EXIT/ENTRY, VOICE/NOISE, AND LOYALTY/APATHY IN THE ERA OF SOCIAL MEDIA
IMPACT OF SOCIAL MEDIA TO PUBLIC SECTOR

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Abstract

Use of Social Media in public life has changed the way how citizens relate to public sector. Modern communication tools, in particular Social Media, have made citizens easier to use their "voice" to mobilize. When citizens can easily mobilize, the cost of mobilization is low for them, while its impact can lead to a larger cost for the State. As the exit/entry cost of Social Media is very low or almost nothing, a virtual network has been substituting institutions, causing new issues to the State. This leads to the issue of loyalty: citizens now feel that they do not need institution like the State to belong to, as many networks substitute its function. This paper analyses the Social Media use by citizens and its impact on public sector through Albert Hirschman's classis "Exit, Voice, and Loyalty" and tries to address new aspects.

1. Introduction: Brexit as Fruit of Social Media

Use of Social Media in public life has changed the way how citizens relate to public sector. Modern communication tools, in particular Social Media, have made citizens easier to use their "voice" to mobilize. When citizens can easily mobilize, the cost of mobilization is low for them, while its impact can lead to a larger cost for the State. At the same time, use of Social Media has increased noises among the voices; however, these noises are often so well elaborated and inserted into the voices that are difficult to be identified. This again increases the cost for the State.

Social Networks enable people to be part of a system without being physically bounded to a certain geographical area, changing the exit/entry aspect. "Voices" of outsiders are noises for the State and cause problems, while the citizens can use this effect as a strategy. A modern citizen can now physically stay in a territory, while he or she can decide to "exit" from the system. As the exit/entry cost of Social Media is very low or almost nothing, a virtual network has been substituting institutions, causing new issues to the State. This leads to the issue of loyalty: citizens now feel that they do not need institution like the State to belong to, as many networks substitute its function.

It is well known that the Brexit Referendum can be interpreted as a fruit of social media. In order to map Twitter's info-sphere, and examine "Leave" (Eurosceptic) and "Remain" (pro-European) activity on Twitter in the run-up to the referendum, Hänska and Bauchowitz (2017) collected more than 7.5 million Brexit-related tweets in the month preceding the Referendum in 2016. They asked whether there was a relationship between Twitter activity and the actual vote, what kind of information was shared on Twitter, and whether Leavers and Remainers were confined to echo

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chambers, which kept feeding them information congenial to their views, or whether the two sides engaged openly with one another.

Their analysis showed Twitter users who supported leaving the EU were more numerous, and Eurosceptic users in general were more active (they tweeted more frequently) than Remain users (Hänska and Bauchowitz, 2017, p.29). They estimate Leave users were more numerous and more active on Twitter by a factor of 1.75-2.3. Other researchers examining Google search trends, Instagram posts and Facebook found similar patterns of Eurosceptic views being communicated with greater intensity by a greater number of users on those platforms (Herrman, 2016; Polonski 2016).

Hänska and Bauchowitz point out that local authority districts with a greater share of Twitter users supporting Leave tended to vote for leaving the EU, so Twitter activity correlated with voting in the Referendum (Hänska and Bauchowitz, 2017). This, of course, does not to mean that an analysis of Twitter activity could have predicted the Referendum. It is also not clear how the Leave margin on Twitter should have been interpreted prior to the Referendum, even with such a robust observation of more pronounced Eurosceptic activity. After all, the factor by which Leavers outnumbered and out-tweeted Remainers was much larger than the margin with which Leave won the vote.

The duo also analysed the nature of openness and homophily on Twitter, which crucially affords users the ability to interact and engage with each other. They examined the extent to which users who supported Leave and Remain interacted with each other, that is, for instance, whether a user who supported leaving the EU replied, quoted or retweeted a user who supported remaining in the EU. They found Leave users tended to be less open, and mostly engage with other Leave supporters, indicating important hallmarks of an echo-chamber. In contrast, Remain supporters were much more open. Specifically, 83 per cent of interactions initiated by Leave supporters were with other Leave supporters, while Remain supporters this figure drops to 46 per cent. Remainers replied to, retweeted or quoted Leavers 49, 39 and 50 per cent of the time, respectively. Contrast this with Leavers who replied to, retweeted or quoted Remainers only 19, 8 and 11 per cent of the time, respectively.

This tendency to interact only with the like-minded is also reflected in the URLs shared. Leave users tended to share Eurosceptic domains, including The Express, the Daily Mail, and Breitbart. Leave users also linked more frequently to Bloomberg and Reuters than Remainers. Remain users tended to share links to The Guardian, BBC, The Independent, and less frequently The Mirror, The Financial Times, and The Economist. Overall, the most frequently linked domains were The Guardian, YouTube, BBC, and The Express (Hänska and Bauchowitz, 2017, p.30). YouTube was the second most prominent domain linked, indicating the importance of video as a way of distributing information about the campaign.

Overall, Twitter users who supported leaving the EU were much more active and motivated in advancing their cause, than Remainers were in advocating continued EU membership. One possible explanation of the dominance Leavers achieved on Twitter may be that slogans such as 'vote Leave', 'take control', or even 'Brexit' were more suited to simple, soundbite messaging than the Remain campaign's slogans and arguments (which is particularly useful given the character constraints of a tweet). Press coverage of the Referendum also favoured leaving the EU. Weighted for circulation, 82 per cent of newspaper articles in the lead-up to the Referendum supported leaving the EU, as other contributors to this book have noted (Deacon 2016). The balance of Eurosceptic information, views and opinion on Twitter thus appear to be leaning in the same direction as the balance of information in the press, meaning both online and offline citizens were more likely to encounter Eurosceptic voices (Hänska and Bauchowitz, 2017, p.30).

The frequent and aggressive use of Twitter by Leavers during the Brexit Referendum campaign is quite interesting, considering the voting results by age groups. While 71% voters between 18 and 24 years old and 54% between 25 and 49 voted Remain, 60% voters between 50 and 64 and 64% over 65 voted Leave (YouGov, 2016), thus it is obvious that the younger the voters, they voted Remain and the older the voters, they voted Leave. Social media use is often strongly correlated to the age groups, making the younger generation more active user of social media. Indeed, a research by the London School of Economics and Political Science (2017) shows that the largest demographic group of Twitter users in UK are between the ages of 18 and 29 (37%) and 25% of users are between 30 and 49 years old. However, the analysis of Hänska and Bauchowitz shows that the Leavers were much aggressive in using Twitter.

The questions arising from this study are as follows: 1) those who aggressively used Twitter for Leave are the voters who actually voted for Leave?; 2) if so, is it possible to explain the frequent and aggressive use of Twitter by Leavers was mainly conducted by a rather small number of young Leavers?; 3) to which extent the aged Leavers were influenced by Twitter-transmitted messages?; 4) if the Leavers were not reading nor influenced by pro-Leave tweets, how can we explain the closed characteristics of Leaver tweets?; and 5) after all, as many media as well as researches suggested, can we still confirm that the result of Brexit Referendum was influenced by social media?

2. Methodology and Design of the Research

In order to respond to these questions in general term, not just on Brexit case, and to understand use of social media in public sector, this paper explores the characteristics of social media in public sector through literature review as well as an empirical study. Most of the literatures on the topic investigate, on one hand, in highly theoretical or conceptual manner, or, on the other hand, through empirical cases like the research on Brexit campaign in the introductory section (Hänska and Bauchowitz, 2017). However, the gap between theoretical/conceptual literatures and research on cases is so wide that it is not easy to understand the latter with theoretical framework and vice versa.

Thus the paper first explores several existing theories and concepts through literatures, and then analyses the case of UK government. Regarding the case study, which is a qualitative research, the author examined government documents, including policy papers, white papers, and national plans, while interviewing key actors. The author and her research partners conducted about 30 semi-structured interviews to the key actors from November 2018 to November 2019 period. The interviews were conducted without recording but with detailed transcriptions, in order to encourage interviewees to express freely their opinions and views.

The aim of this research is to investigate how social media impacts public policy making as well as social life. The research approach is a single case of the UK government (Yin 2014). Data were collected indeed from two sources: semi structured interviews to key actors and written documents available in the public domain. Case study research is appropriate for this research as it makes use of multiple sources of evidence in order to create a picture of the phenomenon under investigation and is methodologically appropriate when exploring complex issues, those that occur over an extended time period (Gratton & Jones, 2010) or when researchers have little or no influence on the event being studied (Yin, 2014) such as in this research.

Document analysis is appropriate in this case, as documents are a rich source of data and in this instance they provided valuable primary data. Documentary analysis of strategic plans, policy documents, and government reports contributed to the understanding of the case study in three ways.

First, the document analysis allowed the context for the case study to be understood, prior to the interviews. It also provided a historical account of the public policy in UK. Finally, using document analysis also allowed for triangulation of information obtained through the interviews.

Information used in this paper is based on the interviews conducted to the following, among others:

1)   Fliss Bennée, former Head of Data Governance, Department of Digital, Culture, Media, and Sport;
2)   Mark O'Neill, former Chief Digital Officer, Department of Education;
3)   Mike Rose, Head of Business Development, Open Data Institute;
4)   Sana Khareghani, Deputy Director, Head of Office for Artificial, Joint Unit; Department of Digital, Culture, Media, and Spot and Department for Business, Energy & Industrial Strategy.

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3. Social Media in Public Administration and Social Media for Public Policy: Theoretical background and concepts

Why social media has become important for public administration and in public policy making? Before answering to this question, some key concepts should be clarified.

Social media is the collective of online communication channels dedicated to community-based input, interaction, content-sharing and collaboration. Websites and applications dedicated to forums, microblogging, social networking, social bookmarking, social curation, and wikis are among the different types of social media. Social media has several characteristics, such as: 1) social media are interactive Web 2.0 Internet-based applications (Obar and Wildman, 2015; Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010); 2) user-generated content such as text posts or comments, digital photos or videos, and data generated through all online interactions, is the lifeblood of social media (Obar and Wildman, 2015; Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010); 3) users create service-specific profiles and identities for the website or app that are designed and maintained by the social media organization (Obar and Wildman, 2015; Boyd and Ellison, 2007); and 4) social media facilitate the development of online social networks by connecting a user's profile with those of other individuals or groups (Obar and Wildman, 2015; Boyd and Ellison, 2007).

Some examples of popular social media platforms are; Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram, LinkedIn, Reddit, Pinterest, and WhatsApp. As users engage with these services, they create highly interactive platforms through which individuals, communities, and organizations can share, co-create, discuss, participate and modify user-generated content or self-curated content posted online. Networks formed through social media change the way groups of people interact and communicate or stand with the votes. They "introduce substantial and pervasive changes to communication between organizations, communities, and individuals" (Kietzmann and Hermkens, 2011).

In business, social media has been used to market products, promote brands, connect to current customers and foster new business. In terms of customer feedback, social media makes it easy to tell a company and everyone else about their experiences with that company. The business can also respond quickly to feedback, attend to customer problems and maintain, regain or rebuild customer confidence. Social media is also often used for crowdsourcing. In ICT projects, crowdsourcing usually involves engaging and blending business and ICT services from a mix of internal and external providers, sometimes with input from customers and/or the general public. Other B2B applications of social media include social media analytics, the practice of gathering data from blogs and social media websites and analysing that data to make business decisions. The most common use of social media analytics is to mine customer sentiment to support marketing and customer service activities. Internally, social tools can help employees access information and resources they need to work together effectively and solve business problems. Externally, social media platforms help an organization stay close to their customers and make it easier to conduct research to improve business processes and operations. The integration of social media in business can also pose challenges. Social media policies are designed to set expectations for appropriate behaviour and ensure that an employee's posts will not expose the company to legal problems or public embarrassment. Such policies include directives for when an employee should identify himself or herself as a representative of the company on a social networking website, as well as rules for what types of information can be shared and this is applied to public institutions as well.

Social media deals with all types of data posted, shared, and analysed by its users. Data comprises facts, observations and raw information. Data are, indeed, forms of information. The concept of data is worthy of book-length explication (Borgman, 2016); however, in order to explore how data are created, used and understood, it might be enough to define it by examples, such as facts, numbers, letters, and symbols (National Research Council, 1999). Data itself has little meaning if it is not processed (Monino and Sedkaoui, 2016). Indeed, some interviewees confessed that data collected without clear design proved to be useless as information, because of this characteristic. Information, indeed, consists of interpreted data and has discernible meaning. It describes and answers to questions like "who?", "what?", "when?", and "how many?" (Monino and Sedkaoui, 2016).

Data posted, shared, and analysed on social media platforms are open. As members continuously create and exchange data on those platforms, they are, indeed, Big Data. Open Data refers to the principle according to which public data (gathered, maintained and used by government institutions) should be made available to be accessed and reused by citizens and businesses, while Big Data is used when the amount of data that an organization has to manage reaches a critical volume that requires new technological approaches in terms of storage, processing, and usage. Volume, speed, and variety are usually the three criteria used to qualify a database as "Big Data" (Monino and Sedkaoui, 2016). Openness is a trend, which have changed relationship among stakeholders in all sectors (Borgman, 2016). Open models of government, standards, data, services, and collaborative production of knowledge have contributed to this transformation. Openness is claimed to promote the flow of information, the modularity of systems and services, and interoperability (Borgman, 2016). As Open Government Data has become increasingly a set of policies that promotes transparency, accountability and value creation by making government data available to all (OECD, 2013; Ubaldi, 2013), use of social media has also become important to public bodies, although no so many institutions clearly and publicly mention the issue (Balcells et al., 2015; Bryer and Zavattaro, 2011; Karakiza, 2015; Taylor, 2017; Zavattaro, 2013). Their major concern is still Open Data. By making their datasets available, public institutions are believed to become more transparent and accountable to citizens. By encouraging the use, reuse and free distribution of datasets, governments are expected to promote business creation and innovative, citizen-centric services. Data governance constitutes a

framework of quality control for management and key information resource protection within an institution. Its mission is to ensure that the data is managed in accordance with values and convictions of the institution to oversee its quality and to put mechanism into place that monitor and maintain the quality. Data governance includes data management, oversight, quality evaluation, coherence, integrity and ICT resource security within an institution (Monino and Sedkaoui, 2016).

Use of social media in public sector, together with the promotion of Open Data and Open Government Data, has become important concepts in government institutions for the above mentioned, mostly empirical reasons (Hamm et al., 2014; Keles et al., 2020; Jukić and Merlak, 2017; Špaček, 2018). Theoretically, the importance of co-creation with citizen and/or user, can be explained from New Public Management (NPM) concept. Information and Communication Technology (ICT) is considered to be introduced in public administration along with other new managerial techniques, especially under the NPM concept in the Nineties. With NPM, the use of ICT started to focus on managerial process of public administration. Various managerial tools enabled by ICT were introduced to improve the speed and transparency of administrative procedure. Exchange of documents and elaboration through multiple actors became easier, thus improving interaction and collaboration among stakeholders. Not only the internal managerial issues, but also the public service delivery utilizing and benefitting from ICT, especially web-based technologies became popular (Kudo, 2018). Many former counter services were transformed into on-line services, making citizen possible to access directly to information as well as public services (Alford and O'Flynn, 2012). E-Government has been challenged with "digital era governance", which goes beyond the NPM (Dunleavy et al., 2006). In this view, all stakeholders are related in public governance network. The introduction of New Public Governance (NPG) in public service delivery is an important turning point as concept as well as practice. Citizens and communities are invited to participate not only in the decision-making process, but also the service delivery process, thus realizing co-design, co-creation, and co-production (Granier and Kuro, 2016; Kudo, 2018). They are redesigning the structure of service delivery.

Digital services of governments have become an importance aspect of technology and/or innovation driven public services. This concept as well as practice was enabled through various elements, including co-design and co-production with citizens and other stakeholders, digital technologies enabling data analytics, thus better designing services, based on data and evidences, NPG helped the realisation of co-production with citizens and other stakeholders, while NPG encouraged ICT to be an effective and efficient instrument of government (Kudo, 2018). Many of the digital services are not only a result of technological innovation and advancement, but also a product of institutional reform and revolution. ICT, per se, is not a solution, but could offer and become an opportunity.

In line with this theoretical evolution of public sector governance, Social Media, Open Data, and Open Government Data have become essential to government institutions, not only for their innovation but also for the possible realisation of co-design and co-production with citizens and other stakeholders. Indeed, the research focuses on this topic because of this very reason.

4. UK Approach to Social Media in Government

The UK government has committed to Open Government as well as use of Social Media. Regarding the first, the UK's fourth National Action Plan for 2018-2020 was launched in 2018 and was developed in collaboration with the UK Open Government Network (OGN), a coalition of active citizens and civil society organisations committed to making government and other powerful institutions work better for people through enhanced transparency, participation and accountability.

The NAP sets out various commitments in line with the Open Government Partnership values of access to information, civic participation, public accountability, and technology and innovation.

In terms of Social Media, the government is aware of the recent behaviour changes: almost every internet user can now be reached via social media; social media use continues to grow rapidly; all eyes turn to mobile-first social videos as 60% of internet users primarily use social sites to find entertainment; social media's role in the purchase journey expands; one in three minutes online is spent on social networking and this is an increase across all markets and major demographics; social overtakes search for 16–24 year olds and this demographic is turning to social as the preferred channel for brand discovery and research; social networks serve more ads, while consumers block them. The rise of ad blocking is a loud warning that citizens still resist and resent broadcast-style marketing tactics; and the future of online product research is visuals and voice, that pictures are substituting keywords (Hootsuite, 2018a).

Indeed, 64 percent of the UK population are active on social media, and they expect immediate access to information and real-time responses, even to the public institutions. With this in mind, the UK government is steadfast in its commitment to building a digital infrastructure to keep up with citizen expectations. "The Value of Social Media in the UK Government", a Hootsuite White Paper explores why governments need to adopt a citizen engagement and service delivery strategy that puts social media and digital first (Hootsuite, 2018b). The Paper analysis that, "the UK Digital Strategy 2017 policy paper (UK government, 2017) outlines a digital strategy for a digital economy, that will ensure the best digital connectivity for consumers and businesses alike; however, providing a seamless, efficient, and integrated online platform to better serve its citizens is only one part of the digital jigsaw for the UK government". Digital connectivity is now a utility and modern life in the digital age is becoming impossible without it. And nowhere is this relentless march towards digitisation epitomised better than in social media. Today's population has social media networks at their fingertips every minute of the day. This means there is a disconnect between traditional approaches and the expectations of today's hyper-connected, always-on citizens. UK government thus needs to expand its efforts, embracing a government wide citizen engagement and service delivery strategy with social media and mobility (Hootsuite, 2018b).

The White Paper analysis that never before has government had such a low-cost solution for engaging citizens. Maximising the investment in social media requires a strategic approach to social engagement. Government agencies that are doing it well have mastered a way to adopt a human-centric approach when engaging with citizens on social. But government is still perceived as being the most annoying industry on social media. Government organisations that are looking to embrace the power of social media have to adopt tools to ensure good outcomes. Social media management solutions can simplify social engagement and pay for themselves by providing operational efficiencies, streamlined service delivery, and improved citizen satisfaction with government interactions (Hootsuite, 2018b).

The Paper explores the value of social media as an agent to drive efficient, effective, and citizen-centric engagement within the UK government and suggests four pillars: 1) citizen engagement. Listening to citizens is the first step to learning what's happening within communities. Tweets and Facebook events, polls, lists, and livestreams can be used to gauge and monitor citizen engagement and community concerns. Indeed, the UK government takes public safety seriously, using social tools to promote good citizen behaviour, advocate safety, and address sensitive subjects; 2) government service delivery. Social media can play a role in helping to reduce the public-sector resources consumed in the delivery of citizen services. Services like tax payments, permit applications, and

license renewals, for instance, can be delivered as do-it-yourself services; 3) critical response communications. Social media can help spread the word quickly about a disaster or public emergency. Twitter and Facebook updates can alert citizens to power outages, terror alerts, and weather disasters in real time for immediacy and accuracy. First responders can monitor community activity to identify areas where citizen support is needed; and 4) government operations. Social media can create efficiencies in other areas of government operations. Social tools can attract and retain highly skilled workers where traditional recruitment fails. This can help enhance the employer brand of government agencies and help them compete against the private sector for fresh talent (Hootsuite, 2018b).

In order to use social media more effectively in government, the While Paper recommends the following points: 1) simplified social outreach. Social media engagement can be used to enhance agency outreach by delivering a unified communications strategy. A single platform for social management can centralise social outreach and engagement at the central and local levels for efficiency and ease of procurement; 2) consolidated social monitoring. Social listening helps agencies learn what's on the minds of constituents. Real time posts give governments insight into relevant discussions. Listening to these discussions sets up agencies to respond to messages and comments across social channels, helping them resolve problems; 3) solid metrics to prove value. Measurement of success is key to proving the value of social and increasing budget for social initiatives. To measure performance, agencies need to start by defining what success means to them. With a well-established definition of success in place, agencies can use social media management software to measure and demonstrate progress towards program objectives; 4) security and process. Few things can be more damaging to perception of an institution than a negative social post that turns viral. A centralized social media management platform makes it easy to recognise and address potentially damaging social content. Staff access can be managed across departments with secure logins, publishing approval workflows, and flexible permission levels. This allows for consistency across departments, agencies, and locations, and ensures that posts are reviewed, approved, and compliant.

The use of social media in government is aimed to: 1) advance public sector missions. An effective social media campaign to communicate the goals and benefits of government initiatives can help constituents understand public policies (UK government, 2015); 2) streamline agency operations. Social media management tools can speed up government responses to emergencies to safeguard constituents and communicate in a timely manner. Governments can post emergency alerts and instant updates across several social channels from a single dashboard while monitoring responses and inbound communications; 3) reduce cost of citizen outreach. A shared platform for social media campaigns can unify and speed up social interactions, reducing redundancies and making information more transparent and available for citizen and interagency consumption. Every government agency is at a different stage of the digital transformation. While social media is just one stage, it offers government agencies a relatively quick win in terms of enhancing the citizen experience. Government social media use satisfies citizen demand for real-time information, makes citizen engagement easier, and streamlines government operations. Using social media, governments can control costs, increase transparency, earn greater public trust, and create positive public sentiment. Effective social outreach requires that government users listen as much as they post, and that they respond quickly to comments and mentions.

"The State of Social Media in Government in 2018: Hootsuite's annual report on social media trends in government" (Hootsuite, 2018a) outlines five recommended areas of opportunity for social media in government; 1) drive government-wide efficiencies with social; 2) restore declining trust with peer influence; 3) combat brain drain with social-first recruitment; 4) rethink crisis communications in the wake of extreme weather conditions; and 5) build compliance into your social media strategy. It also

deals with how to streamline and coordinate social media across departments and agencies and how a centralised social media strategy can help control costs, increase transparency, earn greater citizen trust, and create positive public sentiment.

The question that arises is that if social media is such an almighty tool for government and public policy making as well as for the citizen, as it has been described as above and if it does have ant issues. Indeed, most of the interviewees, who were or have been directly involved in governmental digitalisation process and had experiences in dealing with citizen via social media, points out the following. First, as citizen mostly use social media for entertainment, there is still a strong hesitation for them to communicate with public institutions via social media, resulting that the voices to government via social media are not necessary reflecting the voices or majority and thus representing the population (Mellon and Prosser, 2017; Nseke, 2018). Second, similar to data, the quality of inputs via social media varies, making it difficult to evaluate and treat them. Third, as it is the characteristics of social media, only sensational topics are raised and discussed, leaving many ordinary issues untouched and/or ignored, thus, institutions are aware that following only the voices of social media cannot improve the public policy in general. Forth, institutions often do not know how to interpret voices on social media. They are aware of its importance; however, voices often are confused with noises, which sometimes are stronger then the first, or they cannot reflect meaningful voices into public policy (Sloan et al., 2013). Lastly, given the characteristics of public services, that have to reach to those who are in need, it is not easy to identify the silent needs of many, who are completely out of the social media, because of various reasons.

Some interviewees noted that, for several empirical cases, including park run and/or social prescribing, citizen engagement through social media has been vital to the projects. However, the successful cases are limited to those, where citizen participation are spontaneous and independent, and where only active and engaged participants use social media to reach their objectives. For disaster and crisis management, social media can be an important tool to identify the problems; however, in practice, many noises have caused problem during operations. So far, the use of social media in government remains theoretical framework, although public institutions are keen to utilise it.

5. Voice, Noise and Exit: Who's Cost?

Since the aim of the paper is to explore social media use by government in terms of Hirschman's theory, this section analyses theories and the case with the framework, slightly revise (Witt, 2011) from the original.

Social media is based on co-production with civil society and among institutions as many authors have explored. On this regard, social media enables public institutions to capture voices, even those, which traditional and conventional channel could not have captured, with rather small investment, as many authors proved. On the contrary to the initial hypothesis, indeed, social media in not only "cheap" tool to the citizen, but it is so to the government as well. However, one major issue is the representativeness of the voices (Nseke, 2018; Sloan et al., 2013) and the co-existence of noises, which, sometimes resemble voices, even according to the sophisticated analytical tools.

The often-cited example on healthcare services is definitely a good practice, as, for example, Social Prescribing attracts rather active and/or proactive citizens, who know the significance of preventive healthcare and are rather responsible for their own health condition. It is a good example of co-production of service with civil society and citizens, also heavily using social media. Thanks to these new tools, it provides citizen opportunities, in which they can learn about the possibilities and design

their own personalised solutions, i.e. "co-produce" their "social prescription" - so that people with social, emotional or practical needs are empowered to find solutions which will improve their health and wellbeing, often using services provided by the voluntary and community sector. It is considered to be an innovative solution, with the potential to reduce the financial burden on government. This has been, so far, possible, because the voices are from engaged citizens and public institutions do not have to deal with many noises and/or exit, which are unfortunately common in other fields. When we, however, consider the real vulnerable individuals in healthcare sector, i.e. aged, immigrants, and those with socio-economic difficulties, with poor health condition and/or poor digital literacy, their voices would never become voices, if public institutions rely heavily on social media communication. These are the shortfall of social media dependence; institutions cannot capture the real social needs, but will perceive only the virtual ones. Thus, the "cost" of those who fell out from the system is not considered, while the general cost cutting benefit has been stressed. This practice actually creates "forced" exit of citizens, in the name of popular voices and some noises as well. Can we discard voices from those who do not express their voices or who remain silent because they do not have means? Well, this is a further issue to be investigated, both theoretically as well as in practice.

Social policies were thought to benefit more from social media; however, besides healthcare, there are not so many good practices in other fields. Education policy was thought to have improved using social media, as the target demographic group is the most active social media users; however, it seems that it is difficult to use the input from social media in constructive way in this field.

6. Conclusion: Findings and limitations

This paper aims to explore the theories and current situation of social media use in public sector and for public policy through literature reviews and a case study in a particular framework, that of Hirschman's theory on voice and exit. Literature reviews show conceptual objects and benefits of social media in government; however, the real outcomes are, so far, mixed. Interviewees, also, pointed out the operational issues in using social media in government, which were easy to guess from the literatures, but are not easy to resolve.

Social media is becoming an integrated part of many citizens' social life; however, it is not yet universal and has several characteristics of its own, that have to be considered, before being used in public sphere. Interviews revealed that there are issues such as capacity development of public employees for using these inputs from social media into public policies.

The result from case study contributes to theoretical discussions, as they show empirical issues, many of which are not explored in existing literatures. The case also contributes to the theory of co-production of public service delivery discussion as well, since it is an example of it.

Given the limitation of one case study, the further research which will follow would be on several other governments, and compare those cases. Besides, some empirical examples of public policies using social media inputs could enrich the future research.

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