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The Role of Mobile-Enabled Social Media in Social Development

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

A number of countries recently experienced protests organized by citizens that were in pursuit of accountability and openness from government. It was witnessed that social media played a highly important role in those events; among others, continuously providing updated information, establishing human networks, forming opinions, mobilizing people, and taking concerted actions. Of course, social media is not the sole reason that made the events happen. However, it can be at least said that the general public were encouraged to move into the actions for their enhanced well-being. From a broader perspective, those occurrences also showcase that Information & Communications Technologies (ICTs) can help enhance social development among people. This short note seeks to develop analysis on the role of social media in social development, in the wake of the increasing diffusion of mobile phone Internet access.

1.2 The World Bank's Definition on Social Development

The World Bank consolidated its approach to social development into a single Bank-wide Strategy and Implementation Plan, entitled 'Empowering People by Transforming Institutions: Social Development in World Bank Operations (World Bank, 2005),' with the goal of transforming institutions to empower poor and marginalized women and men. The World Bank identified, from its experience, three operational principles to guide its approach to social development: inclusion, cohesion, and accountability.

More specifically,

- **Inclusive institutions** promote equal access to opportunities, enabling everyone to contribute to social and economic progress and share in its rewards.
- **Cohesive societies** enable women and men to work together to address common needs, overcome constraints, and consider diverse interests. They resolve differences in a civil, non-confrontational way, promoting peace and security.
- **Accountable institutions** are transparent and respond to the public interest in an effective, efficient and fair way.

The strategy note also mentioned that empirical evidence and operational experience show that social development promotes better growth, better projects, and better quality of life.

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1.3 ICTs' impact on Social Development

ICTs can enhance people's access to information, change flows of information and communications, and provide traditionally disadvantaged groups with communication channels. In the context of social development, their poverty can be alleviated in the following five ways.

- **Faster and easier information delivery.** Communications, the speed with which information and ideas can travel and the degree to which they are available to all, are a key social impact of ICTs. In addition, ICTs can often deliver information more effectively and cheaply than its print equivalents. This facilitates people's access to information.
- **Information exchange and network creation.** ICTs allow more information to be made available and foster information exchange. With this feature, ICTs can link different groups of people remotely or globally. More people can exchange ideas and collaborate on matters of mutual interest or importance.
- **Efficiency and transparency.** ICTs can improve transparency and efficiency in processes. Government administration has especially the potential to be made more effective through using ICTs. Eventually, people can enjoy better public service delivery.
- **Transformation of people's lives.** ICTs can change the way people live, learn, and conduct business. ICTs also have a potential to transform the landscape of social and economic development of poor people and break the vicious cycle of poverty and segregation, especially in rural communities.
- **Decentralization and empowerment.** ICTs can facilitate the decentralization of power and decision-making in ways that empower people to do things at a local level. Moreover, when the right of access to information and freedom of information are ensured, people build confidence and get more empowered.

In summary, therefore, the above five points provide compelling evidence that ICTs can contribute significantly to social development.

2. ICT-ENABLED SOCIAL MEDIA

2.1 Increasing Attention to Social Media

Much of the recent attention to ICT applications has focused on social media. It is sometimes discussed that “social media revolution” is now happening. There are a number of websites which develop an argument on “social media trend.”

Weblogs, often simply called blogs, allow individuals or small organizations to easily create their web pages to publish opinions, disseminate updated information, or post materials. Blog users are often provided with user-friendly templates so that they can upload their contents without special technical expertise. Bloggers can allow site visitors to leave comments or feedbacks to make their blog sites interactive. There exist more than 165 million published blog sites worldwide (Nielsen, 2011).

Facebook, founded in February 2004, has gained significant popularity. According to Statistics and Factsheet of the Facebook official page¹, the social networking site already garnered more than 750 million active users (users who have returned to the site in the last 30 days), 50% of which log on to the site in any given day. Facebook accommodates more than 70 translations available on the site through many kinds of applications, which helps the networking site become popular all over the world (Facebook, 2011a; Facebook, 2011b). Facebook has many features, including post messages, disseminate personal information, upload and share photos, chat, as well as invite friends to an event.

What is noteworthy is its mobile-accessibility. The Facebook Statistics also mentions, “there are more than 250 million active users currently accessing Facebook through their mobile devices” and “people that use Facebook on their mobile devices are twice as active on Facebook than non-mobile users.” Additionally, in March 2011, Facebook acquired an Israeli company Snaptu that had developed mobile Internet solutions. The company’s application enables Facebook users to take advantage of smartphone-like applications on simpler phones (Guardian, 2011). This acquisition presumably will spur the mobile access trend, especially in developing countries where second generation (2G) Global System for Mobile Communications (GSM) mobile phones are still widely utilized.

Twitter is another well-established social networking site², which is also classified as micro-blogging. Twitter is a real-time information network for its users to communicate and stay connected through the exchange of quick messages (maximum 140 characters) which are called “Tweets.” These short messages are posted to user’s profile or blog, sent to their followers who receive their messages, and searchable on Twitter search. Twitter has over 200 million registered accounts. On average 140 million tweets are sent a day, and more than 460,000 new accounts have been added every day in February 2011 and the number of mobile Twitter users has increased by 182 percent in 2010 (Telegraph, 2011).

¹ Facebook Statistics and Factsheet. Retrieved from <http://www.facebook.com/press/info.php?statistics> and <http://www.facebook.com/press/info.php?factsheet> , on Jul 19, 2011.

² Twitter is sometimes regarded as social news, among social media categories. Site visitors can quickly obtain other or updated information in a specific topic, using hashtags. Hashtags can be embedded in any Tweets. Hashtagged words that become very popular are often Trending Topics.

One of the best examples of social sharing is arguably YouTube. YouTube is a video-sharing site where people can discover, watch, and share originally-created videos. Although YouTube is relatively a new web service, founded in February 2005, it already became a hugely popular website. YouTube reached over 700 billion playbacks in 2010. More than 13 million hours of video were uploaded during 2010 and 48 hours of video are uploaded every minute (YouTube, 2011). YouTube has been committed to the localization of the service. The site is localized in 25 countries across 43 languages (YouTube, 2011). It is believed that YouTube’s localization strategy has been one of the major contributors to its popularity.

The following table (Hester Group, 2010) shows the sub-categories of Social Media.

Table 1 Sub-categorization of Social Media

Sub-Category	Examples	URL
Social News	Digg	http://digg.com
	Twitter	http://twitter.com
	Slashdot	http://slashdot.org
Social Networking	Facebook	http://www.facebook.com
	MySpace	http://www.myspace.com
	Orkut	http://www.orkut.com
Social Sharing	YouTube	http://www.youtube.com
	Flickr	http://www.flickr.com
	Tumblr	http://www.tumblr.com
Social Bookmarking	StumbleUpon	http://www.stumbleupon.com
	Delicious	http://www.delicious.com
	Meneame	http://www.meneame.net
Social knowledge	Wikipedia	http://www.wikipedia.org
	Yahoo Answers	http://answers.yahoo.com
	Squidoo	http://www.squidoo.com

2.2 Features of Recent ICT-enabled Social Media

Social media includes many types of services and play multiple roles, as mentioned in Section 2.1. The next question might be, “how should social media be defined?”

According to Wikipedia³,

“Social media are media for social interaction, using highly accessible and scalable communication techniques. Social media is the use of web-based and mobile technologies to turn communication into interactive dialogue.”

Ron Jones of Symetri Internet Marketing wrote,

“Social media essentially is a category of online media where people are talking, participating, sharing, networking, and bookmarking online. Most social media services encourage discussion, feedback, voting, comments, and sharing of information from all interested parties.”

“It’s more of a two-way conversation, rather than a one-way broadcast like traditional media. Another unique aspect of social media is the idea of staying connected or linked to other sites, resources, and people.” (Jones, 2009)

People in the commercial sector are inclined to position social media as effective marketing tools, which can promote products or services, reach customers, and ultimately enable those customers bring in another customers. On the other hand, it is often observed that governmental organizations take advantage of social media as one of the communications channels in order to obtain feedbacks from citizens for the improvement of public services.

Social media can be characterized and defined in many ways. At the time of the issuance of this report, it does not seem that there is a clear definition or universal understanding of social media. However, by conducting analyses on what has been happening, it might be fair to say that social media possesses the following features, by which social media is differentiated from other media. These include (1) Internet-based, (2) mobility and ubiquity, (3) focus on users, (4) multi-way group communications, (5) large-scale and flexible interactive participation, (6) co-creation, and (7) low cost.

(1) Internet-based. Most social media is a website-based application on the Internet. Because of the Internet and the recent advent of cloud computing, if users have a computer or a similar device and the Internet connection, they can access social media from anywhere. The broadband Internet connection allows users to handle large contents (e.g. video clips and audio files) and complicated online applications. In addition, social media can be easily integrated with other sources and platforms. For example, a link (e.g. Uniform Resource Locator (URL)) can be embedded within contents and messages. Site visitors can jump to another source just by clicking the link. One platform can be incorporated to other platforms, too. Citing an example of Twitter and Facebook, users can choose a linked account setting so that their Twitter messages automatically show up on their own Facebook page. These integrated characteristics can easily multiply impacts and effects that social media may exert.

³ Retrieved on May 15, 2011, from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_media

(2) Mobility and Ubiquity. Mobile phones, notably smartphones, can accelerate the usage by enhancing ubiquity and simultaneity when users are not at a fixed location such as home, office, or cyber cafe. Nowadays many smartphones have a digital camera and some are even as efficient as small-size laptop computers. Users can take a photo, access social media site they use, and upload the photo, momentarily, with a single smartphone. Uploaded information or contents can be accessed by other users straightaway. Many social media offer mobile-compatible platforms, so that the sites can easily get accessed by users that possess only a mobile phone.

(3) Focus on Users. From users' perspective, there are a number of ways to make a contribution to social media. They can become viewers, readers, contents producers, feedback providers, and editors. The most important feature is that users can create contents by themselves, if they have a basic writing skills and understanding of social media tools. They can also disseminate their own contents, express their opinions, or report what has actually happened, without influence by authorities.

(4) Multi-way Group Communications. Social media enables group communication. With this scalable N-to-N communication pattern (not one-way, not 1-to-1, not 1-to-N communication), people in multiple places, even across borders, can access and contribute to the contents. In some social media platforms, a group that accommodates thousands of members can be easily created.

(5) Large-Scale and Flexible Interactive Participation. In relation to the group communications mentioned above, interactive participation is encouraged on a massive scale. A message or contents posted by one person is read, heard, or viewed by a number of people. Moreover, users can seek other people's feedbacks. After responses and comments are aggregated, their group can move forward to take further actions or address other issues and, in some cases, reach agreement. Social media also allows flexible participation. Social media sites are usually accessed on an occasional participation basis, but simultaneous participation is possible on some specific forms (e.g. online chat, simultaneous discussion on Bulletin Board System).

(6) Co-creation. This is a more advanced shape of the interactive participation which has been mentioned above. Through the interactive participation, people can bring, share, learn, and distribute ideas and thoughts, sometimes even remotely tapping global expertise. This may lead to innovative knowledge, competencies, products, and services which are conducive to people's better life.

(7) Low Cost. As long as users have Internet access and Internet-accessible devices, signing up for and using social media is mostly free. In addition, from the contents production viewpoint, it is by far less costly, since contents are usually generated by people. As to traditional media, special expertise and equipment is usually needed (e.g. newspaper, TV).

What should be underlined is that, with the above features, social media can make citizens' presence bigger and more noticeable. People eventually get empowered to the extent that they can promote collective efforts to enhance civil engagement and equitable distribution of wealth as well as forge an accountable relationship between civil society and government. Other media might not do the same in an effective, efficient, or less costly manner as social media. Those efforts are in line with World Bank three operational principles for social development: inclusion, cohesion, and accountability, as mentioned in Section 1.2.

3. CASE STUDIES AND CLASSIFICATION OF TYPE OF ACTIVITY

3.1 Recent Events in the Context of Social Development

World Bank President Robert Zoellick delivered a speech in April 2011⁴, in response to the recent events in the Middle East. He, utilizing a keyword “social contract” in his speech, emphasized the importance of “institutions” and “citizens” by mentioning,

“Heroic individuals are not enough. Reformed bureaucracies are not enough. Citizens’ participation – and clear communication between society and government – matter.”

“Institutions matter, but so do citizens. A robust civil society can check on budgets, seek and publish information, challenge stifling bureaucracies, protect private property, and monitor service delivery. Civil society can insist on respect for the rights of citizens. And civil society can assume responsibilities, too. An empowered public is the foundation for a stronger society, more effective government, and a more successful state.”

It is widely acknowledged that social media played an imperative role in the recent pro-democracy protests in the Middle East. For example, the first major demonstrations in Tunisia and Egypt were organized via Facebook and Twitter, with activist leaders directing followers where to congregate and how to avoid blockades. Those gatherings then snowballed, drawing in citizens from all walks of life (Globe and Mail, 2011). Footage of protests and police repression filmed on mobile phone cameras was broadcast back to millions of Egyptians by the satellite channels (BBC, 2011). In the Iranian presidential election in 2009, a couple of Twitter feeds became virtual media offices for the supporters of one of the candidates, Mir-Hussein Moussavi. One feed is filled with news of protests and exhortations to keep up the fight, in Persian and in English (NY Times, 2009b).

It is also reportedly said that social media has given a voice to the most marginalized groups in the same region, who are mostly women and minorities of various kinds, such as religious minorities, ethnic minorities, and sexual minorities. They have always been marginalized from the various levels of discourse, and have been rarely found in mainstream media. With social media, they finally have a place to express themselves, organizing the victims of police torture within Egypt, helping a hunger strike in Saudi Arabia in support of political dissidents, raising awareness about sexual harassment against women in public in Egypt, and exposing police corruption in Morocco (VOA, 2010).

These reported facts illustrate that social media can be effectively utilized by citizens, so that they form a group with similar interest, take collective actions, make their opinions heard, garner public interest, and seek better response from their regimes. More specifically, the response that the citizens want from the government may include, opportunities to obtain necessary information in a timely manner as well as establishment of participatory policy-making and systematic feedback loops, with the view of efficient public service and transparent government decisions. They ultimately want their government and politicians to gain credibility and recognition for performance improvements, potentially changing the nature of political competition toward performance rather than patronage (Agarwal et al, 2009).

⁴ The whole transcript of his speech is available online (<http://go.worldbank.org/LL2NNYC2F0>). Retrieved on July 19, 2011. This concern is later reflected in the Communiqué of Development Committee, a forum of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund that facilitates intergovernmental consensus-building on development issues, dated on April 16, 2011.

3.2 Classification of Type of Activity Supported by Social Media

There are several types of activities by individuals that social media can support for social development. The following table lists up the type of activities, and their characteristics, and tools actually used, and case examples.

Table 2 Type of activity supported by social media for social development

Type of activity by individuals & Tools Utilized	Case Examples
<p>Obtain information</p> <p>1-to-N, One-way, Passive</p> <p>Twitter feeds, Online news (social news), Community radio⁵</p>	<p>In Egypt and Tunisia, people read Twitter feeds to gain information on what was actually happening.</p> <p>People can access locally created social media platforms such as NowLebanon.com based in Beirut, and Aramram.com, 7iber.com, Ammannet.net, and AmmonNews.net, all based in Amman, which offer a variety of socially driven news and online video stories. They are often overlooked by government-sponsored or politically influenced media outlets (Ghannam, 2011).</p> <p>UNESCO has implemented a number of community radio programs with an aim to address crucial social issues at a community level, such as poverty and social exclusion, empower marginalized rural groups, as well as catalyze democratic processes and development efforts. Community radio offers the opportunity to any member of the community to initiate communication and participate in program making, management and ownership of the station (Tabing, 2002).</p>
<p>Publish opinions, provide feedbacks</p> <p>1-to-N One-way, Interactive</p> <p>Blogs, Feedback forms</p>	<p>The state-run Al-Ahram newspaper in Egypt altered a photo in a high-level meeting in Washington, DC to show President Hosni Mubarak in the lead, although he was actually walking with other leaders behind US president Barack Obama. (Guardian, 2010). A person blogged about this doctored photo and information manipulation by the government-managed media was revealed (Ghannam, 2011).</p> <p>The city of Tbilisi, Georgia, launched in June 2011 a Facebook Site “Tbiliscds Georgia”⁶ dedicated to discuss the ongoing process of preparing Tbilisi City Development Strategy for Sustainable Development with the financial assistance of the World Bank. The site held a poll on the proposed alternatives of the city Vision and goals. The site also documented ongoing consultation workshops. It is expected that the site will be used in a more interactive way in the future.</p> <p>The Budget Tracking Tool in Kenya is a collaborative platform for grassroots communities to actively engage in public resource management. The system enables Kenyan citizens to monitor and track both disbursements and utilization of developments funds, holding their elected officials accountable for the development projects they have promised – just by sending a simple SMS. The tool can be accessed via web and by SMS. It can also be used for feedback⁷.</p>

⁵ Community radios may not be a typical type of social media, since they are not based on the Internet. However, owing to their participatory approach, they are regarded as social media in this analysis.

⁶ The site is accessible at <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100002500327942>. Accessed on July 19, 2011.

⁷ Source: <http://transparency.globalvoicesonline.org/project/mzalendo>, <http://opengovernance.info/BTKenya>, and <http://www.sodnet.org>

<p>Have virtual group discussion</p> <p>N-to-N, Interactive, Virtual collective actions</p> <p>Social Networking site (e.g. Facebook)</p>	<p>In the Iranian presidential election in 2009, one feed in Twitter was filled with news of protests and exhortations to keep up the fight for one of the candidates Mir-Hussein Moussavi, in Persian and in English. It had more than 7,000 followers. His fan group on Facebook also swelled to over 50,000 members, a significant increase since election day (NY Times, 2009b). Those members could exchange information and have discussion on the page.</p> <p>Another example in Myanmar shows that social media can remotely assist group discussion. A young man who resided in Toronto, Canada, began modest Internet campaign to support Burmese protestors, which exploded into an international forum for tens of thousands typing around the world. Just in ten days after its creation, his Facebook group, “Support the Monks’ protest in Burma,” had amassed more than 160,000 members. The social networking page became a newswire on happenings in the governing junta’s violent crackdown, a mouthpiece for nearly 200 discussion topics and a planning space for demonstrations (Toronto Star, 2007).</p>
<p>Organize events</p> <p>N-to-N, Interactive, Leading to actual collective actions</p> <p>Social Networking site (e.g. Facebook), text messaging by cell phones</p>	<p>After the results of the 2009 parliamentary election in Moldova, young people gathered the crowd by enlisting text-messaging, Facebook and Twitter, the social messaging network. Protesters created their own searchable tag on Twitter, rallying Moldovans to join and propelling events onto a Twitter list of newly popular topics. This also allowed the world to keep track (NY Times, 2009a).</p> <p>The first major demonstrations in Tunisia and Egypt were organized via Facebook and Twitter, with activist leaders directing followers where to congregate and how to avoid blockades. Those gatherings then snowballed, drawing in citizens from all walks of life (Globe and Mail, 2011).</p>
<p>Share files, photos, video clips</p> <p>1-to-N One-way, Interactive</p> <p>Social Sharing site (e.g. YouTube, Flickr)</p>	<p>During the Egyptian protests, despite apparent efforts by the government to disrupt communications among the protesters, many participants and observers managed to post accounts, images, and video of the demonstrations online (Mackey, 2011)⁸.</p> <p>In the Iranian presidential election in 2009, one Twitter feed links to a page on the photo-hosting site Flickr that includes dozens of pictures from the in Tehran (NY Times, 2009b).</p>

⁸ Mackey’s blog post includes many links to those video clips posted on YouTube (accessed on July 19, 2011).

3.3 Quick Reactions to What Has Been Observed

The above examples show that social media can be an effective tool to make a contribution to social development by achieving inclusive institutions, cohesive societies, and accountable institutions, with which it had been difficult for people to be equipped when social media was not widely available. However, it might be fair to point out that those events are still new – the oldest one is just a few years old – and there needs to be further investigation.

First of all, the linkage between citizen's concerted actions enabled by social media and their actual social or economic gains is still not well-proven, particularly from long-term perspective. Qualitative research, such as accumulating good case studies in developing countries, would help forge the linkage. There exist a number of facts and experiences available online, but many of which are reportage by journalism. It is recommended that those facts are exhaustively and systematically aggregated in a unified manner. Quantitatively, impact assessment and evaluation should be explored. Improvement of public service, economic impacts, effects on other sectors (e.g. education, health), and political behavior change may be included in the research scope. This will be an effective complement and academic support to the qualitative research. The outputs from the two types of research will be a compelling endorsement for government leaders and politicians and encourage them to be a champion of social media.

Secondly, if there had been effective incentive mechanism for public service improvement, social development would have been more strengthened. From what has been observed, it does not seem that government officials were motivated to make their administrative services accountable, transparent, effective, or efficient. The incentive mechanism can be established by providing them with reward for their accountable behavior, based on client feedbacks and impartial third party evaluation. Social media can be effectively incorporated in the process. Rewarding options might include public recognition, special bonus, and promotion. Creating and disseminating good models is highly recommendable in the next stage, for the sake of replicability.

4. POLICY IMPLICATIONS FROM ICT CONTEXT

This note finds that social media can be a powerful tool for social development. Social media can broadly empower people as well as encourage them to take cohesive actions and call for accountable government administration. However, social media is still in the earlier stages of the movement and there is a lot of room to improve and explore. This note would like to propose the following policy implications in order to make social media an effectively utilized instrument in the long run, not just a short-term bandwagon.

4.1 Demand Side Issues

Most of social media are based in developed countries. As previously argued, some social media sites have been keen on localization, but they are not yet accessible for those who do not speak a major language such as English or French. Thus it is needed to support local language adoption for social media. This will help spur the utilization of social media and eventually engage people in social activities.

It could be fair to assume that social media has room to grow and majority of people are still unreached. It is highly advisable to enlighten them on what they can do for their own social development, what can be achieved from social media, and how to use it. Special attention should be required to cater to the most marginalized communities and the most marginalized people within communities, so that “social media divide” will not be created. The enlightenment and localization of social media will be an effective demand stimulus package.

Additionally, the development of user-friendly applications should be underscored. Given the expandability enabled by flexible integration with other sources or platforms, social media can be energized by applications with easy-to-use interface. Not to mention that those applications can support not-so-technically-knowledgeable people, who often tends to be disadvantaged, and trigger the network externalities of the platform.

Social media utilization can be stimulated by private sector’s effort. Private sector organizations usually seek to cooperate with their users and customers. Especially, private-sector driven innovation is increasingly steered by demand and service providers are supposed to pay much attention to the needs of their consumers. In developing countries, the linkage between the enterprises and the users has been historically weaker than in developed countries. It is thus suggested that governments should facilitate the value chains where social media could be effectively integrated and utilized, by providing businesses sector (especially Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises (SMEs)) with training and business consultation in the light of private sector development or innovation promotion.

As a supporting element, social intermediaries should not be overlooked. Social intermediary initiations, such as NGOs and community service organizations, plays the role of organizers and advocates of citizens, monitors of public service provision, and coordinators of collective actions. Through those processes, social media can be more instrumental in achieving better social development. It is advisable that government should foster social intermediary initiations, at the prospect of their assistance to social media’s usefulness in social development.

4.2 Supply Side Issues

Governments firstly should create sound competitive ICT environment through well-formulated ICTs policies and telecommunications regulations. And this ensures the deployment of ICT infrastructure and the availability of Internet connection devices, which form the basic foundation of social media. Especially, Internet-accessible mobile phone handsets or wireless devices have increasing importance, since only wireless Internet connection is available in some non-urban areas in developing countries. It is additionally envisaged that broadband Internet access can spur the social media usage, owing to its capability of providing a platform of large-volume graphic or visual contents and applications. The broadband deployment policies should be explored in parallel for wider utilization of social media.

Social media will be more effectively utilized if it will be well coordinated with open government policy. Open government is a guiding principle that government administration should be accountable, transparent, responsive, participatory, and collaborative, by ensuring that citizens possess the right to access the information, in a timely and effective way, on what the government is doing. This is enriched by securing their freedom of expression and privacy. European Court of Justice explained the tenet by stipulating “openness enables citizens to participate more closely in the decision-making process and guarantees that the administration enjoys greater legitimacy and is more effective and more accountable to the citizen in a democratic system. (European Court of Justice, 2008)”

It is believed that citizens will gain more confidence in leveraging social media, if they are convinced that their regime observes open government policies. In such an environment, they are encouraged to access social media more and to provide their governments with candid and quality opinions. With those feedbacks from the citizens, the governments are, in turn, able to improve the performance of the public service. This will make people’s life better, giving citizens another motivation to contribute to their government. This kind of positive spiral might not be continuously ensured, in case there is a regulation or an arbitrary measurement to block social media or threaten information security. Another problem is that once a government starts using filtering or censoring techniques originally intended for good purposes (e.g. filter out child pornography), nothing stops them from filtering whatever comes next is in their interest.

4.3 Capacity of Sustainability and Scalability

It is often argued that governments face a lack of capacity to sustain and scale up social development initiatives. These challenges are not just about having insufficient human and financial resources to build the capacity and size of social accountability interventions, but also about not recognizing the nuances of these initiatives and adapting them appropriately to new contexts or settings. This can be true of social media.

It should be also noteworthy that, when social-media-related activities are replicated, larger cooperation and interaction of different players in society are required. Various factors, including social values, attitudes, cultural norms, and institutional structures might make direct or indirect influence on the replication process. Social and cultural difference should be taken into careful consideration, from the viewpoint of sustainability and scalability.

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