RES/69/327. Ultimately, the councilor withdrew his proposal.

Two important findings can be drawn from this event. The first is that the citizens by expressing their views and affiliating with other likeminded individuals were able to overturn a proposed ordinance. Citizens that may have been too reserved to raise their voice gained confidences as others shared similar likeminded concerns; moreover, citizens could express their

⁸² Napoles refers to the alleged money launderer of fake government projects.

views and gain knowledge in their local language. Secondly, while this provided value to the individuals that participated, citizens that were less vocal or abstained from sharing their views were left out of the democratic process.

Councilor Cabarrubias, like Mayor Yap, used his Facebook wall to update citizens on natural hazards such as Typhoon Ruby. As mentioned previously, third party applications such as Facebook are less vulnerable to localized hazards as they are based off-site and typically have multiple redundancies. Councilor Cabarrubias provided updates on the current path, wind speed and other technical information regarding the typhoon as there were many conflicting reports. During the days leading-up to the typhoon the councilor provided 17 updates while his posts received 40 shares as well as 43 comments, providing dissemination of his message.

Similar to Councilor Cabrera who will be discussed next, Councilor Cabarrubias used Facebook as a portal to initiate new ordinances and provide information on training to his online community of ‘friends.’ Additionally, he would provide information on job opportunities, which citizens could inquire about. These included entry level opportunities like McDonalds and Ramos Supermarket as well as more professional level positions like master electrician, mechanical engineer or travel agent. These positions were all connected to the councilor and citizens were encouraged to contact him directly. Citizens could inquire about the posts and all posts received ‘shares’ indicating there was value in the Councilor’s posts. A brake-down of Councilor Cabarrubias’ Facebook activity over his administrative term can be found in Appendix I.

Councilor Cabarrubias was able to successfully link his Web 2.0 activities with his more traditional methods of interacting with citizens. He once posted “an afternoon view to the symbol of Christianity in Cebu "MAGELLAN'S CROSS" at my Cebu city hall office. Those who are interested you may come to my office to view the Symbol of Christianity in Cebu” (Cabarrubias, 2014b). He also provided livelihood opportunities through his Facebook page such as educational assistance and medical assistance programs for his indigent constituents as well as assistance for burials. It was also common practice for Councilor Cabarrubias to post photos and information

regarding citizens that would visit his office; providing him and his guests with intrinsic value as his posts would often garner positive feedback on social media.

5.1.3 Councilor Nida Cabrera

The second city councilor and final case subject, Councilor Nida Cabrera of the City of Cebu came from humble beginnings, working for people's organizations before deciding to engage in governance. Councilor Cabrera balanced her traditional political interactions with her social media interactions, often using Facebook as a way to promote her environmental agenda as Environmental Committee Chairperson. Her 'wall' fostered a virtual community made-up of likeminded politicians, government agencies and environmentally conscious NGOs such as the Philippine Coast Guard Auxiliary (PCGA) and the Coastline Management Board (CMB). A brake-down of Councilor Cabrera's Facebook activity over her administrative term can be found in Appendix J.

Councilor Cabrera encouraged e-Participation with citizens by crowdsourcing and providing citizens with information regarding proposed ordinances whereby fostering e-Democracy. An example of this was an ordinance "prohibiting the sale of injurious mercury-containing cosmetics, unregistered and unlabeled or mislabeled cosmetics in the City of Cebu" (Cabrera, 2013a). Another ordinance was for a ban on plastic bags where she utilized traditional as well as social media to disseminate the Implementing Rules and Regulations (IRR) of the citizen sponsored Ordinance No. 2343 entitled "An Ordinance Regulating the Use of Sale of Plastic Shopping Bags Every Saturday of a Week Within the Territorial Jurisdiction of the City of Cebu and Prescribing Penalties for Violations Thereof" (Cabrera, 2013b). She also worked with citizens through her Facebook profile to amend current ordinances such as "The Comprehensive Anti-Smoking Ordinance of the City of Cebu" (Cabrera, 2013c) and her long-awaited ordinance on waste water management, which gained approval during the regular session of the City Council on June 19, 2014. This particular ordinance was aided by the help of civil society, specifically the CMB.

One of Councilor Cabrera's most discussed ordinances was the City Council's 'Committee on Housing' which used traditional media to conduct a consultative meeting with various homeowner associations and beneficiaries under Provincial Ordinance 93-1 lots. She used social media to reaffirm the committee's commitment to "help resolve the 93-1 lot issue which affected the security of land tenure of no less than 5,000 urban poor families in Cebu City" (Cabrera, 2014a).

In addition to ordinances, Councilor Cabrera would use her Facebook account to stimulate important discussions on various topics, such as air and water quality in Cebu. This particular topic included a research presentation as well as a forum. The study was conducted in partnership with the Department of Chemistry at the University of Southern California (USC). Citizens were able to post comments and receive feedback directly from the Councilor. Additionally, she would post information regarding public hearings as well as livelihood training to improve the daily lives of her constituents. For example, there was livelihood training in partnership with Jollibee with the goal of "empowering communities to tackle trash for the betterment of our climate, economy and human dignity" (Cabrera, 2014b). Councilor Cabrera, as she so often did, linked social media to her political agenda. In total, ten barangays underwent the livelihood training which provided both intrinsic value as well as monetary reward through cash incentives and Jollibee cash vouchers that could be used in their restaurants.

One of Councilor Cabrera's most shared posts was a post regarding no-fines concrete on January 9, 2014. She introduced it as an alternative to standard concrete. No-fines concrete is highly porous which allows water to drain through it. The Philippines is notorious for street flooding due to excessive garbage and poor drainage. Councilor Cabrera received 378 likes, but more importantly, 99 shares as well as an additional 29 comments; reinforcing the value of e-Participation and social inclusion in the governance process. While Councilor Cabrera's expertise on the topic was somewhat limited, citizens more knowledgeable on the topic provided comments and examples of its use – discussing everything from mixing techniques to bonding strength. While this particular post was very limited in scope, it stimulated participation and

provided Councilor Cabrera and other citizens with a better understanding of how it is used and how it might benefit the City of Cebu.

Not all findings through the ethnographic research were positive. Research findings revealed that while government actors are not technically allowed to campaign for certain political candidates, party lines were easy to identify during netnographic research by observing Web 2.0 activity such as Facebook and YouTube posts. In this instance, affiliation became a barrier as political speech and the freedom to assemble were suppressed; more importantly there were negative repercussions as public servants that did not denounce their party and side with the party in power were either fired or if commissioned, reassigned to demeaning or otherwise humiliating jobs (Anonymous department head, personal communication, October 4, 2016). At a more mesa-level, it was observed that barangays with ties to opposition parties would be penalized monetarily as the barangay captain's budgets would be delayed or withheld.

Unlike the national government which only operates in English, all politicians studied used the local language Cebuano, colloquially called Visayan, interchangeable when communicating with citizens. Citizens could find value in accessing information in a format they could understand and express their views in an environment free of discriminatory behavior; moreover, they were able to share posts with friends and family creating a virtual community around topics raised through socially inclusive interaction.

The government sphere put forward two additional capabilities central to achieving value through e-Participation; they are expression and affiliation. Expression overlaps with Nussbaum's core capability of control over one's environment, which highlights the need to be able to speak freely and exercise one's political choice (Nussbaum, 2011). Affiliation is another existential capability that makes Nussbaum's list of core capabilities. It is the capability to interact socially and have the freedom to assemble without the fear of reprisal or oppression. Through the ethnographic research conducted at the City of Cebu, it was observed that city staff that did not support the elected Mayor were either terminated at the end of their contract or if commissioned were relegated to degrading or meaningless jobs in hopes that they would quit. For

example, while the IT Department Head was able to keep his title as a commissioned employee, he was transferred to a joint prison facility on the outskirts of town.⁸³ Public employees are not allowed to campaign or identify with a particular candidate; as previously mentioned, their affiliations are often identified through social media as was the case with this particular employee.

Affiliation enables local politicians to leverage social media to rally citizens around a public cause such as air pollution, noise ordinances or benefits for senior citizens as documented in this chapter. If adopted correctly, expression and affiliation can deepen democracy through responsive, inclusive, and representative decision making.

5.2 Decline of Patron Client Relations

The second component of this dissertation's second objective is to investigate the effects of Web 2.0 in government systems where elite-dominated formal democracy is still firmly rooted. As such, it is important to touch on the issue of patron-client relations in the Philippines as it relates to e-Participation; particularly with regards clientelism and the elasticity of demand within the patron-client structure. As the findings from this chapter visibly showed, the asymmetric relations between citizens and politicians are changing. Through e-Participation the traditional patron-client pyramid that once subjugated Philippine politics is starting to erode.

Historically the terms 'patron' and 'client' were used to describe social structures in the Mediterranean and Latin America; however, the terms are now commonly used across nations. James Scott's definition with regards to Southeast Asia may be the most appropriate. Scott (1972) describes patron-client relations as "a special case of dyadic (two-person) ties involving a largely instrumental friendship in which an individual of higher socioeconomic status (patron) uses his own influence and resources to provide protection or benefits...for a person of lower status (client) who...reciprocates by offering general support and assistance" (p. 92). In the Philippines, the *trapo* or traditional politicians has historically been able to maintain patronage

⁸³ The employee was given the option of aligning with the party in power but rejected the offer. Both case subjects from the City of Cebu were in the minority party.

over their clients by providing monetary offerings, protection and information in exchange for votes and other personal services. This exchange is also referred to as clientelism.

As the research has shown, Web 2.0 technologies have been able to address the issue of clientelism through the cultivation of three central capabilities; from this chapter expression and affiliation and from the previous chapter, knowledge acquisition. This in turn has reduced the *trapo*'s control over information and supports Quimpo's (2005) idea of a 'contested democracy' which he argues is "a more accurate interpretative framework of Philippine politics," which "remedies the static, one-sided, and top-down view of the elite democracy framework by integrating the elements of democracy from below" (p. 243). This argument was thoroughly discussed in Section 2.3.2 on inclusive democracy. Prior to the advent of Web 2.0 technologies for e-Participation it was easy for politicians to divide citizens and control information. While the later barrier has been overcome to some extent with knowledge acquisition becoming more obtainable through social media and other Web 2.0 means, the former still needs to be supported; although as Wataru Kusaka's (2017) research on inequality, democracy and the urban poor in the Philippines notes, "social change [has] loosened the grip of clientelism, enabling the poor to participate more freely and autonomously in politics" (p. 31). This is in part due to Web 2.0 technologies such as social media, which has made citizens more independent of the local elites. Citizens can still be somewhat divided, but through cultivating the capabilities of expression and affiliation through e-Participation, the *trapo* no longer can divide and conquer, which has created a new patron-client structure and is reforming local politics.

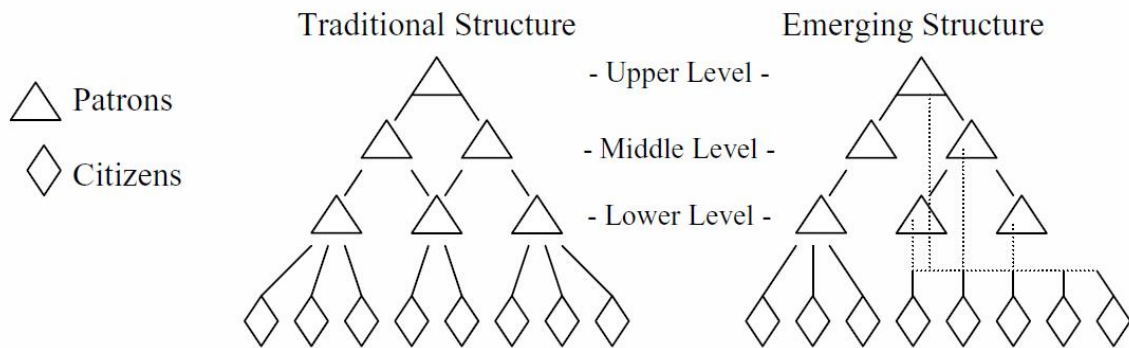
As Scott (1972) emphasizes "affiliating with a patron is neither a purely coerced decision nor is it the result of unrestricted choice" (p. 94). Scott references the work of Peter Blau; specifically, his book *Exchange and Power in Social Life* to introduce elasticity as a tool for measuring the degree of patron-client relations. Meaning, a high demand for resource x creates inelasticity, whereas low demand or alternative competing patrons offers lower elasticity.⁸⁴ In the case of Mr. Delusa the father looking for his family during the Bohol earthquake. While his efforts to contact the Mayor went unanswered, his support of the Mayor was unwavering as the

⁸⁴ In Blau's book he discusses the elasticity of demand in relation to patronage (Blau, 1964, p. 21-22).

Mayor has repaired and cemented the roads to his village. Although this may seem like a traditional patron-client relationship, a reciprocation on the part of the client was unwarranted although most likely welcomed in the form of a vote during the 2016 general election.

As Scott notes, the value of patronage depends “upon the nature of the political system” (p. 105); which in the Philippines, is shifting in favor of the clients (Kusaka, 2017). As this chapter has shown, Web 2.0 technologies are influencing this environment by reducing the bonds of patronage and barriers to e-Participation, while increasing the opportunities for citizens to express their opinions and make informed choices regarding their affiliations. This in-turn has freed citizens to optimize their main political resource, their vote – a resource that creates elasticity by the mere giving or withholding of it. This adds an additional dimension to affiliation, which has not been lost on this new breed of politician appearing in the Philippines as the ‘patron client pyramid’ of electoral politics has eroded to some extent allowing clients to ‘cluster’ without a patron, further empowering citizens. Figure 7 illustrates this new emerging structure.

Figure 7: Emerging Patron-Client Pyramid



Source: Author, based on Scott’s (1972) distinctive groupings model (p. 96)

While the traditional patron-client pyramid still exists as the *trapo* fights to maintain their control, Web 2.0 technologies are flattening the vertical relationship. Traditional patron-client structures survive on vertical linkages where each level depends on the cluster below it. Across levels, patrons of similar standing can and will form alliances (Scott, 1972, p. 96-97). Patrons maintain their control by creating inelasticity. As we discussed, this can be done by withholding

information or establishing barriers between different clusters. The research findings show that Web 2.0 technologies such as social media are breaking down these barriers allowing citizens to affiliate across communal groups of clusters; moreover, the patron-client linkages are becoming less direct, enabling citizens to switch affiliations more freely, whereby increasing elasticity.

Using Web 2.0 technologies, citizens no longer must feel complacent. Politicians are no longer able to fully monopolize information and divide citizens. Findings from the research show that citizens at all socio-economic levels can partake in the benefits of socially inclusive governance through expression and affiliation. Politicians are realizing this, and a new breed of politician is appearing. This will be discussed further in the next section.

5.3 Strong Political Leadership for E-Democracy

All three politicians discussed in this chapter demonstrated strong leadership. As Bhatnagar points out, strong political leadership in e-Government is a key to widespread citizen participation (Bhatnagar, 2003, p.26). In this dissertation, strong political leadership has shown to have a positive effect on the environment in which e-Participation takes place. Without strong political leadership that is open to e-Democracy, the goals related to e-Participation in the SDGs and the ones set by the UNGA cannot be fully realized as it directly affects socially inclusive governance.

Beyond strong leadership all three politicians adhere to the characteristics of the new breed of politician alluded to in the previous section. Based on the findings from the ethnographic research, politicians that support expression both positive and negative are more likely to seem genuine and transparent. While affiliation, especially political affiliation both horizontally and vertically are still apparent in Philippine politics, suffice it to say politics in general, encouraging citizens to freely express their views and fostering their freedoms to interact socially are traits of a strong political leader. Nurturing such forms of affiliation has the potential to deepen democracy by protecting citizen's freedom to assemble and speak as evident from the netnographic research findings. Finally, strong political leadership as it relates to e-Participation

can be characterized by an openness to information. For the *trapo*, monopolizing information and dividing citizens is how they maintain power. This new breed of politician shares information freely, which produces a reciprocating affect as public relations and accolades are the cornerstone of this new Web 2.0 form of governance.⁸⁵ By nourishing knowledge acquisition through e-Democracy and livelihood opportunities, Web 2.0 technologies such as Facebook have been proven to produce intrinsic as well as instrumental value to both politicians and citizens. This capability along with expression and affiliation reduces the barriers to e-Participation by fostering citizen participation regardless of socio-economic class; moreover, the capabilities are normative within the Philippine context – attaining all three supplementary conditions for the selection of capabilities.

The effect Web 2.0 has had on providing citizens with a voice in the governance process has been well documented in this chapter. Through e-Participation citizens are now able to influence policies, ordinances and public administration on such topics as planning and budgeting. This achievement is only made possible through the promotion of a transparent, accountable and socially inclusive political system – a driving force behind Resolution A/RES/69/327. The next chapter investigates e-Participation from the citizen’s perspective.

⁸⁵ The new breed politicians is content with building social currency, which is gained through accolades such as shares, retweets and likes.

CHAPTER 6: CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT AND PERSPECTIVES

The third and final sphere of e-Participation is citizen engagement. This chapter investigates e-Participation from the citizen's perspective to solidify the core set of capabilities as well as provide additional evidence to support the Capabilities Approach Framework for E-Participation introduced in the next chapter. When conducting surveys and interviewing citizens at random about e-Participation, distinct patterns could be identified. Trust was a reoccurring theme – trust in government and trust in technology; specifically, citizen's distrust, which has created a disinterest to e-Participation. As Robert Putnam identified in his famed book *Bowling Alone* disinterest in formal politics is derived from a deficiency among citizens in social capital and opportunities for belonging to civic networks (Putnam, 2000). In addition to trust, the most discussed topic centered on whether e-Participation empowers citizens or reinforced traditional stereotypes as discussed by Quimpo in his book *Contested democracy and the left in the Philippines after Marcos* (Quimpo, 2008). Both issues will be discussed in more detail throughout this chapter as they directly influence e-Participation and ultimately socially inclusive governance.

The names of respondents are not mentioned in this chapter except for when their comments were made publicly, for example through a Facebook post or comment. Respondents of the questionnaire/surveys and interviews were not required to provide their name, only basic socio-economic information fundamental to the research study; as such, direct quotes will only include key socio-economic referencing. A list of the times and locations for the questionnaire/surveys and interviews can be found in Appendix L. All stratified characteristics are clearly stated apart from age, which is defined as 15~21, young; 22~34, young adult; 35~54, adult; and 55 and over, older adult. Best efforts were made to randomly select respondents.

6.1 Perspectives on Politics and E-Participation

Before discussing trust and empowerment, it is worth noting that for some citizens, the topic of e-Participation itself was a concern. For e-Participation to take place, citizens need to be aware of the services and avenues available to them for participating. When asked “have you ever accessed your city’s website or used their online services,” in seventeen cases (3.8%), the citizen being interviewed had no idea there were e-Government services that promoted citizen engagement. Of the ones that did, only four citizens interviewed had positive comments such as it “makes things easier, convenient and hassle free” (Class E, young adult male from Central Visayas);⁸⁶ and it’s “important for accessing services” (Class C, young adult male from Central Visayas). As for e-Participation itself, the responses were more positive. Citizens felt they could use Web 2.0 technologies to “exercise your right as a citizen of the country and choose what is deemed best for the progression of the state” (Class C, young female from NCR); to “openly access their politicians and openly criticize them through media and other gadgets [such as] Facebook, Twitter, etc.” (Class D, older adult from Central Visayas); to “expand your network” (Class E, young female from NCR); to become “more cultured” (Class C, young female from NCR); to share concerns with other likeminded people “because the citizens can also express their point of view so their voice will be heard by the government officials” (Class E, young female from Central Visayas). These comments reinforce the capabilities identified in the previous two chapters. Now let us turn back to the two main topics of this section, trust and empowerment.

The topic of trust was a concern to many citizens. Especially in the rural areas like Bohol, citizens rather visit government offices than interact with government online. So, while the United Nations General Assembly recognizes the potential of e-Government to promote transparency and accountability, the average citizen is still skeptical of whether this can be achieved. This may be in part due to a lack of social capital, which Putnam suggests could be overcome by providing citizens with opportunities to connect and belong to civic networks

⁸⁶ Each quote taken from citizens includes their economic classification; age as either young, young adult, middle aged, or elderly; gender; and region they reside in or call home.

(Putnam, 2000); reiterating the need to cultivate the capabilities of expression and affiliation identified in the previous chapter.

Related to trust, some citizens felt that politicians are only visible or accessible to people during campaigns and “become invisible after they win the election” (Class D, adult female from Central Visayas). Recounting Mayor Yap’s posting patterns for the 23 days prior to, and after winning his second term, the evidence shows that his posting pattern increased by 130% (from 31 posts to 71 posts) after winning the election.⁸⁷ Of the three candidates who were studied through ethnographic research only Mayor Yap won his election. Councilor Bob Cabarrubias did not run for re-election but intends to run for Barangay Captain next term. Councilor Cabrera filed for her candidacy on October 15, 2015 and conceded her position on May 9, 2016 stating “The people got their choices, to everyone who trust me and give me the chance to serve public office for 6 years as Cebu City Councilor my sincerest thanks to all of you and again extending my congratulations to all the winners of this 2016 election. God bless us all” (Cabrera, 2015). Unlike Mayor Yap, Councilor Cabrera opted to use a single personal Facebook account rather than separate her social and political ‘face.’ This touches on one of the down sides of Web 2.0 technologies as this may have attributed to her losing her bid for reelection as some citizens viewed her political efforts as less than genuine. For example, while traveling abroad for work, one citizen posted “Enjoy your vacation Councilor Nida Cabrera” (Bmichaut, 2015, May, 30). This was in response to twenty-five photos she posted at Tokyo’s Secret Garden, while visiting Japan to study plastic waste management. This was Councilor Cabrera’s fifth trip abroad which included another trip to Japan in late 2013 as well as trips to Thailand, Indonesia and Singapore. It should be noted that each trip had a legitimate ‘work’ purpose; although the Councilor’s social capital may have been artificially deflated due to the sheer amount of excursion photos posted while working abroad leading some citizens to questioning her intentions.

The most heated dialogue from citizens centered on the relationship between citizens and government actors and whether e-Participation is truly empowering them. Comments taken from

⁸⁷ Documentation of Mayor Yap’s Facebook account ended on June 30, 2016, which is the reason for selecting 23 days. Mayor Yap won his election on May 8, 2016.

interviews with citizens during field research exposes that “citizens feel politicians can still control the information released and while citizens can easily express their views, they sometimes do so under threat” (Class C, young male from NCR); moreover, e-Participation can have the reverse effect, “politicians use ICT to gain fame and have the citizen patronize them” said a Class C, young male from the Cagayan Valley. Other citizens interviewed saw no change or that their problems never change, “the only difference is we have technology” (Class D, young adult female from Central Luzon); “although the people have more information and easier access to those information, politicians are still unshakeable with their power” (Class D, young male from NCR); for these people the value of participating in the governance process is as another Class D, young male from NCR states “still what it is after the social media started becoming active.” However 280 respondents (66%) see e-Participation as empowering when asked the question “how have ICTs such as social media affected the power relationship between citizens and politicians over the past 10 years.”⁸⁸

For most Filipinos social media has become an empowering tool for e-Participation. This was reinforced during one of the roundtable discussions. As one of the students from the roundtable discussions mentioned “the people, especially the youth, have become more exposed to the happenings in government through ICTs. They have also been more vocal online on their opinions regarding the government as compared to 10 years ago” (UP Diliman Student, personal communication, October 10, 2015). As with Mayor Yap, these students are part of the Net Generation. Older citizens also took stock of e-Participation as a tool for democracy saying, “people can say what is in their mind and can expose politician over their misgivings” (Class D, adult male from NCR) or “we can easily express our thoughts and ideas about the situation of our local governance. In that way politician can also perform their task more efficiently” (Class D, young adult male from Central Visayas). This perspective demonstrates a new way of thinking about governance in the Philippines; an ideal perspective that is inclusive rather than exclusive – cultivated through e-Participation.

⁸⁸ Of the 327 respondents for this question, 280 (66%) responded that they felt e-Participation was providing more power to the people, as opposed to 70 (16%) who felt more power was going to the politicians or a slightly higher number 77 (18%) who saw no change at all over the past decade (Questionnaire/Survey Q:23 Appendix A).

A pattern in the responses became more evident as citizens continued to express they have more power because they can “point out the flaws of the government” using social media as a Class C, young male from NCR made note of; moreover, “people acquire the power to express themselves because of this” and “the voice of the people cannot easily be ignored” (Class D, young female from Eastern Visayas). One of the most absorbing comments came from a Class C, young male from the Calabarzon/Mimaropa region who said, “social media has become the modern EDSA for people to protest for or against something or someone.” EDSA⁸⁹ also known as the people power revolution, took place in 1986. This was a series of non-violent protest to overthrow the two-decade long dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos. The citizen’s comment also refers to a second people power revolution that took place in 2001 to overthrow another President, President Joseph Estrada. A similar comment was raised by another citizen who stated, “the masses uses social media therefore, more people are able to see opinions and in turn, change other people’s opinions” (Class C, young male from Central Luzon), as was the case of the Million People March discussed in Chapter 3.

The public perception on the effect Web 2.0 is having on e-Participation is clear. The vast majority of citizens believe it to be empowering; moreover, citizens see participation having a positive influence on democracy as expression, affiliation and knowledge acquisition have all enhanced citizen’s opportunities to achieve value through e-Participation. Trust is still a concern, but as the next section will reveal, how trust is defined may be shifting. The next section will provide quantitative evidence to support the central capabilities already identified.

6.2 The Value of E-Participation in the Governance Process

The value of e-Participation in the governance process has been defined in this dissertation as a mix of intrinsic as well as instrumental values with the primary focus on citizen empowerment along with the underlying intention of addressing the e-Government goals and targets set forth by the UN and UN General Assembly. While this author does not give precedence to one capability over another, the finding from the research showed that certain capabilities hold more value than

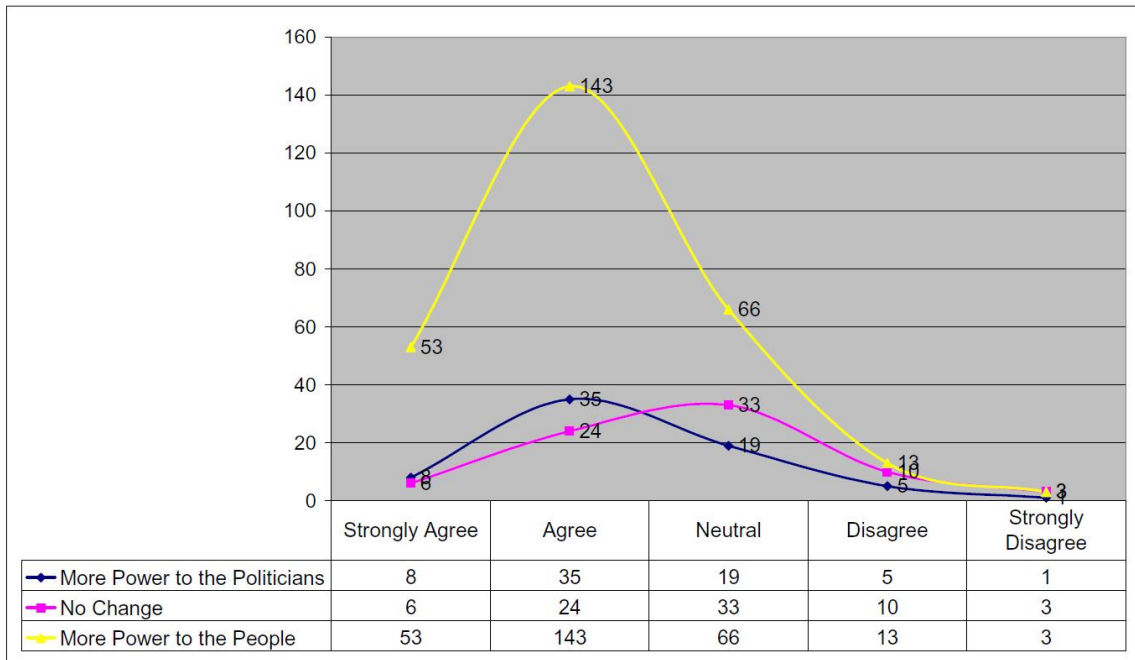
⁸⁹ EDSA is an acronym for *Epifanio de los Santos Avenue* in Metro Manila where the demonstrations took place.

others when correlated with citizen empowerment. Three specific capabilities stand out; the first is expression, which was introduced in Chapter 5 along with two from Chapter 4, knowledge acquisition and access – when access is linked to Web 2.0 technologies.

As the research findings show, expression is aided by the use of social media; especially in mobilizing citizens around a certain cause, such as the Million People March presented in Chapter 3 or an unpopular ordinance such as the one introduced by Councilor Bab Cabarrubias. As Monshipouri and Mokhtari warn in their book *Information Politics, Protests, and Human Rights in the Digital Age*, there is a caveat “the lesson learned from the Arab Spring has shown that such uprisings may not necessarily yield fundamental structural change. Social media [is] not the sole driving force behind protest movements and upheavals” (Monshipouri, 2016). Rather they are tools used to engage citizens and promote common agendas.

This viewpoint was reinforced in the research findings when citizens were asked the question “ICTs such as social media and SMS give me more power to express my views about government and the politicians that represent me.” Figure 8 on page 95 shows these results through cross tabulation. While the results for ‘no change’ remained neutral as one might expect, citizens that fell on either end of the spectrum believe social media gives them more power to express their views freely. Clustering the responses by variables such as age, income and gender had inconsequential bearing on the results. Although it should be noted from the qualitative findings, that a pattern in the responses by age was evident. During interviews, younger educated citizens were more inclined to mention the power of social media for stimulating activism. This reinforces the idea that the uprising intellectual class, who are part of the Net Generation, may be the most outspoken and value expression to a higher degree, than older citizens.

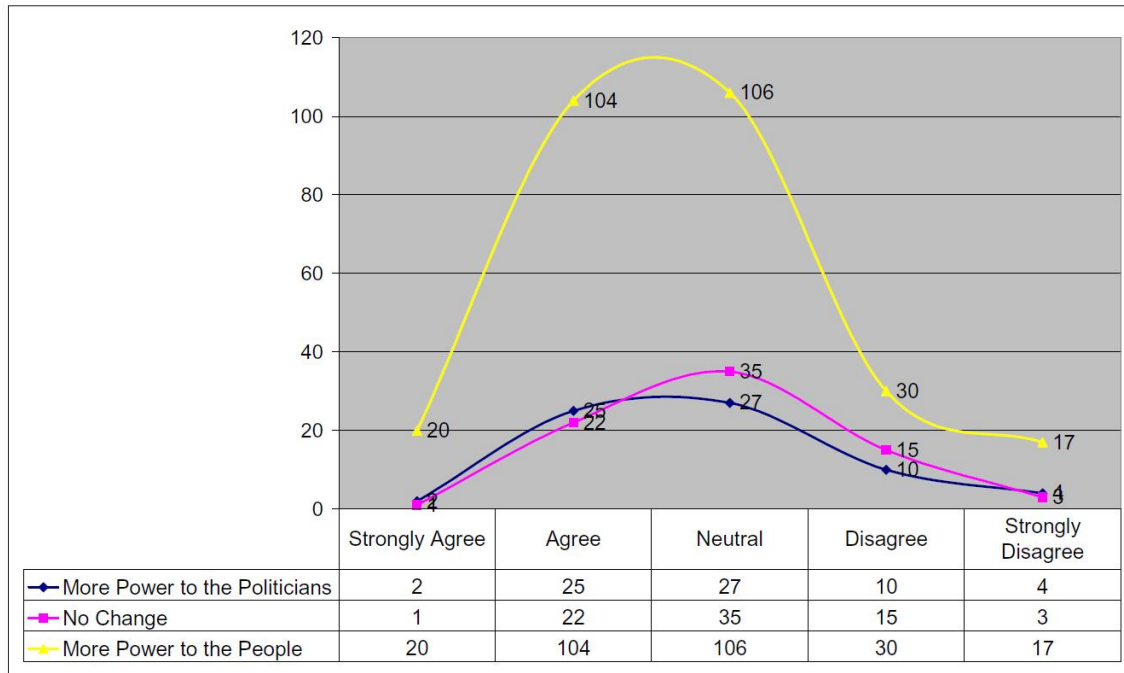
Figure 8: Power Balance through Expression



Source: Author (Questionnaire/Survey Cross Tabulation Q:15 with Q:23 Appendix A)

By using the same approach as the one presented in Figure 8, Figure 9 on the next page illustrates citizen’s perceptions regarding politicians’ control over information through the question “My local government is providing me with the online information I need.” It shows whether citizens trust that government is providing them with the information they need through e-Participation.

Figure 9: Power Balance through Knowledge Acquisition



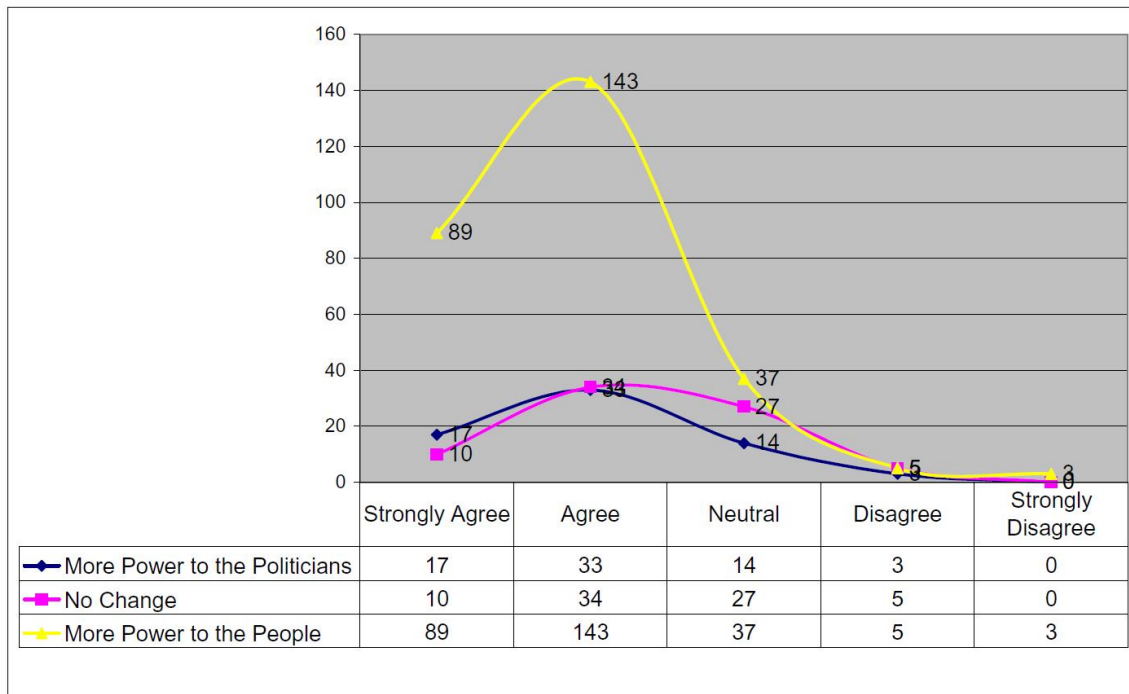
Source:

Author (Questionnaire/Survey Cross Tabulation Q:14 with Q:23 Appendix A)

When comparing Figures 8 and 9 together, there is a visible difference in public opinion. While both figures show a positive value related to the relevant capability in question, expression has a stronger positive response rate than knowledge acquisition.

When surveying citizens regarding access to information through social media over traditional methods 18% (77 respondents) said there was no affect, while 16% (70 respondents) said social media gave more power to the politicians; however, an overwhelming 66% (280 respondents) felt social media is changing the rules of the game and leveling the playing field for citizens. Figure 10 on the next page shows a distinct shift in perception of social media’s influence regardless of citizen’s predisposition regarding power. This was reinforced by the qualitative data presented in the previous section.

Figure 10: Social Media & Power Relations

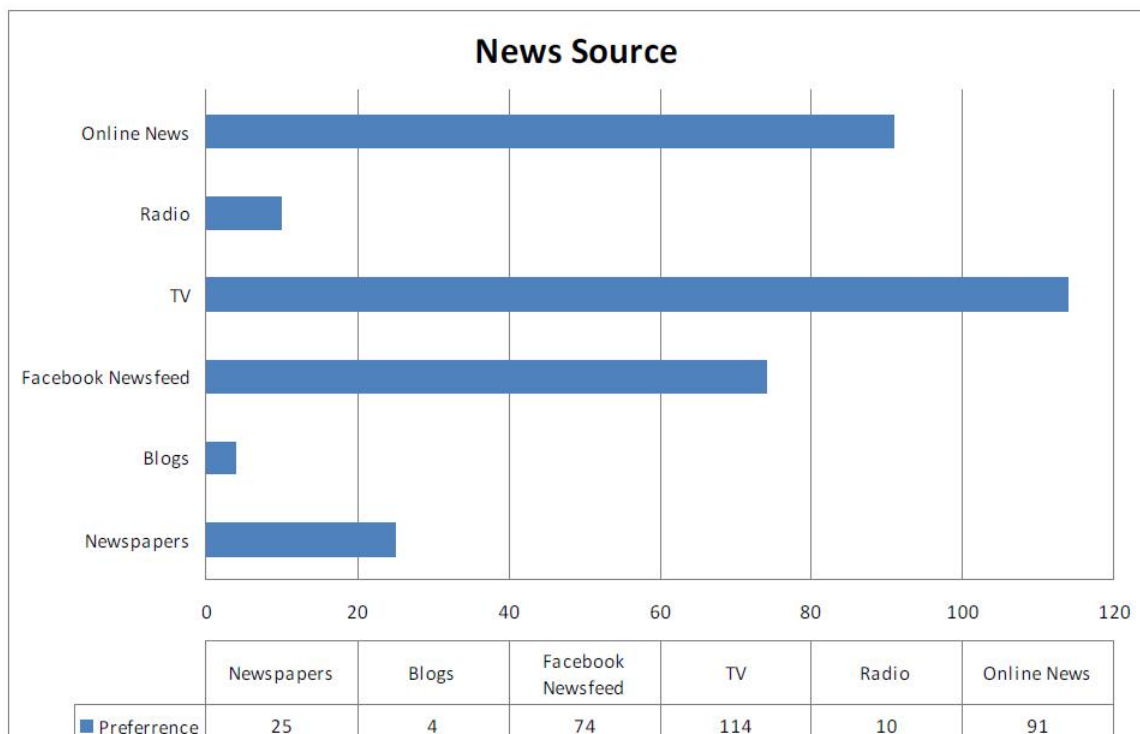


Source: Author (Questionnaire/Survey Cross Tabulation Q:13 with Q:23 Appendix A)

Regardless of how citizens felt about social media’s effect on the power relations between citizens and politicians, citizens had a non-neutral response regarding access to information through social media and the web, indicating the strength of the bias towards this question which cross tabulates citizens feelings towards the relations of power with the question of “social media and government websites provide me with easier access to government information than traditional methods.” This evidence would suggest that Web 2.0 technologies are having an impact on citizen’s perceptions of power. This is in stark contrast to the capability of equality, which is a more subjective capability. As such, the results of the survey question were mixed and less convincing; although the responses were positive regardless of the bias. Two-factor ANOVA testing was run to see if income or gender had any bearing on the results, but no correlations could be found. Based on the qualitative interviews with support from the quantitative data, there has been a perceived shift in the balance of power towards the masses through the use of Web 2.0 technologies. It should be noted that each of the politicians studied see this as a good thing. Findings from the ethnographic research also support these claims.

The research identified a shift taking place in how citizens value and acquire information, which may have a positive impact on e-Participation but may also be a cause for concern; furthermore, it may clarify why the results in Figure 10 were so positively correlated. When asking citizens, “which way do you access information about your local government” the top two responses were visiting city hall and accessing the government’s website or Facebook account. Of the 303 respondents 111 (37%) preferred the web and social media as opposed to 75 (25%) that still preferred the traditional approach. More telling than this statistic is that for acquiring news information citizens preferred Facebook newsfeeds 74 (23%), online news 91 (29%), and blogs 4 (1%) over traditional media such as TV 114 (36%), newspapers 25 (8%) and the radio 10 (3%). Figure 11 provides a graphic account of these statistics.

Figure 11: Preferred Way to Acquire News Information



Source: Author (Questionnaire/Survey Q:20 Appendix A)

While this shift is a positive sign for e-Participation and Web 2.0, traditional media tends to be more reliable as the standards for news and reporting are set much higher than with social media; in fact, the reliability of social media is somewhat arbitrary – although the battle for truth between social media and traditional media is still up for debate as evident by outspoken US President Donald J. Trump’s numerous ‘Tweets’ calling-out the main stream media as being ‘fake news.’ Whether his claim is well founded may just depend on which side of the political spectrum you lean; as the findings from the interviews revealed, trust in the source is more important than the quality of information. Citizens trust information their friends post or share, more than responsible news outlets. From a capability perspective, access to information is not enough; misinformation and the reliability of information are also influential. As one citizen interviewed mentioned “information about the wrong doings of politician is easily spread, enabling the people to make informed votes” (Class E, young adult male from NCR). The reliability of this citizen’s ‘informed vote’ is only as good as the information he is acquiring. The next Chapter introduces the capability set and how these normative capabilities fit into the broader e-Participation framework for socially inclusive governance.

CHAPTER 7: E-PARTICIPATION AND INCLUSION

This dissertation set out to challenge the orthodox view that access is the principal driver for encouraging socially inclusive governance by examining the linkages between government and citizen using Web 2.0 technologies. By doing so, the objective of this dissertation was to identify the capabilities central to enhancing citizen's opportunities to achieve value through e-Participation. Based on the criteria set forth in this research, evidence suggests there are five central determinants that affect citizen's opportunities to achieve valued through e-Participation. This core set of normative capabilities underscores the existential condition of individuals; considering the environment in which e-Participation takes place, to provide an alternative way of thinking about the modality of socially inclusive governance through e-Participation. This environment incorporates the political and social conditions in which socially inclusive governance takes place to identify the core set of capabilities that can enhance citizen's opportunities to achieve value through e-Participation. This chapter first elaborates on the core capabilities identified from the research, and then discusses the environment in which e-Participation takes place to ultimately introduce a framework which redefines the modality of socially inclusive governance.

7.1 Core Capabilities in Theory and Practice

This section is divided into five subsections. Each subsection addresses one of the core capabilities that were identified in the research as being central to enhancing citizen's opportunities to achieve value through e-Participation. The process of identifying the list of central capabilities is predominately based on Robeyns' five criteria for the selection of capabilities. The list of criteria that was first presented in Chapter 1 states that first, all proposed list elements should be explicit, so they can be discussed and debated; second, the method of generating the list should be made explicit so it can be scrutinized; third, the level of abstraction of the list should be appropriate to its purposes, whether for philosophical, legal, political, or social discussion; fourth, if the list is intended for empirical application or public policy then it should be drawn-up in two distinct stages first an ideal stage and then a pragmatic one; finally,

the list should include all important elements and those elements should not be reducible to others (Robeyns, 2003a, p. 70).

The process for the selection of central capabilities has been adapted for e-Participation by factoring in supplementary conditions previously introduced in Chapter 1, Section 1.4.3, which states the capability should facilitate citizen's participation; be applicable to all groups regardless of socio-economic status; and lastly be normative, meaning the goal is not to measure the results but to distinguish the capabilities that provided the greatest opportunity to achieve value through e-Participation. These criteria are based on previous research (Huffman, 2014) and preliminary fieldwork as discussed in Section 1.4.3, page 14. By meeting these criteria, the core set of capabilities of access, expression, equality, knowledge acquisition, and affiliation provided epistemic, academic and political legitimacy for empirical exploration.

The list at its most basic level has been explicitly compiled based on the evaluation of qualitative, quantitative and philosophically grounded findings drawn from the three spheres of e-Participation. The methodology used to generate the list was well documented, given multidisciplinary fields that makes-up e-Government research.⁹⁰ Although the purpose of the list is not for empirical application per se, it does apply to public policy in the Philippines. Meaning the list has been drawn-up as an ideal list based on Robeyns' fourth criteria; but can be viewed as a pragmatic list within the Philippine context.⁹¹ The findings that were discussed in the previous three chapters will be more thoroughly argued in the following five subsections.

7.1.1 Access

The first capability *access* coincides with the resource argument and the capability presented by UNPAN and Alampay, which is the capability to have affordable access to modern ICTs with low barriers to entry. This includes access to government resources to cultivate e-Participation. It

⁹⁰ To conduct and analyze research in this field requires a strong understanding of Public Administration, Political Science, Computer Science and Socioeconomics in order to develop a methodology that utilizes an interdisciplinary approach to identify the core set of capabilities necessary for socially inclusive governance.

⁹¹ The theory has already become part of the e-Participation discourse in the Philippines. Through consultation with the DICT (Department of Information and Communication Technology) and its Under Secretary Mon Abraham.

also refers to the necessary technical skills to become active participants in the governance process.

As evidenced from indicators presented in Chapter 4, the perceived barriers to access are modest. Evidence from the quantitative and qualitative research findings supported the underlying hypothesis based on the indicators of availability of service; ability to use the Internet; and cost of Internet services. Although there is still a need to provide additional supports to older adults, as they tend to have less technical literacy to use the latest technologies – this limitation does not apply to all technologies, such as mobile phones. Additionally, while the availability of service was over 78% across all socioeconomic conditions tested the sample size for some subgroups of different education levels were too small as well as across regions.

Access is a gateway capability that if fostered can promote other capabilities. This is referred to by Nussbaum as a ‘combined capability’ or by Sen as a form of ‘valued functioning.’ Access is the one capability that is objective and measurable and should not be discounted; however, as the research has shown, access is an achievable capability most citizens in the Philippines already possess regardless of their socio-economic condition. Therefore, it meets all the underlying criteria for the selection of capabilities. It should be noted that access while objective and measurable, should not be confused with what Sen refers to as ‘realized functionings’ or what a person is actually able to do. This dissertation views access along the lines of opportunity as stated in the first objective as well as the main research question. By taking this position, access is considered a capability not a realized functioning.

7.1.2 Expression

The next capability *expression* is the ability to speak freely without the fear of retribution. While expression can be seen as a capability that is provided like access, the research findings show that the barriers to expression are not based on objective measurements. Citizens were able to use social media to rally around issues important to them in a transparent and open environment when fostered by local politicians; moreover, they could use this capability to influence decision making. It is in fact a valued existential capability for socially inclusive governance as it includes

both the technical literacy to participate in e-Governance and the willingness to do so. Expression overlaps with Nussbaum's core capability of control over one's environment, which highlights the autonomy to exercise one's political choice.

When interviewing a Class E adult male tricycle driver from Bohol. He mentioned that while he is interested in politics, he does not feel he's opinion matters. For him, politicians are "like royalty and cannot be touched." He felt that if he is happy and can enjoy watching basketball with his friends, then "life is good enough;" he has no motivation to use Web 2.0 technologies to interact with government (personal communication, September, 26, 2015). This mindset presents a paradox which Nussbaum cites as "adaptive preference," where the preferences of the individuals in deprived circumstances are formed in response to their restricted opinions. By cultivating the capability of expression through strong political leadership as discussed in Section 5.3 page 87, this paradox can be reduced although Nussbaum herself does not view this as a barrier.

It was evident from the research that while citizens felt e-Participation can be empowering, it also left them vulnerable to the will of politicians. Some citizens felt threatened to express their opinions for fear of losing their job, while others were skeptical about its value – holding considerable distrust in government and to some degree in the technology itself. As suggested by Putnam, trust can be mitigated by providing citizens with a sense of connection or belonging (Putnam, 2000). Fostering the capability of expression could lead to an increase in social capital whereby enabling citizens to express their views more openly through e-Participation. Evidence of this was presented through the netnographic research. Additionally, the capability of expression can reduce the *tropo*'s control over information and their ability to establish barriers between different clusters. By accounting for these conditions, expression meets the criteria as a central capability.

7.1.3 Equality

The capability of *equality* means having equal opportunity and freedom to participate in the governance process which is closely linked to the previous capability of expression. It could be

argued that equality is a capability that is given to the individual by the State, but this author would argue against such a doctrine; instead taking the position that equality is a capability inherent to the individual based on feeling and freedoms – making it a very existential capability. For example, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in the United States ended segregation and discrimination based on ethnicity, national origin, race, religion or sex. Although the State provided the legal grounds for equality, disparities in the minds of individual Americans still exist today.

As the research showed, findings from the government sphere were mixed. While the ethnographic research revealed Web 2.0 technologies such as Facebook has leveled the playing field to some extent, providing citizens with an equal voice in the governance process, policies set at the national level are not always being implemented correctly at the local level.

The case of the Tech4ED center in Quezon City is a perfect example of how unintentional inequality can take place. While national policy dictates that Tech4Ed centers should be open to everyone, only students with IDs could utilize the center's services. This is an example of paper freedoms set at the national level not translating into real freedoms at the local level for citizens, also referred to as an individual's utilization function since this becomes a barrier to an individual's functioning as their choice or freedom to achieve value is reduced.

If facilitated properly, it is this author's belief that strong political leadership could reduce these barriers by encouraging e-Participation in the governance process among all socio-economic groups. Furthermore, policies regarding e-Government content as well as access to facilities could better support this capability among citizens. While equality is a somewhat subjective measurement, it meets the underlying criteria as a central capability; particularly when accounting for the social condition in which e-Participation takes place.

7.1.4 Knowledge Acquisition

The fourth capability, *knowledge acquisition* is the means to understand and access relevant information that will allow for socially inclusive governance. The capability of citizens to be able

to acquire knowledge through e-Participation is often dependent on the options they have available. As the findings showed from the technology sphere, e-Government programs like Tech4ED created language barriers that excluded citizens with a poor command of English. This barrier was reinforced by students in the round table sessions. Discoveries from the ethnographic research revealed that all three politicians overcame this barrier by communicating with constituents in their local language.

There is however a caveat to knowledge acquisition, as not all knowledge acquired through Web 2.0 technologies is accurate. The Tech4Ed program in the Philippines is arguably one of the best cases of telecenter deployment by government anywhere in the world with over one-hundred thousand registered users and 2,222 centers throughout the country. Unfortunately, the computer interface and applications used for interacting with government as well as livelihood training for citizens is all provided in English. While this bodes well for English speaking citizens, in a country with two official languages, nineteen regional languages and over one-hundred dialects, this creates a substantial barrier to knowledge acquisition.

The ethnographic research provided numerous examples of the importance of knowledge acquisition. Foremost, the politicians that were studied all used a mixture of English and Visayan, which is the local language of the region. By doing so, citizens could gain access to livelihood training, job opportunities and critical information during times of crisis like earthquakes and typhoons. Moreover, they could participate in the governance process and acquire knowledge on issues relevant to their livelihoods. Besides disseminating information solely through social media, all politicians studied integrated their web interaction with their traditional interaction. Encouraging citizens to visit their office, participate in various livelihood training, council meetings and *pulong-pulong*, which are formally arranged gatherings. Much of this encouragement came through the use of social media.

The Age of Information has changed the way citizens access information and news about government. As the research showed, traditional media outlets are being out paced by Web 2.0 technologies such as social media. Also evident from the research, citizens are more likely to

head online than drop by city hall or visit their local politicians. Finding from the ethnographic research exposed that local politicians spend a great deal of time promoting their agendas and policies through social media as it is a way of meeting the citizens where they are at, which as Statista revealed is on social media. Filipinos rank first in the world with an average of four hours and seventeen minutes per day spent on social media sites. While these findings support e-Democracy and social inclusion there is a drawback when it comes to knowledge acquisition. Whereas traditional media is subject to fact checking and provides more polished and professional content, social media is not held to the same standard. Traditional media relies on their reputation as a trusted source of information whereas social media has no such constraint. Derived from the research findings knowledge acquisition should include the freedom to acquire relevant information that has not been manipulated, something social media has a poor track record of ensuring. Similar to Alampay framework, knowledge acquisition meets the criteria as a central capability as it cultivates participation and potentially elevates one of the major barriers to socially inclusive governance.

This author interprets from the findings that knowledge acquisition in some cases is not yet available but in others is. Based on this actual situation, this author argues that this is a capability which might mark a difference between those who achieve value and others who do not. As previously mentioned, information can be empowering. By fostering knowledge acquisition, the *trapo* in Philippine politics will no longer be able to preserve his/her dominance over citizens.

7.1.5 Affiliation

The final capability affiliation is the ability to interact socially and have the freedom to assemble. It plays a strong role in e-Democracy as demonstrated by all three politicians who used Facebook to foster communities around certain causes important to them or policy discussions with their constituents. This created value for both the politicians as well as the citizens they served. Web 2.0 technologies also have a negative effect on affiliation. The transparency that Web 2.0 technologies like social media brings also allows for the ostracizing of individuals that do not

share the same views as the political parties in power. When examining e-Participation in the Philippine context, this is an environmental condition that is difficult to ignore.

Nussbaum includes affiliation in her list of central human capabilities; defining it as including various forms of social interaction, while protecting people's rights to political speech and the freedom to assemble. At a more intrinsic level she claims it entails provisions of non-discrimination, dignity, self-respect and non-humiliation (Nussbaum, 1999) – when accounting for the environmental conditions, the capability of affiliation refers more to the former rather than the latter definition. The latter applies more to the capability of equality previously just discussed.

Affiliation within the Philippine context can also create barriers, as was the case with political speech during election times. While public servants are not allowed to express their political views, it was easy to identify which party they belonged to. Affiliation became a barrier as political speech and the freedom to assemble were suppressed; more importantly there were negative repercussions for public servants that did not denounce their party and side with the party in power.

While social media can be used for adversarial purposes it can also be used to create virtual communities. The creation of virtual communities provides a strong case for the selection of affiliation as a central capability to e-Participation. Both Mayor Yap and Councilor Cabarrubias used Facebook to assist citizens during times of natural hazards such as Typhoon Yolanda, Ruby, and the Bohol earthquake. All three politicians studied used Facebook to promote a sense of ownership by citizens in various ordinances, proposals and plans whereby fostering e-Participation in the governance process.

Mayor Yap took an interesting approach by using folksonomy, which is a way of rallying citizens around a certain message or cause. Mayor Yap promoted the positive aspects of his administration by adding the hashtag *#AsensoPaMore*, which means more progress. Citizens found intrinsic value in being affiliated with the development going on in their community and also began using the hashtag as a symbol of pride.

Affiliation also provided citizens with the confidence to share their political views. The case of the noise ordinance proposed by Councilor Cabarrubias is an ideal example of the power of individuals to influence governance through e-Democracy. While the noise ordinance addressed an issue taking place in Cebu, it received backlash from citizens. A pattern in the comments was identified. Citizens that may not have been vocal felt they could speak since other like-minded individuals were commenting similar feelings as theirs. Salas identified this point in her paper on institutionalizing e-Participation, which was presented in Chapter 3.2 where she views citizen engagement forming according to common goals and shared values. Ultimately, the proposed ordinance was overturned.

The core set of capabilities presented in this dissertation are explicit and empirically defensible as a normative list within the Philippine context. It is the author's expectation that the list is also methodologically justified, exhaustive and non-redundant; moreover, the level of abstraction at which this list has been introduced conforms to the philosophical ideals of the capability approach as laid out by Robeyns, apart from her criterion for different levels of generality. While this list does not boost universality, it is open-ended and presents a normative set of capabilities that can be tailored to each country and used in cross-country comparisons. The next section elaborates on a contemporary concern related to socially inclusive governance known as adaptive preference; particularly as it relates to the environment in which e-Participation takes place.

7.2 Adaptive Preferences and the Governance Process

Sen (2006) in the principal 'space' of income when discussing inequality and poverty points out that "a relative deprivation in terms of income can, thus, lead to absolute deprivation in terms of capabilities" (p. 36). This foundational idea relates to several contemporary concerns, most notably the opposite effect of socially inclusive governance, that of 'social exclusion.' Never was this concern more evident than with the tricycle driver from Bohol introduced in the last section. While he would like to participate in e-Governance he feels politicians are like royalty. This

mindset prevents him from participating in the governance process even though the mayor of his city, Mayor Baba Yap is actively trying to promote e-Participation. Both utilitarians and capability theorists might agree that the relationship between citizens and politicians in the Philippines is rooted to some extent in this paradox.

John Stuart Mills in his book “The Subjection of Women” argues that men preserve their dominance over women by suppressing women’s preferences and desires – women internalize these feelings whereby becoming complacent (Mills, 1869, p. 15-16); in the Philippines, *trapo*’s have preserved their dominance over citizens in much the same way. Going back to the tricycle driver from Panglao, while he would like to be more politically active, his motivation is suppressed.

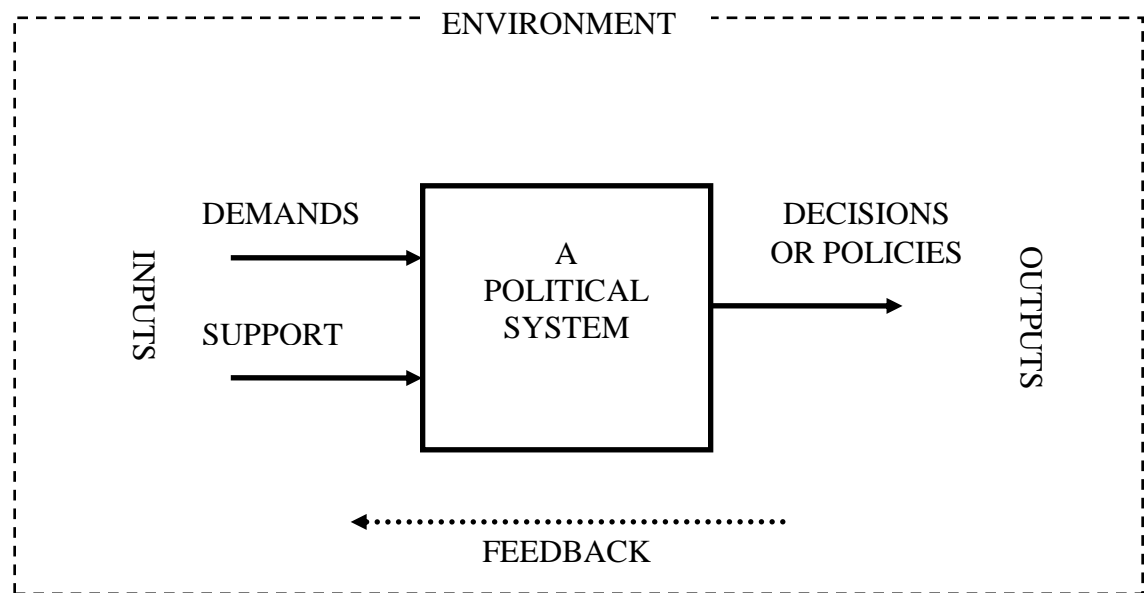
While adaptive preferences can carry a negative stigmatism, some argue they are outside the scope of policy deliberation. Nussbaum (2001) herself argues “we have failed to reach the grapes and we have shifted our preferences in keeping with that failure, judging that such lives are not for us. But clearly this is often a good thing, and we probably should not encourage people to persist in unrealistic aspirations” (p. 79).

For this reason, it becomes a challenge to appreciate the conditions affecting citizen’s capabilities to participate in the governance process. This provides justification for applying a non-consequentiality approach when building a framework for e-Participation. It also underscores the significance of utilizing an existential approach rather than the one presented by UNPAN – as taking a deliberative position of ensuring equal opportunity rather than taking a normative position of ensuring an adequate threshold would be quite unreasonable. The next section attempts to address the environmental conditions and preferences while establishing a new model for promoting e-Participation.

7.3 Redefining the Modality of E-Participation

With e-Governance research crossing a multitude of disciplines, establishing a model that can provide policy makers with a normative understanding of the conditions affecting citizen's capabilities to participate electronically can be a challenge.⁹² To find an appropriate model on which to build a new theory it may be necessary to look outside the field of e-Government. Here is where applying a systems theory model like Easton's may be appropriate; however it falls short as it neither accounts for the capabilities of individuals nor the dynamic environment in which e-Participation takes place. Easton finds it useful to distinguish the environment from the political system or settings in which it operates (Easton, 1957, p. 384). Nevertheless, there are components to the model that are instrumental to policy formulation. Figure 12 presents Easton's theory of a political system.

Figure 12: Easton's Political System



Source: *An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems*, Easton D., 1957, p. 384

⁹² Huang and Bwoma present a detailed account in their paper "An Overview of Critical Issues of E-government" where they illustrate that "numerous official guidelines and methodologies have been developed to assist government officials to implement e-government projects successfully. However, much has not been achieved due to institutional/operational, managerial, and policy planning barriers" (Huang and Bwoma, 2003, p.168~169).

Easton's diagram clearly sets a boundary around his political system. A boundary which Easton (1957) states is:

“The way in which a system works will be in part a function of its response to the total social, biological, and physical environment...every social action that does not partake of this characteristic will be excluded from the system” (p. 385).

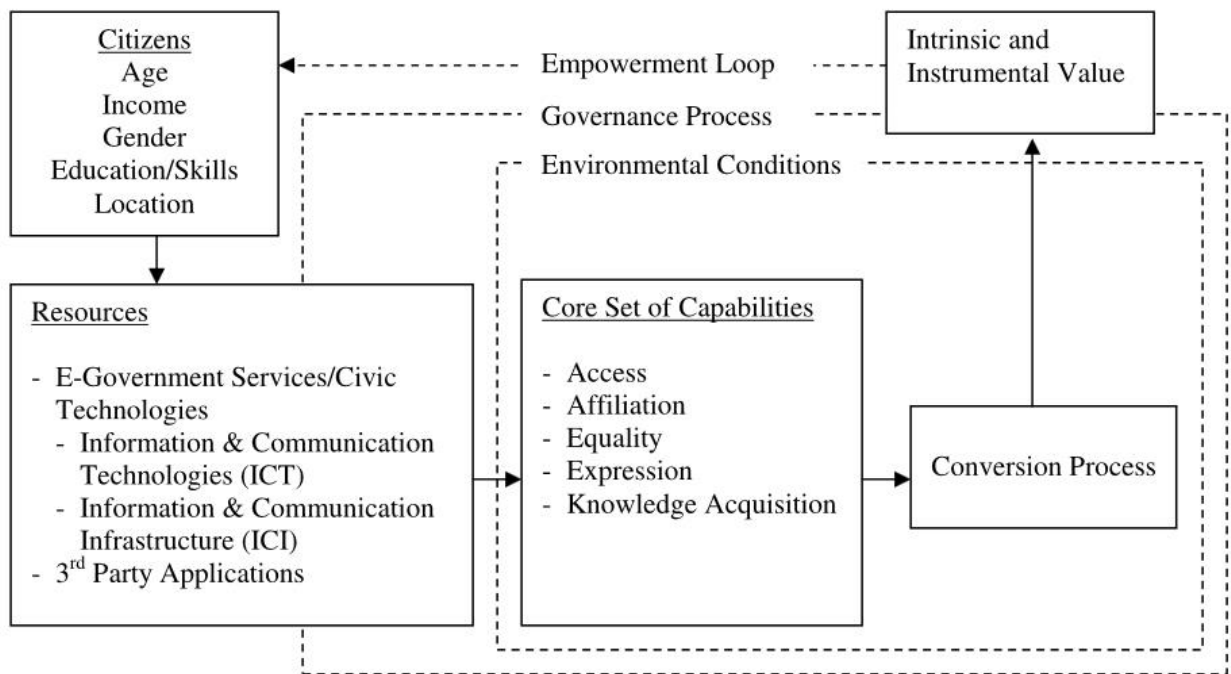
What makes Easton's model so significant is its simplicity and that it accounts for the demands of citizens that cannot be satisfied and provides a democratic process in which to create decisions or policies. It is one of the foundational models for participatory governance. Unfortunately, the environment is not accounted for until the output stage of the model. Only when the outputs are associated to the environment are outcomes generated, which in-turn can produce new supports and demands.

Where UNPAN's framework for inclusion falls short is in assuming that capabilities are purely defined as the access and opportunity to do things a person values most (UNPAN, 2005 p.112). While one of the major contributions of the framework is that it emphasizes reducing inequalities between citizens and draws attention to the individual rather than the technology, the framework too narrowly focuses on access without defining opportunity. By doing so, it neglects to consider what an individual values or has reason to value. Moreover, by centering attention on the capability of access as Alampay has done with his framework sustainability of e-Participation by citizens becomes vulnerable if e-Government services are taken away. The UNPAN framework pioneered Sen's capability approach for socially inclusive governance but has misinterpreted the philosophical foundation of his approach.

The Capabilities Approach Framework for e-Participation can be separated into five stages. It accounts individual differences by placing the individual ahead of the resources. Through these first two stages, the individual has the opportunity to utilize ICTs and ICI which includes e-Government services as well as civic technologies and third-party applications such as

social media to interact with government within the governance process. Whether e-Participation and e-Democracy takes place is dependent upon the citizen's capacity to employ the core set of capabilities listed in stage three. As the research findings showed, these capabilities can enhance citizen's opportunities to achieve value through e-Participation, intrinsic as well as instrumental. See Figure 13 for a complete illustration.

Figure 13: Capabilities Approach Framework for E-Participation



Source: Author

From a policy standpoint, the capability set is positioned inside the governance process. It resides there as a reminder for government and its actors to promote policies and programs that cultivate citizen's existential capabilities beyond the capability of access alone. While the findings show environmental conditions influence, and in some cases override paper freedoms, the government is still a vital facilitator in fostering the core set of capabilities.

Once citizens decide to participate in the governance process, the next stage influences citizens' ability to achieve valued functionings. This is called the 'conversion process' and where

real freedoms are distinguished from paper ones. As evident from the research, not all policies set at the national level are implemented locally that is why it is important for governments to support the conversion process. The conversion process itself is similar to Easton's political system or 'black box' where demands and supports are regarded as inputs but are instead converted into valued functionings for the Government and for the citizens they serve. This is accomplished through participatory governance, which in turn outputs ordinances and policies that are generated through e-Participatory activities. Unlike Easton's Systems Theory, the individual and the environment are symbiotically ingrained into the governance process. The environment in which e-Participation may flourish relies on each of the three spheres of e-Participation as well as the government system wherein democracy takes place, something that the UNPAN framework and the one presented by Alampy exclude. It is this author's position that this is one of the reasons why so many frameworks have failed to achieve socially inclusive governance as social and political conditions are absent from the frameworks. Through the conversion process, the final stage incorporates value, since without value neither the government nor the citizens they serve will retain interest in e-Participation.

As the findings showed, e-Participation created intrinsic value through public recognition by politicians, which in-turn generated social capital for the politicians. Aided by Web 2.0 technologies, citizens felt empowered as their voices were being heard on issues that directly affected them. This creates an indirect value, through reformative politics that establishes accountability on the part politician and a sense of community among citizens through the cultivation of capabilities described in stage three. Examples of instrumental value included support during times of natural hazards, the overturning of a purposed ordinance and informed access to resources such as job opportunities, educational assistance and medical assistance through social media interaction.

While the benefits of e-Participation have been well documented, it is unclear from the findings to what extent these benefits influence continued participation by citizens. The findings do support, a deepening of democracy taking place through the use of Web 2.0 technologies; however a direct linkage between achieved functionings and whether all citizens that take part in

e-Participation become empowered cannot be confirmed to a level that validates an empowerment loop. The findings merely support an indirect connection.

Although the modality of this framework is specific to the Philippines, the normative set of capabilities can be tailored to each country. The next logical step would be to do cross-country comparisons, which could ultimately lead to the operationalization of this approach or a more universal set of capabilities. To do so, it would be imperative to produce meta-rankings for each capability or some other form of evaluative measurement, which is outside the scope of this dissertation.⁹³

Returning to the framework itself, as a final component, the framework provides a feedback loop, much like Easton's approach. In this case, the feedback loop has an empowerment effect on the well-being of the citizen also known as the empowerment loop as described by Nath. This also reinforces the notion that the core set of capabilities should be sustainable. This more existential approach for promoting e-Participation and social inclusion in the governance process better reflects the capabilities necessary for citizens to have the opportunity to achieve value through the utilization of Web 2.0 technologies. This in turn provides value to citizens as well as to the government, whereby strengthening the state through a deepening of democracy. Furthermore, this framework may assist policy makers and practitioners looking to implement socially inclusive e-Government programs and initiatives.

⁹³ Sen in his book *Social Choice Re-examined* co-edited with Kenneth Arrow and Kotaro Suzumura states that meta-rankings "have the effect of making preferences more richly relevant" (Arrow, Sen, & Suzumura, 1996, p. 19). Providing them would also satisfy Robeyns' forth criteria for empirical application or public policy (Robeyns, 2003).

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION AND THE WAY FORWARD

This dissertation contends that current frameworks for e-Participation have been strong drivers for socially inclusive governance but have left many citizens out of the governance process. To overcome this paradigm it was this author's position that a core set of determinant or capabilities are necessary to better promote socially inclusive governance through e-Participation – arguing that social and political conditions must be considered when developing a framework for socially inclusive governance. By meeting these conditions, a core set of capabilities could be identified that can enhance citizens' opportunities to achieve value through e-Participation; whereby strengthening the State through a deepening of democracy.

Findings from the research revealed that the elite-dominated formal democracy that Quimpo warns about is being challenged by a new government system, with a new breed of politician that welcomes Web 2.0, eroding the traditional patron-client pyramid by allowing citizens to express themselves freely and form affiliations. Web 2.0 technologies such as Facebook have proven to be a strong civic technology for fostering e-Democracy through responsive, inclusive and representative decision making in the Philippines; such as the case with the noise ordinances in Cebu. This coincides with SDG Target 16.7. Transparency, accountability and civic engagement has also been positively affected by the influx of Web 2.0 technologies into the governance process as the ethnographic research showed – although transparency can have a negative effect on e-Participation when used maliciously by *trapo*, or traditional politicians to ostracize citizens and officials with opposing political principles. For those politicians that have adopted Web 2.0 technologies into their everyday politics, the conversion process which includes the environmental conditions in which governance is taking place becomes more lucid and the opportunities for citizens to achieve value through e-Participation become more apparent whereby providing support to Resolution A/RES/69/327.

By developing a framework that alters the emphasis of the policy and development discourse away from resources and on to the existential capabilities of individuals, it is this

author's expectation that social inclusive governance through e-Participation will be realized in a more sustainable manner. This argument for promoting e-Participation and social inclusion within the governance process will hopefully provide a framework that better reflects the capabilities affecting citizen's real opportunities to achieve value through e-Participation – empowering citizens and strengthening the state through socially inclusive governance. Furthermore, this framework may assist policy makers and practitioners looking to implement more responsive, inclusive and participatory e-Government initiatives and provide insight for developing an indicator to measure SDG Target 16.7.

The Economist who made the bold prediction that e-Government would be the next Internet revolution in the Age of Information left out the stimulus of Web 2.0 technologies that have ushered in a new Age, the Age of Empowerment. Web 2.0 technologies are providing government with the tools necessary to strengthen the state through a deepening of democracy and by the same token empowering citizens through participatory governance. As a tool, accounting for the environment in which e-Participation takes place is concurrently important. This environment is influenced by political as well as social factors. There needs to be a strong commitment by government actors and policies in place, that when implemented properly, promote real freedoms not just paper ones. By cultivating the capabilities of citizens to participate in the governance process, socially inclusive governance may take effect wherein accomplishing the goal set forth by the United Nations – which is all a reminder of the power of individuals to change the world.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A: Questionnaire/Survey – English Translation

Questionnaire on the topic of “E-Participation in the Governance Process”



The purpose of this questionnaire/survey is to explore the value **citizens** place in using current Information and Communication Technologies (**ICT**) such as mobile phones and social media to **communicate and interact with government**. This interaction is called ‘e-Participation’. Your responses will only be used for the purposes of this study.

Section 1: Background Information

- 1) Gender (please circle one): Male Female

- 2) Age (please check one):
() 15 ~ 21 () 22 ~ 34 () 35~ 54 () 55+

- 3) Which Region do you reside? (please circle one):
NCR 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

- 4) Education (please circle the level completed or currently working on):
No formally education Primary High School College/Vocational

- 5) Technical Literacy (please circle ALL that apply):
Text with mobile Use computer Internet user Access e-Government websites
Facebook account Twitter account YouTube account Skype Google+

- 6) As a household, what are your monthly expenditures on average?
Please circle one:
0 ~ 5,200php 5,201~ 16,000php 16,001~ 50,000php 50,000 ~ 150,000php

- 7) How long do you spend texting or accessing the Internet per day?
() Not at all () Less than 1 hour () 1~2 hours () 2~4 hours () 4+ hours

8) Is access to the internet available where you live?

Yes No

9) Is access to the Internet expensive? (please circle one):

Very expensive Expensive Average Not Expensive Cheap

Section 2: Information and Communication Technology (ICT)

10) Have you ever accessed your city's website or used their online services?

Yes No

- If **yes**, how many times have you accessed e-Government services?

Once 2~3 times 4~6 times 7~12 times More than 12 times

- If **no**, what has prevented you from interacting with local government using technologies (i.e. cell phones, computers)? **Please circle ALL that apply:**

not interested too difficult no access do not trust government inconvenient
government is ineffective no time do not expect a response

Your own answer:

11) What are the benefits of participating in the governance process? Circle ALL that apply:

save time save money more transparent empowerment inclusion accountability
having your voice heard respect better governance

Your own answer:

12) Have you ever used ICTs such as cell phones, smart phones or computers to contact your local government or local government officials?

Yes No

13) Social media and government websites provide me with easier access to government information than traditional methods?

() Strongly Agree () Agree () Neutral () Disagree () Strongly Disagree

14) My local government is providing me with the online information I need:

() Strongly Agree () Agree () Neutral () Disagree () Strongly Disagree

15) ICTs such as social media and SMS give me more power to express my views about government and the politicians that represent me?

() Strongly Agree () Agree () Neutral () Disagree () Strongly Disagree

16) I have equal access to information compared to other citizens?

() Strongly Agree () Agree () Neutral () Disagree () Strongly Disagree

17) Local politicians (mayor, city council, brgy captain, etc.) are doing a good job?

() Strongly Agree () Agree () Neutral () Disagree () Strongly Disagree

18) Local politicians misuse their power over information?

() Strongly Agree () Agree () Neutral () Disagree () Strongly Disagree

19) Which way would you prefer to access information on your local politicians?

(please circle one):

Go to their office Call their office Text message Newspaper Radio TV

Post a comment on their website/facebook page Talk with my friends or family

20) Which way do you access information about your local government? (please circle one):

Visit City Hall Make a phone call Newspaper Radio TV Text with my friends or family

Access the government's website/facebook account Talk with my friends or family

21) What is the most important factor when electing a candidate for the 2016 General Election? (Please circle one):

Honesty/Trust Generosity Accessibility Integrity Charisma Reliability

22) Do you plan to vote in the 2016 General Election?

() Yes () No

23) How have ICTs such as social media affected the power relationship between citizens and politicians over the past 10 years?

() No change () More Power to the Politicians () More power to the People

Why do you think that is:

24) Would laws be better if you could participate in creating them through the use of ICTs?

() Yes () No

25) By using ICTs such as SMS, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, etc. Do you think government can really improve the following? Circle ALL that apply:

Transparency Accountability Efficiency Access to information Empowering citizens

26) How would you prefer to interact with your local politicians? Circle the best answer:

Go to their office Call their office Text message them None of these answers

Post a comment on their website/facebook page There is no reason to talk to them

27) When voting for your local politician, what matters most? Circle the best answer:

Personally being/been helped Improving social welfare Improving the local economy

Improving transportation Improving ICT services Having your opinions heard

28) Do you write about political issues on social network sites like Facebook and Twitter?

() Yes () No

- If you answered no, why not? (please circle one):

I am afraid to write my opinion I think it would be useless to post my opinion

I'm not interested in politics

29) Where do you get your news information from? Circle the best answer:

Newspaper Blogs News posted on Facebook TV Radio Online News

30) Do you feel government resources should go to other public services, rather than to upgrading government websites and online services?

() Yes () No

Please feel free to provide any comments or suggestions:

merci salamatsalawat
谢谢 grazie thankYOU
σας ευχαριστούμε gracias



Questionnaire on the topic of “E-Participation in the Governance Process”



The purpose of this questionnaire/survey is to explore the value **citizens** place in using current Information and Communication Technologies (**ICT**) such as mobile phones and social media to **communicate and interact with government**. This interaction is called ‘e-Participation’. Your responses will only be used for the purposes of this study.

Section 1: Background Information

- 1) **Gender (please circle one):** Male Female
Gender (linggini ang usa) (Laki) (Babaye)

- 2) **Age (please check one):**
Edad (check ug usa)

() 15~21 () 22~34 () 35~54 () 55+

- 3) **Which Region do you reside? (please circle one):**
Asa nga rehiyon ka nga gapuyo?

NCR 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

- 4) **Education (please circle the level completed or currently working on):**
Edukasyon (linggini ug unsa nga level imong na human or imong gieskwelahan karon)

No formally education Primary High School College/Vocational
(walay promal edukasyon) Elementariya High School Kolehiyo/Vokasiyonal

- 5) **Technical Literacy (please circle ALL that apply):**
Teknikal nga Kamaohan (Linggini ang TANA nga pwede)

Text with mobile Use computer Internet user Access e-Government websites
Facebook account Twitter account YouTube account Skype Google+

- 6) **As a household, what are your monthly expenditures on average?**
Pila ang imong gastos sa Panimalay sa kada buwan?

Please circle one: *(Linggini ang usa)*

0 ~ 5,200php 5,201~ 16,000php 16,001~ 50,000php 50,000 ~ 150,000php

7) How long do you spend texting or accessing the Internet per day?

Unsa ka dugay ka mo gamit ug text o mo gamit sa internet sa kada adlaw?

Not at all Less than 1 hour 1~2 hours 2~4 hours 4+ hours

8) Is access to the internet available where you live?

Aduna bay internet sa imong lugar nga gipuy-an?

Yes No

9) Is access to the Internet expensive? (please circle one):

Mahal ba ang internet para nimo? (Linggini ang usa)

Very expensive
Mahal kaayo

Expensive
Mahal

Average
Sakto ra

Not Expensive
Dili Mahal

Cheap
Barato

Section 2: Information and Communication Technology (ICT)

10) Have you ever accessed your city's website or used their online services?

Makagamit ka ba sa website sa siyudad or mga serbisyo nga online ni-ini?

Yes No

- If **yes**, how many times have you accessed e-Government services?

Kung nakagamit, kapila nimo na gamit ang e-Government services?

Once 2~3 times 4~6 times 7~12 times More than 12 times

- If **no**, what has prevented you from interacting with local government using technologies (i.e. cell phones, computers)?

- Kung wala ka nakagamit, unsay babag nga magamit ang local nga gobyerno nga serbsiyong gamit ang teknolohiya?

Please circle ALL that apply: (Linggini ang tana nga pwede)

not interested
dili ko ganahan

to difficult
Lisod sabton

no access
walay access

do not trust government
Walay salig sa gobyerno

inconvenient
hasul

government is ineffective
dili epiktibo ang gobyerno

no time
walay oras

do not expect a response
wala magdahom ug unsay tubag

Your own answer:
Imong tubag:

- 11) **What are the benefits of participating in the governance process? Circle ALL that apply:**
 Unsa ang mga benepisyo sa pag-apil sa sa pagdumala sa proseso

<u>save time</u> <i>daginot sa oras</i>	<u>save money</u> <i>daginot sa quarta</i>	<u>more transparent</u> <i>mas klaro</i>	<u>empowerment</u> <i>pagtugot</i>	<u>inclusion</u> <i>apil</i>
<u>accountability</u> <i>tulubagon</i>	<u>having your voice heard</u> <i>madunggan imong tingog</i>	<u>respect</u> <i>respeto</i>	<u>better governance</u> <i>maayong pagdumala</i>	

Your own answer:
Imong tubag

- 12) **Have you ever used ICTs such as cell phones, smart phones or computers to contact your local government or local government officials?**
Nakagamit ka ba ug cellphone, smart phone o computer sa pagkontak sa imong lokal nga gobyerno o sa lokal nga mga opisyal sa gobyerno?

() Yes () No

- 13) **Social media and government websites provide me with easier access to government information than traditional methods?**
Social media ug sa gobyerno naka hatag og websites kanako ug mas sayon nga access sa impormasyon sa gobyerno kay sa tradisyonal nga mga pamaagi?

() Strongly Agree () Agree () Neutral () Disagree () Strongly Disagree
Hugot nga mouyon uyon neyutral dili uyon hugot dili uyon

- 14) **My local government is providing me with the online information I need:**
Akong lokal nga gobyerno sa paghatag kanako sa online nga impormasyon nga akong gikinahanglan:

() Strongly Agree () Agree () Neutral () Disagree () Strongly Disagree
Hugot nga mouyon uyon neyutral dili uyon hugot dili uyon

- 15) **ICTs such as social media and SMS give me more power to express my views about government and the politicians that represent me?**
ICTs sama sa social media ug sa SMS sa paghatag kanako sa gahum sa pagpahayag sa akong mga panglantaw mahitungod sa gobyerno ug sa mga politiko nga nagrepresentar kanako

() Strongly Agree () Agree () Neutral () Disagree () Strongly Disagree
Hugot nga mouyon uyon neyutral dili uyon hugot dili uyon

16) I have equal access to information compared to other citizens?

Ako adunay parihas nga access sa impormasyon nga itandi sa ubang?

- () Strongly Agree () Agree () Neutral () Disagree () Strongly Disagree
Hugot nga mouyon uyon neyutral dili uyon hugot dili uyon

17) Local politicians (mayor, city council, brgy captain, etc.) are doing a good job?

Lokal nga mga politiko (mayor, konseho, barangay kapitan, ug uban pa) nagbuhat ug maayo nga trabaho?

- () Strongly Agree () Agree () Neutral () Disagree () Strongly Disagree
Hugot nga mouyon uyon neyutral dili uyon hugot dili uyon

18) Local politicians misuse their power over information?

Ang lokal nga mga politiko-abuso sa ilang gahum ibabaw sa mga impormasyon?

- () Strongly Agree () Agree () Neutral () Disagree () Strongly Disagree
Hugot nga mouyon uyon neyutral dili uyon hugot dili uyon

19) Which way would you prefer to access information on your local politicians?

(please circle one):

Sa unsang pamaagi nga imong gusto sa pag-access sa impormasyon sa imong mga lokal nga politiko? (palihug linginan ug usa):

Go to their office

Call their office

Text message

Newspaper

Radio

Adto sa ilang opisina

Tawag sa opisina

Text

Newspaper

Radyo

TV

Post a comment on their website/facebook page

Talk with my friends or family

TV

Komenta sa ilang website/facebook page

Istorya sa kaila o pamilya

20) Which way do you access information about your local government? (please circle one):

Sa unsang pamaagi nimo pag-access ug impormasyon sa imong lokal nga gobyerno? (palihug linginan ug usa)

Visit City Hall

Make a phone call

Newspaper

Radio

TV

Bisita sa City Hall

Tawag sa Telepono

Newspaper

Radyo

TV

Text with my friends or family

Access the government's website/facebook account

Text sa kaila o pamilya

Access sa government website/facebook account

Talk with my friends or family

Instorya sa kaila o pamilya

21) What is the most important factor when electing a candidate for the 2016 General Election? (Please circle one):

Unsa ang labing importante nga butang sa diha nga ang pagpili sa usa ka kandidato alang sa 2016 General Election? (Palihug linginan usa:

Honesty/Trust Generosity Accessibility Integrity Charisma Reliability
Matinuoron/Pagsalig Mahinatagon Maduolan Integridad Karisma kasaligan

22) Do you plan to vote in the 2016 General Election?

Plano ka ba mobotar sa 2016 General Election?

() Yes () No

23) How have ICTs such as social media affected the power relationship between citizens and politicians over the past 10 years?

Pila ka ICT sama sa social media naka apektar sa relasyon sa gahum sa mga tao ug politiko sa niagi nga lapas 10 ka tuig?

() No change () More Power to the Politicians () More power to the People
Walay nausab masdako nga gahum sa politico mas dako nga gahum sa mga tao

Why do you think that is: (usay imong huna-huna niini)

24) Would laws be better if you could participate in creating them using ICTs?

Mas mayo baa ng paghimo sa mga balaud sa pagapil gamit ang ICT?

() Yes () No

25) By using ICTs such as SMS, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, etc. Do you think government can really improve the following? Circle ALL that apply:

Sa gamit sa ICT sama sa SMS, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, ug uban pa. Motuo ka ba nga ang gobyerno masmomaayo niining sumusunod? (Lingini ang tana pwede):

Transparency Accountability Efficiency Access to information Empowering citizens
Mas Kaklaro Tulubagon Mas maayo Access sa impormasyon Pagtugot sa katawhan

26) How would you prefer to interact with your local politicians? Circle the best answer:

Unsay gusto nimo nga pamaagi makiginteraksyon sa imong local nga politico? Lingini ang pinaka mayo nga tubag)

Go to their office Call their office Text message them None of these answers
Adto sa opisina Tawag sa opisina Text nila Wala niini tanan

Post a comment on their website/facebook page There is no reason to talk to them
Komento sa ilang website/facebook page Walay rason makigistorya nila

27) **When voting for your local politician, what matters most? Circle the best answer:**
Igbutar ug lokal nga politico, unsay mas importante nimo? Lingini ang pikana maayo nga tubag:

<u>Personally being/been helped</u> <u>Matabangnan ug personal</u>	<u>Improving social welfare</u> <u>Masmaayo nga social welfare</u>	<u>Improving the local economy</u> <u>Maayol nga ekonomiya</u>
<u>Improving Transportation</u> <u>Maayo nga Transportasyon</u>	<u>Improving ICT services</u> <u>Maayo nga ICT services</u>	<u>Having your opinions heard</u> <u>Nadugan imong opinyon</u>

28) **Do you write about political issues on social network sites like Facebook and Twitter?**
Mosulat ka ba ug isyu nga political sa social network sama sa Facebook ug Twitter?

() Yes () No

- If you answered **no**, why not? (**please circle one**):
- kung ang tubag nimo kay dili, ngano? (linggini ang usa)

I am afraid to write my opinion
Mahadlok ko mosulat sa akong opinion

I think it would be useless to post my opinion
Walay gamit ang akong opinyon sa post

I'm not interested in politics
Wala akoy enteres sa politika

Only one more page :D →

29) **Where do you get your news information from? Circle the best answer:**
Asa man ka mokuha sa imong impoymasyon sa balita? Linggini ang pinakamaayo nga tubag:

Newspaper Blogs News posted on Facebook TV Radio Online News

30) **Do you feel government resources should go to more important services, rather than to upgrading government websites and online services?**
Sa imong opinyon, mas maayo ba padulong ang serbisyo sa gobyerno sa mas importante nga mga serbisyo kay sa magpamaayo sa government website ug online services?

() Yes () No

Please feel free to provide any comments or suggestions:
Palihug ug hatag ug dugang komento or suhestiyon:

merc **salamat** ありがとう
谢谢 grazie **thankYOU**
σας ευχαριστούμε gracias



Questionnaire on the topic of “E-Participation in the Governance Process”



layunin ng survey na ito ay upang alamin/pag-aralan ang halaga na ibinibigay ng **mamamayan** sa paggamit ng **ICT** tulad ng mobile phones at social media sa **pagkomunika at pakikipag-ugnayan sa gobyerno**. Ang pakikipag-ugnayan na ito ay tinatawag na “e-participation.” Kayo ay nakasisiguro na ang inyong mga sagot ay gagamitin lamang sa pag-aaral na ito.

Section 1: Background Information

- 1) **Gender (please circle one):** Male Female
Kasarian (Pakibilugan ang sagot): *Lalaki* *Babae*

- 2) **Age (please check one): *Edad/Gulang (Pakimarkahan ang sagot)***
() 15 ~ 21 () 22 ~ 34 () 35~ 54 () 55+

- 3) **Which Region do you reside? (please circle one):**
Saang rehiyon ka naninirahan? (Isa lamang ang bilugan):
NCR 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

- 4) **Education (please circle the level completed or currently working on):**
Antas ng Pinagalaran/Natapos (Pakibilugan ang sagot)
No formally education Primary High School College/Vocational
Walang pormal na edukasyon *Mababang Paaralan* *Mataas na Paaralan* *Kolehiyo/Vocational*

- 5) **Technical Literacy (please circle ALL that apply):**
Kaalaman/Karunungan Teknikal (Pakibilugan ang lahat ng naangkop)
Text with mobile Use computer Internet user Access e-Government websites
Facebook account Twitter account YouTube account Skype Google+

- 6) **As a household, what are your monthly expenditures on average? Please circle one:**
Magkano ang buwanang gastos ng inyong pamilya? (Isa lamang ang bilugan):
0 ~ 5,200php 5,201~ 16,000php 16,001~ 50,000php 50,000 ~ 150,000php

7) How long do you spend texting or accessing the Internet per day?

Sa iyong palagay, ilang oras ang iyong ginugugol sa pag-text at sa paggamit ng internet sa loob ng isang araw?

() Not at all () Less than 1 hour () 1~2 hours () 2~4 hours () 4+ hours
Hindi gumagamit Kulang sa isang oras 1-2 oras 2-4 oras Mahigit 4 na oras

8) Is access to the internet available where you live?

Kayo ba ay may internet sa inyong lugar/tahanan/tirahan?

() Yes/ Oo () No/ Wala

9) Is access to the Internet expensive? (please circle one):

Gaano kamahal ang internet sa inyong lugar? (Isa lamang ang bilugan):

Very expensive Expensive Average Not Expensive Cheap
Napakamahal Mahal Katamtaman Hindi Mahal Mura

Section 2: Information and Communication Technology (ICT)

10) Have you ever accessed your city's website or used their online services?

Nagagamit ba ninyo ang website ng inyong pamahalaang lungsod?

() Yes / Oo () No / Hindi

- If **yes**, how many times have you accessed e-Government services?

- *Kung oo, ay ilang beses kayong nakagamit?*

() Once () 2~3 times () 4~6 times () 7~12 times () More than 12 times
Isang beses 2-3 beses 4-6 beses 7-12 beses Mahigit 12 beses

- If **no**, what has prevented you from interacting with local government using technologies (i.e. cell phones, computers)? **Please circle ALL that apply:**

- *Kung hindi, ano ang naging balakid o dahilan ng hindi ninyo paggamit?*

(Pakibilugan ang lahat ng naangkop):

not interested too difficult no access do not trust government
Hindi interesado Nahihirapan gamitin Walang access Walang tiwala sa gobyerno

Inconvenient government is ineffective no time do not expect a response
Isang kaabalahan Hindi epektibo ang gobyerno walang oras Hindi umaasang may sasagot

Your own answer:

Iba pang kasagutan:

- 11) What are the benefits of participating in the governance process? Circle ALL that apply:**
Anu-ano ang pakinabang o benepisyo ng paglahok sa “governance process?” (Pakibilugan lahat ng naaangkop):

Saves time
Nakakatipid sa oras

Saves money
Nakakatipid sa pera

More transparent
Mas alam kung ano ang nangyayari

Empowerment
Mas nagbibigay kapangyarihan sa tao

Inclusion
Mas nakakasali ang tao

Respect
Nagkakaroon ng dignidad ang tao

Having your voice heard
Naririnig ang boses ng tao

Accountability
Nagkakaroon ng pananagutan

Better governance
Nagkakaroon ng maayos na pamamahala

Your own answer:
Iba pang kasagutan

- 12) Have you ever used ICTs such as cell phones, smart phones or computers to contact your local government or local government officials?**
Kayo ba ay minsan ng nakagamit ng ICTs tulad ng cellphones, smartphones o computers para kontakin ang inyong lokal na pamahalaan o lokal na opisyal.

() Yes / Oo () No / Hindi

- 13) Social media and government websites provide me with easier access to government information than traditional methods?**

Ang social media at government websites ay nagbibigay sa akin ng mas madaling paraan ng pagkalap ng impormasyon kaysa sa tradisyunal na pamamaraan.

() Strongly Agree () Agree () Neutral () Disagree () Strongly Disagree
Matinding pagsangayon Sumasangayon Walang pakialam Hindi sumasangayon Matindi ang Hindi Pagsang-ayon

- 14) My local government is providing me with the online information I need:**
Ang aming lokal na pamahalaan ay nagbibigay ng mga kinakailangan kong online information.

() Strongly Agree () Agree () Neutral () Disagree () Strongly Disagree
Matinding pagsangayon Sumasangayon Walang pakialam Hindi sumasangayon Matindi ang Hindi Pagsang-ayon

- 15) ICTs such as social media and SMS give me more power to express my views about government and the politicians that represent me?**
Ang ICT tulad ng social media at SMS ay mas may kapangyarihang iparating ang aking mga saloobin ukol sa pamahalaan at mga politiko.

() Strongly Agree () Agree () Neutral () Disagree () Strongly Disagree
Matinding pagsangayon Sumasangayon Walang pakialam Hindi sumasangayon Matindi ang Hindi Pagsang-ayon

16) I have equal access to information compared to other citizens?
Mayroon akong pantay na access sa impormasyon kumpara sa ibang tao.

() Strongly Agree () Agree () Neutral () Disagree () Strongly Disagree
Matinding pagsangayon Sumasangayon Walang pakialam Hindi sumasangayon Matindi ang Hindi Pagsang-ayon

17) Local politicians (mayor, city council, brgy captain, etc.) are doing a good job?
Mabuti ba ang serbisyo na ibinibigay ng lokal na pamahalaan?

() Strongly Agree () Agree () Neutral () Disagree () Strongly Disagree
Matinding pagsangayon Sumasangayon Walang pakialam Hindi sumasangayon Matindi ang Hindi Pagsang-ayon

18) Local politicians misuse their power over information?
Ang aming lokal na pamahaalan ay inaabuso ang kanilang kapangyarihan sa paghatid ng impormasyon.

() Strongly Agree () Agree () Neutral () Disagree () Strongly Disagree
Matinding pagsangayon Sumasangayon Walang pakialam Hindi sumasangayon Matindi ang Hindi Pagsang-ayon

19) Which way would you prefer to access information on your local politicians? (please circle one):

Sa aling paraan mo mas nais makakuha ng impormasyon tungkol sa inyong mga lokal na politiko. (Isa lamang ang bilugan)

Go to their office Call their office
Sa pagpunta sa kanilang opisina/tanggapan Sa pagtawag sa kanilang opisina/tanggapan

Text message Newspaper Radio
Sa text message Sa pahayagan Sa radyo

TV Post a comment on their website/facebook page
Sa telebisyon Sa paglagay ng komento sa kanilang website/facebook page

Talk with my friends or family
Sa pakikipag-usap sa kaibigan/pamilya

20) Which way do you access information about your local government? (please circle one):
Sa aling paraan ka nakakakuha ng impormasyon ukol sa inyong lokal na pamahalaan. (Isa lamang ang bilugan):

Visit City Hall Make a phone call Newspaper Radio

Sa pagpunta sa city hall Sa pagtawag Sa pahayagan Sa radio
TV Text with my friends or family Talk with my friends or family
 Sa telebisyon Sa pagtext sa kaibigan at pamilya Sa pakikipagusap sa kaibigan o pamilya
Access the government's website/facebook account
 Sa pag-access/pagtingin sa government website/facebook account

21) What is the most important factor when electing a candidate for the 2016 General Election? (Please circle one):

Ano ang pinakamahalagang katangian na iyong hinahanap sa paghalal sa mga kandidato sa darating na 2016 General Election. (Isa lamang ang bilugan):

Honesty/Trust Generosity Accessibility Integrity
Matapat Mapagbigay Madaling Lapitan May Integridad/Katapatang Loob
Charisma Reliability
May Charisma Maasahan

22) Do you plan to vote in the 2016 General Election?

Kayo ba ay boboto sa darating na 2016 General Election?

() Yes /Oo () No /Hindi

23) How have ICTs such as social media affected the power relationship between citizens and politicians over the past 10 years?

Sa iyong palagay, paano nakaapekto/nakaimpluwesya ang social media sa "power relationship"/relasyon ng mamayan at mga politiko sa loob ng nakaraang 10 taon?

() No change () More Power to the Politicians
Walang pagbabago Dahil sa social media mas nagkaroon ng kapangyarihan ang mga politico

() More power to the People
Dahil sa social media mas nagkaroon ng kapangyarihan ang mga tao

Why do you think that is: *Bakit sa iyong palagay?*

24) Would laws be better if you could participate in creating them through the use of ICTs?

Sa iyong palagay, ang mga batas ba ay mas maayos o mas epektibo kung kayo ay kasama sa pagbuo nito sa pamamagitan ng ICT?

() Yes/ Oo () No/ Hindi

- 25) **By using ICTs such as SMS, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, etc. Do you think government can really improve the following? Circle ALL that apply:**

Sa iyong palagay, sa pamamagitan ba ng paggamit ng ICT tulad ng SMS, Facebook, Twitter, Youtube ay mas napapabuti ng gobyerno ang mga sumusunod:

Transparency

Kalinawan sa ginagawa ng gobyerno

Accountability

Pananagutan ng gobyerno

Efficiency

Kahasayan

Access to information

Pagkalap sa impormasyon

Empowering citizens

Pagbibigay kapangyarihan sa tao

- 26) **How would you prefer to interact with your local politicians? Circle the best answer:**

Sa anong paraan mo nais makipag-ugnayan sa mga lokal na politiko? Bilugan ang pinakaangkop na sagot:

Go to their office

Sa pagpunta sa kanilang opisina/tanggapan

Call their office

Sa pagtawag sa kanilang opisina/tanggapan

Text message them

Sa pag-text sa kanila

None of these answers

Wala sa mga pagpipilian ang sagot

Post a comment on their website/facebook page

Sa paglagay ng komento sa kanilang website/Facebook

There is no reason to talk to them

Walang dahilan para makipag-ugnayan sa kanila

- 27) **When voting for your local politician, what matters most? Circle the best answer:**

Sa iyong pagboto, ano ang iyong isinasaalang-alang? Bilugan ang pinakaangkop na sagot:

Personally being/been helped

Personal kayong natutulungan

Improving social welfare

Pinapabuti ang panlipunang kapakanan

Improving the local economy

Pinapalakas ang lokal na ekonomiya

Improving transportation

Pinapabuti ang transportasyon

Improving ICT services

Pinapabuti ang mga ICT Services

Having your opinions heard

Ang inyong mga saloobin ay pinapakinggan

- 28) **Do you write about political issues on social network sites like Facebook and Twitter?**

Kayo ba ay nagsusulat o nagbibigay ng inyong mga saloobin ukol sa mga "political issues" sa mga "social network sites" tulad ng Facebook at Twitter?

() Yes/ Oo () No/ Hindi

- If you answered **no**, why not? **(please circle one):**

- Kung **hindi**, ay bakit?(Isa lamang ang bilugan):

I am afraid to write my opinion
Ako ay takot magbigay ng opinyon

I think it would be useless to post my opinion
Walang saysay/silbi ang magbigay ng opinyon

I'm not interested in politics
Hindi ako interesado sa politika

- 29) Where do you get your news information from? Circle the best answer:**
Saan ka nakakakalap ng balita? Bilugan ang pinakaangkop na sagot:

Newspaper
Sa pahayagan

Blogs
Sa blogs

News posted on Facebook
Sa mga balita sa Facebook

TV
Sa telebisyon

Radio
Sa radyo

Online News
Sa Online news

- 30) Do you feel government resources should go to other public services, rather than to upgrading government websites and online services?**

Sa iyong palagay, ang yaman ba ng pamahalaan ay dapat mapunta sa ibang mahahalagang serbisyo at hindi sa pagsasa-ayos ng mga "government websites" at "online services"?

() Yes / Oo

() No / Hindi

Please feel free to provide any comments or suggestions:

Maging malaya na paglahad ng inyong saloobin:

merci **salamat** ありがとう
谢谢 grazie **thankYOU**
σας ευχαριστούμε gracias



Appendix D: Sample of Raw Survey Data on E-Participation

ID	Country	Gender	Age	Region	Education	Marital Status	Household Income	Internet Access	Computer Use	Access Frequency		E-participation		E-government		E-health		E-learning		E-commerce		E-social		E-security		E-privacy		E-trust		E-acceptance		E-use			
										Frequency	Duration	Frequency	Duration	Frequency	Duration	Frequency	Duration	Frequency	Duration	Frequency	Duration	Frequency	Duration	Frequency	Duration	Frequency	Duration	Frequency	Duration	Frequency	Duration	Frequency	Duration	Frequency	Duration
1	USA	M	35	North	High School	Married	\$15,000	Yes	Yes	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min		
2	USA	F	45	South	College	Single	\$25,000	Yes	Yes	3-4 times/week	15-30 min	3-4 times/week	15-30 min	3-4 times/week	15-30 min	3-4 times/week	15-30 min	3-4 times/week	15-30 min	3-4 times/week	15-30 min	3-4 times/week	15-30 min	3-4 times/week	15-30 min	3-4 times/week	15-30 min	3-4 times/week	15-30 min	3-4 times/week	15-30 min	3-4 times/week	15-30 min		
3	USA	M	25	West	High School	Married	\$10,000	Yes	Yes	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min		
4	USA	F	55	Midwest	College	Married	\$30,000	Yes	Yes	3-4 times/week	15-30 min	3-4 times/week	15-30 min	3-4 times/week	15-30 min	3-4 times/week	15-30 min	3-4 times/week	15-30 min	3-4 times/week	15-30 min	3-4 times/week	15-30 min	3-4 times/week	15-30 min	3-4 times/week	15-30 min	3-4 times/week	15-30 min	3-4 times/week	15-30 min	3-4 times/week	15-30 min	3-4 times/week	15-30 min
5	USA	M	30	South	High School	Single	\$12,000	Yes	Yes	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min	1-2 times/week	30-60 min

Appendix E: Sample Population by Regional Designation

Region	Regional Designation	Island Group	Number of Respondents
National Capital Region	NCR	Luzon	221
Ilocos Region	Region 1	Luzon	5
Cagayan Valley	Region 2	Luzon	5
Central Luzon	Region 3	Luzon	14
CALABARZON	Region 4	Luzon	33
Bicol Region	Region 5	Luzon	3
Western Visayas	Region 6	Visayas	4
Central Visayas	Region 7	Visayas	157
Eastern Visayas	Region 8	Visayas	4
Zamboanga Peninsula	Region 9	Mindanao	3
Northern Mindanao	Region 10	Mindanao	4
Davao Region	Region 11	Mindanao	0
SOCCSKSARGEN	Region 12	Mindanao	1
Caraga Region	Region 13	Mindanao	2
Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao	ARMM	Mindanao	1

Appendix F: Code Book for Raw Survey Data on E-Participation

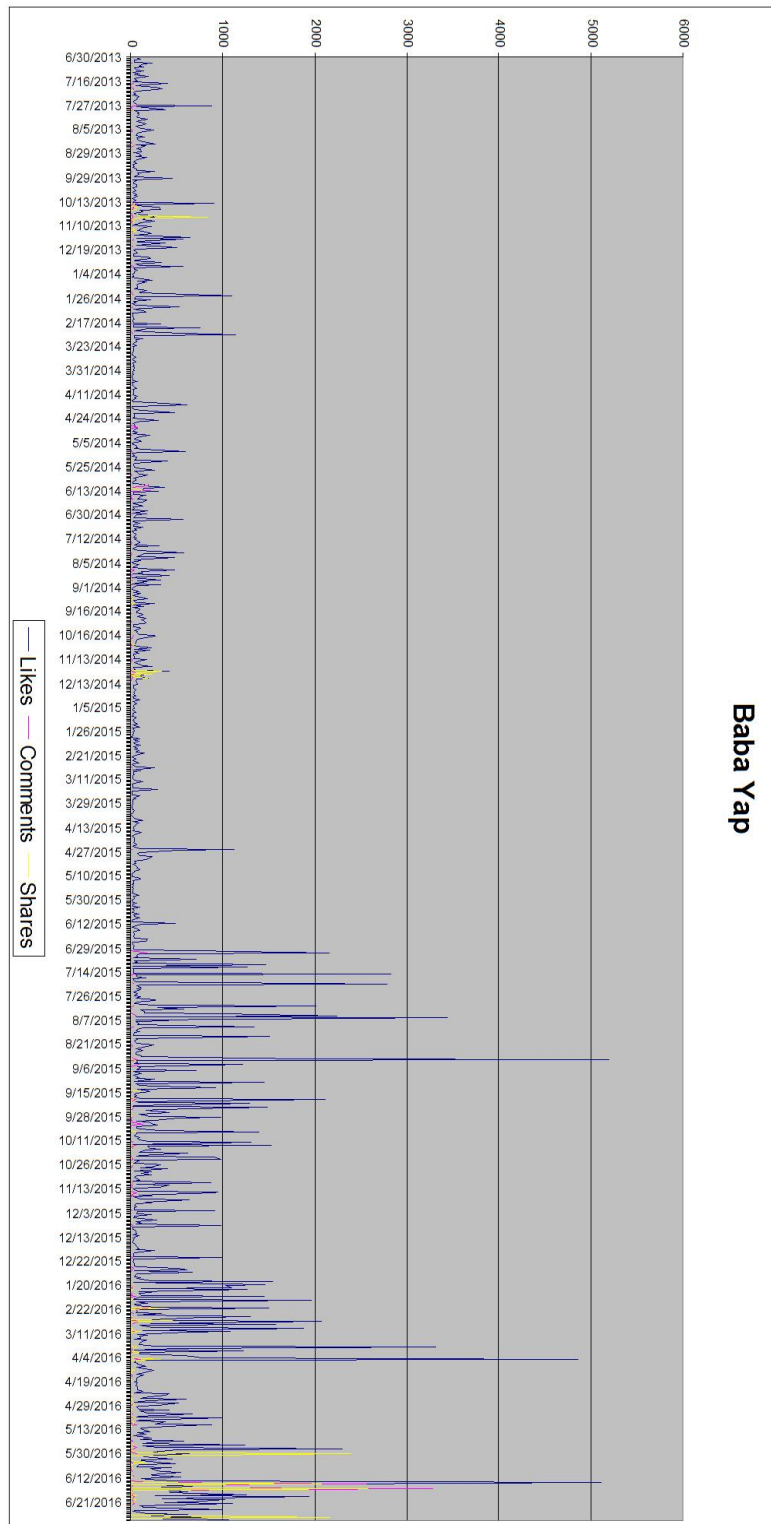
	Name	Type	Width	Decimals	Label	Values	Missing	Measure
1	q1	Numeric	8	0	Gender	{1, Male}...	None	Nominal
2	q2	Numeric	8	0	Age	{1, 15-21}...	None	Nominal
3	q3	Numeric	8	0	Region	None	None	Nominal
4	q4	Numeric	8	0	Education Level	{1, No Formal Education}...	None	Nominal
5	q5a	Numeric	8	0	Text with Mobile	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
6	q5b	Numeric	8	0	Use Computer	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
7	q5c	Numeric	8	0	Internet User	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
8	q5d	Numeric	8	0	Access e-Gov Websites	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
9	q5e	Numeric	8	0	Facebook User	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
10	q5f	Numeric	8	0	Twitter User	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
11	q5g	Numeric	8	0	YouTube User	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
12	q5h	Numeric	8	0	Skype User	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
13	q5i	Numeric	8	0	Google+ User	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
14	q6	Numeric	8	0	Income	{1, 0-5200}...	None	Ordinal
15	q7	Numeric	8	0	Internet Usage Per Day	{1, Not at all}...	None	Nominal
16	q8	Numeric	8	0	Internet Availability	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
17	q9	Numeric	8	0	Cost of Internet	{1, Very Expensive}...	None	Nominal
18	q10	Numeric	8	0	E-Gov Service Usage	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
19	q10a	Numeric	8	0	Frequency of E-Gov Usage	{1, Once}...	None	Ordinal
20	q10db1	Numeric	8	0	Not Interested	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
21	q10db2	Numeric	8	0	Too Difficult	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
22	q10db3	Numeric	8	0	No Access	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
23	q10db4	Numeric	8	0	Do Not Trust Government	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
24	q10db5	Numeric	8	0	Inconvenient	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
25	q10db6	Numeric	8	0	Government is Ineffective	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
26	q10db7	Numeric	8	0	No Time	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
27	q10db8	Numeric	8	0	Do Not Expect a Response	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
28	q11a	Numeric	8	0	Save Time	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
29	q11b	Numeric	8	0	Save Money	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
30	q11c	Numeric	8	0	More Transparent	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
31	q11d	Numeric	8	0	Empowerment	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
32	q11e	Numeric	8	0	Inclusion	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
33	q11f	Numeric	8	0	Accountability	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
34	q11g	Numeric	8	0	Having Your Voice Heard	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
35	q11h	Numeric	8	0	Respect	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
36	q11i	Numeric	8	0	Better Governance	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
37	q12	Numeric	8	0	Political Interaction	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
38	q13	Numeric	8	0	Web2.0 Over Traditional Media	{1, Strongly Agree}...	None	Ordinal
39	q14	Numeric	8	0	Relevance of Information	{1, Strongly Agree}...	None	Ordinal
40	q15	Numeric	8	0	Ability to Express Views	{1, Strongly Agree}...	None	Ordinal
41	q16	Numeric	8	0	Equality of Access	{1, Strongly Agree}...	None	Ordinal
42	q17	Numeric	8	0	Local Politician's Competence	{1, Strongly Agree}...	None	Ordinal
43	q18	Numeric	8	0	Misuse of Power	{1, Strongly Agree}...	None	Ordinal
44	q19	Numeric	8	0	Information Access on Local Politicians	{1, Go to Their Office}...	None	Nominal
45	q20	Numeric	8	0	Information Access on Local Government	{1, Visit City Hall}...	None	Nominal
46	q21	Numeric	8	0	Politician's Character	{1, Honesty/Trust}...	None	Nominal
47	q22	Numeric	8	0	Voting in 2016 General Election	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
48	q23	Numeric	8	0	Web2.0 Influence on Power Relations	{1, More Power to the Politicians}...	None	Ordinal
49	q24	Numeric	8	0	Does e-Democracy Improve Governance	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
50	q25a	Numeric	8	0	Improve Transparency	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
51	q25b	Numeric	8	0	Improve Accountability	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
52	q25c	Numeric	8	0	Improve Efficiency	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
53	q25d	Numeric	8	0	Improve Access to Information	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
54	q25e	Numeric	8	0	Empower Citizens	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
55	q26	Numeric	8	0	Preferred Way to Interact w/ Local Politicians	{1, Go to Their Office}...	None	Nominal
56	q27	Numeric	8	0	Importance of Politician's Political Platform	{1, Personally Being Helped}...	None	Nominal
57	q28	Numeric	8	0	Do You Write About Political Issues on Social Media	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
58	q28a	Numeric	8	0	I am Afraid to Write My Opinion	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
59	q28b	Numeric	8	0	I Think it would be Useless to Post My Opinion	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
60	q28c	Numeric	8	0	I'm not Interested in Politics	{0, No}...	None	Nominal
61	q29	Numeric	8	0	Where Do You Get Your Information	{1, Newspaper}...	None	Nominal
62	q30	Numeric	8	0	Should Government Shift Resources Away from E-Governance	{0, No}...	None	Nominal

Appendix G: Summary of Raw Survey Data on E-Participation

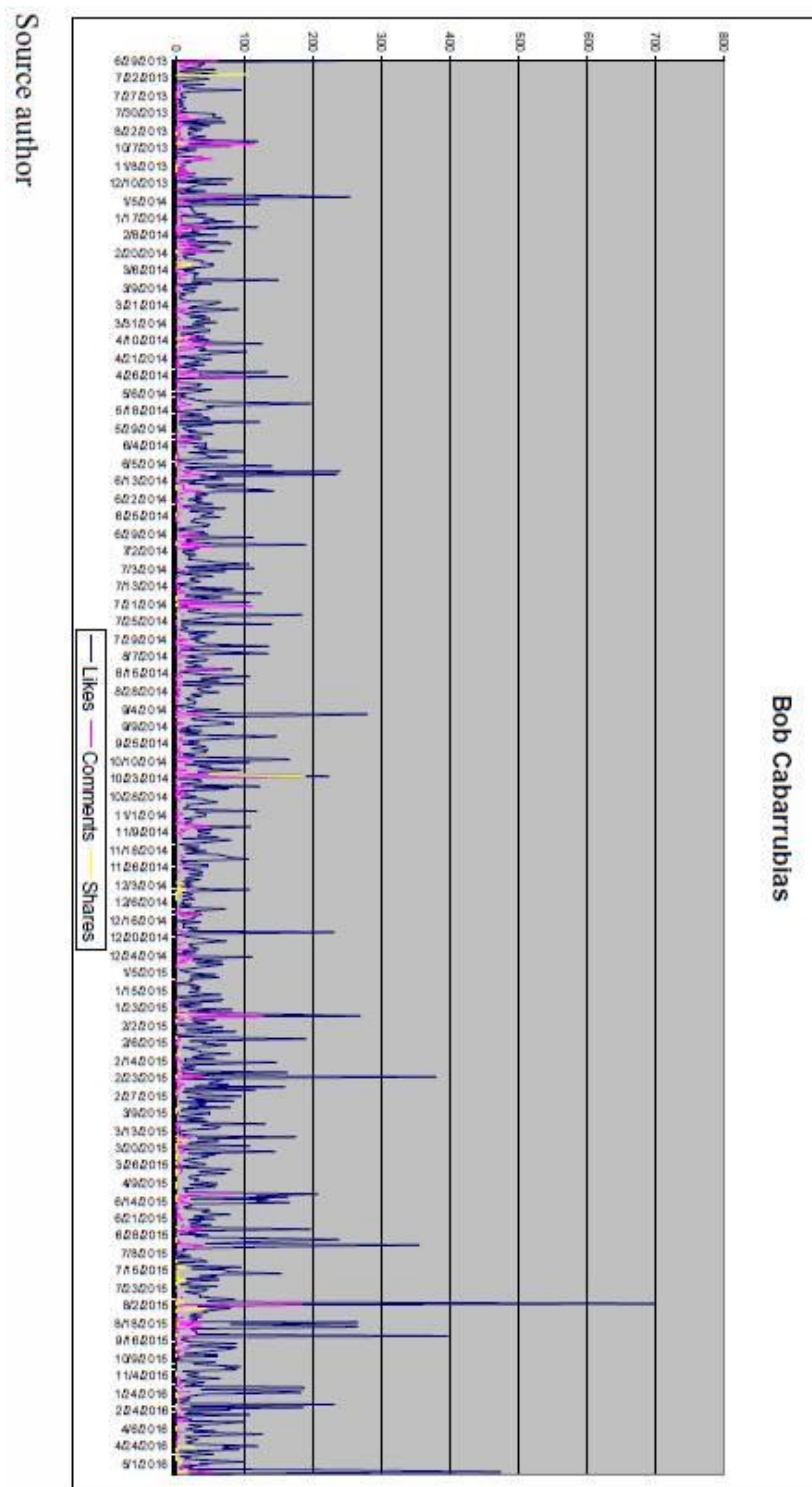
Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
q1	466	1.534335	0.4993558	1	2
q2	466	1.598712	0.8190727	1	4
q3	456	3.692982	2.95498	0	13
q4	466	3.920601	0.3346069	1	4
q5a	456	0.9627193	0.1896569	0	1
q5b	456	0.9210526	0.2699528	0	1
q5c	457	0.8949672	0.3069317	0	1
q5d	456	0.4692982	0.4996046	0	1
q5e	457	0.9496718	0.2470992	0	3
q5f	457	0.6695842	0.4708783	0	1
q5g	457	0.7461707	0.435678	0	1
q5h	457	0.6258206	0.4844406	0	1
q5i	457	0.7111597	0.4537202	0	1
q6	450	2.268889	1.001629	1	4
q7	460	4.13913	1.12323	1	5
q8	451	0.9113082	0.2846141	0	1
q9	455	2.336264	0.8095679	1	5
q10	449	0.454343	0.4984665	0	1
q10a	443	1.088036	1.467265	0	5
q10db1	418	0.3062201	0.4614746	0	1
q10db2	418	0.0502392	0.2187	0	1
q10db3	418	0.1220096	0.3276891	0	1
q10db4	418	0.0717703	0.2584165	0	1
q10db5	418	0.0861244	0.2808838	0	1
q10db6	418	0.1076555	0.3103162	0	1
q10db7	418	0.1196172	0.3249023	0	1
q10db8	418	0.1650718	0.3716902	0	1
q11a	423	0.3853428	0.4872525	0	1
q11b	423	0.3026005	0.4599277	0	1
q11c	423	0.501182	0.5005907	0	1
q11d	423	0.3380615	0.4736097	0	1
q11e	423	0.3191489	0.4666988	0	1
q11f	423	0.3191489	0.4666988	0	1
q11g	423	0.5153664	0.5003556	0	1
q11h	423	0.2316785	0.4224043	0	1
q11i	423	0.5579196	0.4972221	0	1

q12	448	0.4665179	0.4994354	0	1
q13	449	1.997773	0.7975937	1	5
q14	451	2.760532	0.9358745	1	5
q15	450	2.306667	0.8723417	1	5
q16	453	2.816777	0.9864037	1	5
q17	452	3.086283	0.9737519	1	5
q18	445	2.550562	0.8543903	1	5
q19	301	3.760797	2.510496	1	8
q20	304	4.703947	2.608285	1	8
q21	399	3.313283	2.121818	1	6
q22	443	0.7042889	0.4568777	0	1
q23	428	2.476636	0.7814692	1	3
q24	443	0.8013544	0.3994317	0	1
q25a	441	0.6349206	0.4819992	0	1
q25b	441	0.446712	0.4977169	0	1
q25c	441	0.6349206	0.4819992	0	1
q25d	441	0.8480726	0.3593582	0	1
q25e	441	0.5759637	0.4947571	0	1
q26	374	2.949198	1.843789	1	6
q27	374	3.117647	1.258562	1	6
q28	444	0.3445946	0.475772	0	1
q28a	423	0.0874704	0.2828578	0	1
q28b	423	0.2931442	0.455743	0	1
q28c	423	0.2553191	0.4365568	0	1
q29	320	4.096875	1.483448	0	6
q30	423	0.7281324	0.4454489	0	1

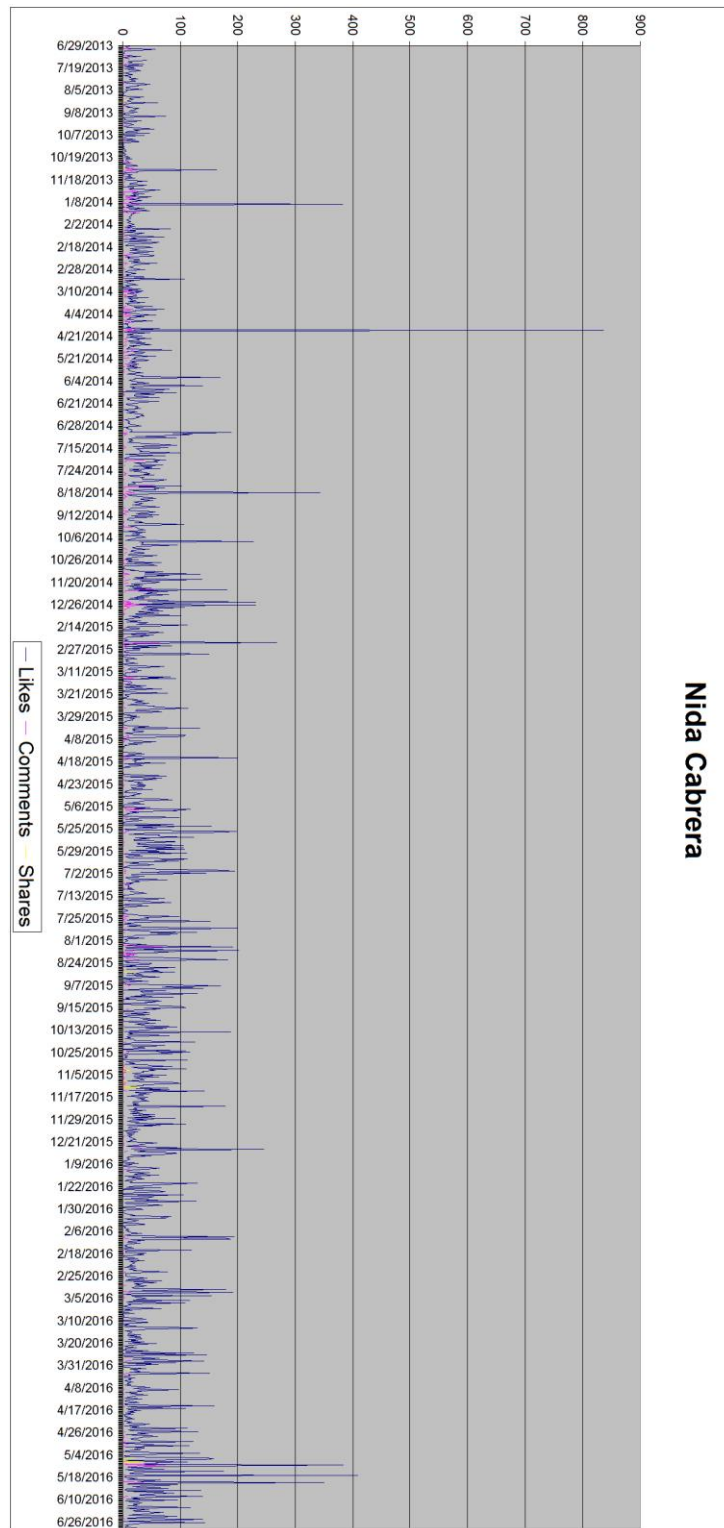
Appendix H: Mayor Baba Yap's Facebook Activity 2013~2016 Term



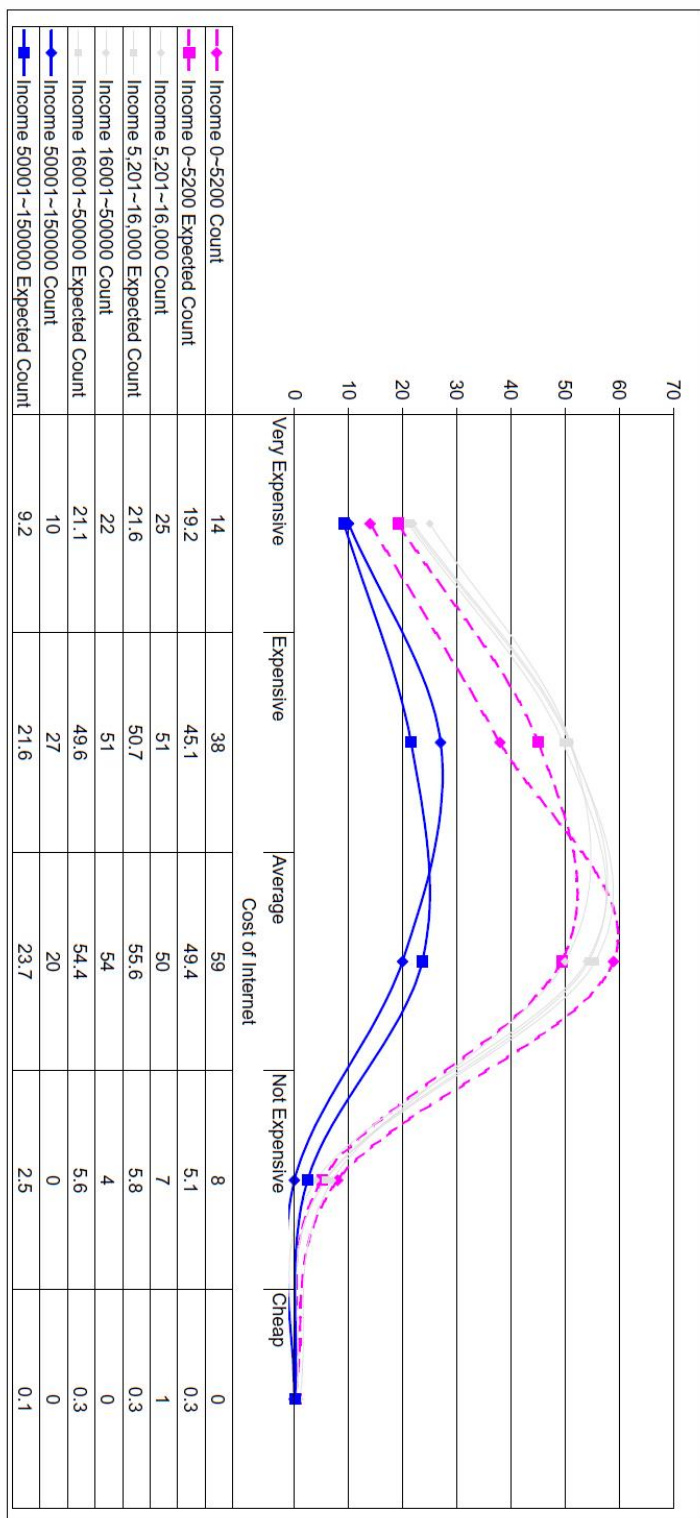
Appendix I: Councilor Bob Cabarrubias' Facebook Activity 2013~2016 Term



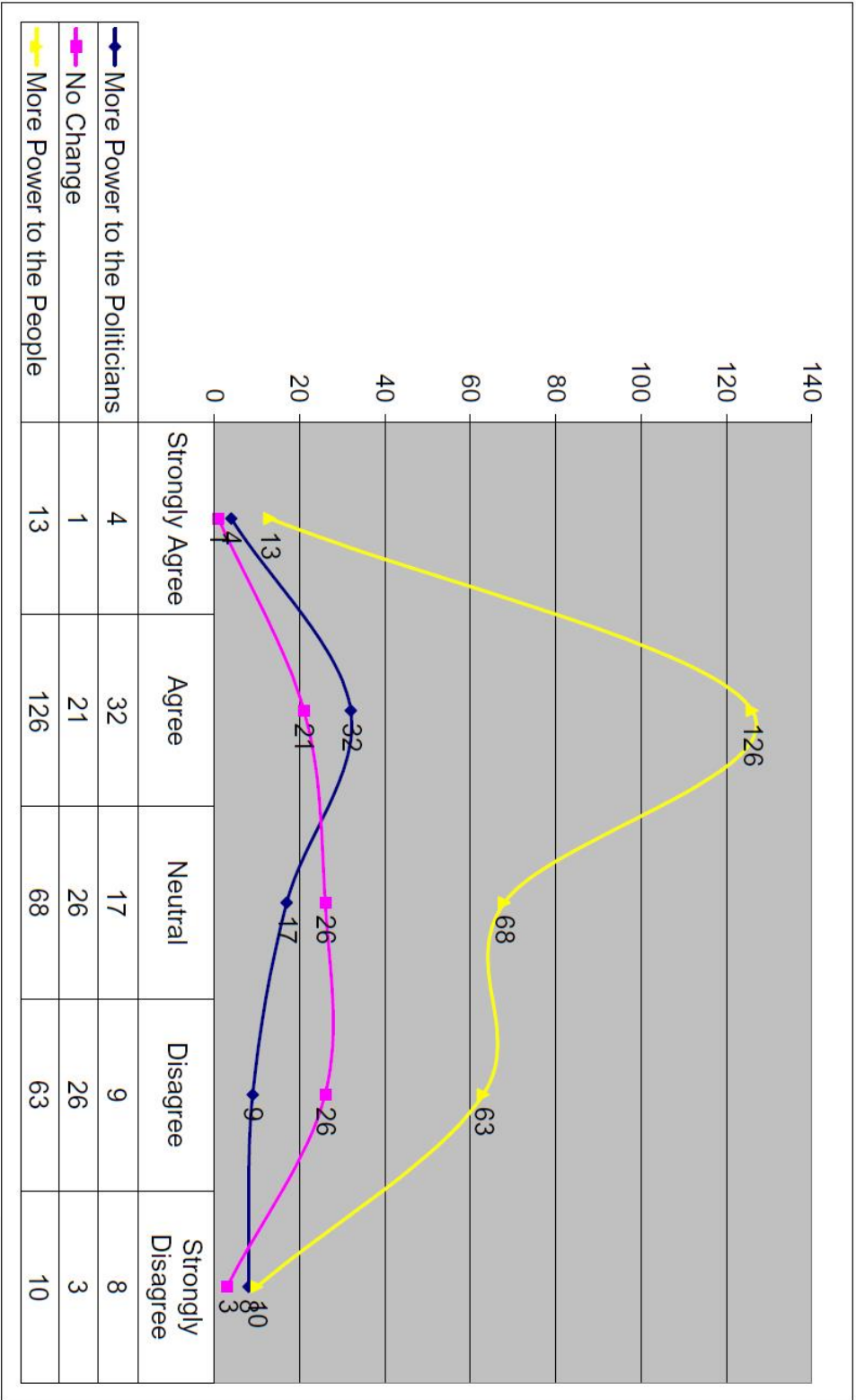
Appendix J: Councilor Nida Cabrera's Facebook Activity 2013~2016 Term



Appendix K: Cost of Internet Service by Socio-Economic Class



Appendix L: Equality & Power Relations



Source: Author (Questionnaire/Survey Cross Tabulation Q:16 with Q:23 Appendix A)

Appendix M: Locations for Questionnaire/Surveys and Interviews

Location	Date
Streets of Cebu City	September 19-22, 2015
Streets of Mandaue City	September 22, 2015
Streets of Tagbilaran City	September 23, 2015
Villages in Panglao	September 25-28, 2015
Streets of Cebu City	September 28-30, 2015
<i>Pulong-Pulong</i> (formal arranged gatherings)	September 30, 2015
Informal Settlements in Cebu City	October 1-2, 2015
Ayala Mall Cebu	October 3, 2015
Cebu Central Plaza	October 4-6, 2015
Outside Quzon City Hall	October 7, 2015
University of the Philippines, Dilaman	October 7, 2015
Informal Settlements in Quzon City	October 9, 2015
Streets of Quzon City	October 10-12, 2015
Streets of Makati	October 13, 2015
Ninoy Aquino International Airport	October 14, 2015

Source: Author