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THE USE OF TWITTER AS A SERVICE DELIVERY COMMUNICATION TOOL: A CASE STUDY OF THE JOHANNESBURG ROADS AGENCY

BY

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ABSTRACT

Many local governments around the world have adopted Twitter as a tool to enable two-way communication with its citizens. Academics in the fields of Developmental Communication, Public Administration and Information and Communications Technologies (ICT) have theorised that social media platforms have the ability to enhance the delivery of services by local governments (Guillamón, et al: 2016; Kavanaugh et al: 2012; Perlman: 2012). Based on this theory, the aim of this study is to determine how the Johannesburg Road Agency, a local government entity of the City of Johannesburg in South Africa, used its Twitter account as a tool to communicate with its citizens about service delivery relevant to the entity's scope of services. For the purpose of this study the researcher used a traditional case study research approach to illustrate how the JRA uses its Twitter account to engage in two-way participatory communication with its citizens about the services it must provide.

The data for the case study was collected through content analysis of policy documents, and interviews. The study's participants, namely the staff from the JRA's Customer Relations Management (CRM) department, were requested to provide information through these interviews and policy documents. The study found that the JRA uses strategies, policies, protocols and plans to manage its Twitter account with staff that is trained in customer relations management. The researcher argues clientelism is practised at the JRA as the entity's policy documents and staff members identify its citizens as mere customers paying for a service and not citizens of a democracy with definitive rights. The study further explored whether the citizens of Johannesburg, that use this method of communication with the JRA, find it useful.

The majority of participating citizens have expressed that they perceive this method of communication with the JRA to be useful, however, the researcher argues that this method cannot be seen as an appropriate method due to the internet access constraints that the citizens in the City of Johannesburg experience, which prevents the majority of citizens from having access to Twitter as a communication tool. The interviewed staff argued that communicating with citizens on Twitter, a public platform, makes them feel

more accountable and makes the process more transparent, while admitting that in some instances they have to lie to citizens when there are problems experienced. Therefore, the researcher concludes that the JRA has not fully utilised the opportunities that Twitter has to offer to realise participatory communication between the public service providers and citizens.

Keywords: Twitter; Social Media; Local Government; Government; Service Delivery; Communications; Web 2.0; Accountability; Transparency; Reliability, Citizen Engagement; Citizen Participation; ICTs.

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

(signed)---------- **Date**02/04/2019**----------**

ANLERIE CONRADIE

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND TERMS

Accountability – the act of taking responsibility by political leaders and public officials.

BPDAM: Business Planning and Development Asset Monitoring.

Citizen engagement – the participation of citizens in discussion and implementing public projects and policies.

CRM: Customer Relations Management.

ICT: Information and Communications Technology.

JRA: Johannesburg Road Agency.

Service delivery – the provision of basic human services to citizens by a government.

Social media – digital applications and websites making use of the internet to allow users to create, share and receive content online.

Transparency – operating in an open way that allows others to monitor what is being done.

Twitter – an online social networking platform used to communicate and discuss various topics within 280 characters.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a short historical background of South Africa's government to give context to the issues of service delivery still experienced within the country today. On the basis of this information the researcher outlines the research problem with a core focus on the service delivery issues experienced in the City of Johannesburg. In the aim and objectives sections of this chapter, the researcher indicates what the study wants to achieve.

1.2 Background

With South Africa's history rife with colonialism and decades of oppression of the majority of the country's people, the country is faced with many disparities as a result. After being in power for twenty-three years; the government is still struggling to resolve socio-economic inequalities and deliver essential services, such as water and electricity, to South Africans, especially in the poorer communities. Public service is provided by the government to people living within its jurisdiction; whether it is directly delivered by the government or an entity that the government funds (McGregor et al, 1982).

After South Africa had its first democratic elections on 27 April 1994, the state started to create a new constitution. The country's new post-apartheid constitution was written into law in 1996, where it's commitment to human rights took centre stage in its Bill of Rights. The South African Constitution is recognized around the world as one of the most advanced constitutions, as it ensures both civil liberties and socio-economic rights (Thinyane, Sieborger, & Reynell: 2015). The constitution states that it is the responsibility of the government of the day to provide South African citizens with security, water and sanitation, and housing services, to name a few. Unfortunately, after more than 20 years of democracy, this has not been the case, especially for the country's poorest citizens (Thinyane, Sieborger, & Reynell: 2015).

Chapter two of the South African Constitution is the Bill of Rights and enshrined in it are a set of socio-economic rights that the three spheres of government (local, provincial and national) must make sure is adhered to by using all of its power and resources. These rights require that all spheres of government, especially local governments, provide essential services such as housing, health care, social and personal security, food and water. In The Human Sciences Research Council's (HSRC) South African Social Attitudes Survey (Sasas), South Africans generally identify public service delivery as a top priority. The HSRC (2016) argues that the lack of service delivery by the government "has led to violent confrontations between the police and communities angry at their lack of toilets, running water and housing," (p. 3).

Political analysts have attributed this lack of delivery of basic services across the population to a lack of accountability at local government level, particularly with respect to a lack of public participation (Heller, 2009). In 2014, when Pravin Gordhan, the then Minister for Co-operative Governance & Traditional Affairs, noted that the main problems faced by local government in South Africa are "a communication breakdown between councils and citizens; no accountability; political interference in administrations; corruption; fraud; bad management; violent service delivery protests; factionalism; and depleted municipal capacity" (Lund, 2014, para. 10).

According to Gordhan, the problem is not the inability to diagnose the issues in the local government system, but rather implementing the proposed reform plans. In 2009 President Jacob Zuma's government made the same diagnosis as Gordan in 2014, on what is wrong with local government. In 2009 Zuma launched the Local Government Turnaround Strategy and Operation Clean Audit, which promised that by 2014 that all South African local governments would get a clean audit by 2014; which it didn't (Lund, 2014).

1.3 The research problem

The lack of adequate service delivery in the City of Johannesburg, South Africa, has been a problem experienced by citizens for many years. In the *JRA Strategy 2017* document, the Johannesburg Roads Agency (JRA) states that it was established as a

private company by the City of Johannesburg (City of Johannesburg) metropolitan municipality in South Africa in 2000. In 2001 the JRA signed a mandate with the City of Johannesburg to serve as one of its service delivery entities. The purpose of the JRA is to maintain and develop road infrastructure, traffic lights and storm drain infrastructure in the City of Johannesburg's 1 645km$_2$ of land (StatsSA, 2011) that falls under its jurisdiction. If the millions of road users in the city are unable to report for duty or arrive late because of faulty traffic lights or sinkholes in the roads, the city's economy and its residents will suffer the consequences.

The demarcated service jurisdiction of the City of Johannesburg is home to the largest population in South Africa of 4.4 million people of which 50.9% are male and 49.1% are female (StatsSA, 2011). The majority of the population are Black African (76.4%), followed by Whites (12.3%), Coloureds (5.6%) and Indian/Asians (4.9%) (StatsSA, 2011). Despite housing the richest square mile in Africa, the unemployment rate is 25% and the youth unemployment rate is 31.5% (StatsSA, 2011). Merely 34.9% of citizens that are aged 20 years and older have completed matric and 2.9% of the same age group have not received any form of schooling (StatsSA, 2011).

In 2004 the JRA established the 'MOBILITY' strategy to guide the organization with its service delivery efforts (JRA, 2017). The JRA developed a new JRA Strategy in 2017, which it believes is more relevant to present day. Within this new strategy the JRA focuses more on communications, citizen engagement and customer service with the aim to enhance road related service delivery to the citizens it serves.

At the time of this study the JRA had been using Twitter as one of its communication tool for more than eight years. With this new strategy, new standards have been set to improve the citizen's communication experience with the JRA via its various accessible communication platforms. Studies in local governments around the world have found that similar strategies have improved government accountability, transparency and public participation (Guillamón, Ríos, Gesuele, and Metallo, 2016: Mossberger, Wu, Crawford, 2013: Porumbescu, 2016). With this in mind, this study was conducted to have an in-depth look at how the JRA uses its Twitter account to communicate with its citizens.

1.4 The aim of this study

The broad aim of this study was to explore how the JRA, as a local government entity in the City of Johannesburg metropolitan municipality in South Africa, uses Twitter to communicate with its citizens about service delivery. This was explored by focusing on the JRA's Twitter account to demonstrate how the entity's communications department attempts to utilise its account to communicate about its essential services to its citizens, and how the entity and the citizens respond to this method of communication.

The City of Johannesburg has 13 different service delivery entities. For the purpose of this study, only the JRA was used as a case study, because the JRA was visibly more active on its Twitter account compared to the other entities. Some of the sub-questions that the study asked included whether citizens perceived the use of Twitter as a method of communication with the JRA to usefully enhance service delivery and to what extent it could enhance participatory communication – a development communication theory. The study also asked whether Twitter is an appropriate service delivery communication tool within Johannesburg. Posing this question was important to establish whether Twitter can be used to communicate with most of the City's 4.4 million citizens (StatsSA, 2011) or just a select minority that has access to internet and internet-based platforms. Although a communication method or tool may be useful in achieving participatory communication, it doesn't necessarily mean that the tool is suitable for the circumstances or environment it is being used in.

1.5 Rationale of the study

According to South African Customer Satisfaction Index's 2016 (SAcsi) results City of Johannesburg performed worse than the national average score of 59.5. Gauteng, the province in which the City of Johannesburg is located, experienced more service delivery protests in 2016 (a local government elections year in which political rule in the City of Johannesburg changed from the African National Congress to the Democratic Alliance) than the other eight provinces (Municipal IQ, 2017).

Valle-Cruz, Sandoval-Almazan, and Gil-Garcia (2016) conducted a study based on a survey in 2015, to examine the role of modern day technology use and how it affects

transparency, efficiency, and corruption in Mexican local governments. The results of the study were based on the perspectives of citizens who reside in these local governments. The study found that some emergent technologies, such as social media and mobile technologies are important role players in effecting the citizens' perceptions about their local government's transparency, efficiency, and corruption (Valle-Cruz, Sandoval-Almazan, & Gil-Garcia: 2016).

The perceptions of citizens about their governments should be of high importance to any government as good perceptions are generally what keep governments in rule. In countries, such as Mexico and South Africa, there are debates around issues of transparency, efficiency, and corruption. The perceptions of citizens about these issues have a significant effect on the engagement that the citizen has with its government agencies (Valle-Cruz, Sandoval-Almazan, & Gil-Garcia: 2016). In their study, Valle-Cruz, Sandoval-Almazan and Gil-Garcia (2016) suggest that:

> ICTs could improve efficiency by enabling interoperability among agencies, cutting bureaucratic barriers, improving quality, and ultimately simplifying administrative procedures in terms of cost and time to completion, all of which promotes vast savings in the public budget and enhances operational and financial efficiency. (p. 323)

This study's findings contribute to the broader field of development communication, especially with a focus on participatory communication and the study of new development communication strategies and methods used through the innovation of Web 2.0 and e-governance within local government. Web 2.0, a term coined by O'Reilly (2005), is the second generation of web-based applications that emphasize user-generated content, usability and interoperability. Social media is computer-mediated technologies that allow the creation and sharing of information, ideas, career interests and other forms of expression via virtual community networks**.** Social media is a form of e-governance, which is defined by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2003) as the use of information and communications technologies (ICTs) as a tool to achieve better government. Social media provides new and innovative methods for immediate interaction between citizens and governments

(Jaeger, Bertot, and Shilton, 2012), and can therefore be seen as the best form of Web 2.0.

Governments and local governments around the world quickly took notice of the opportunities that social media could exploit them to and opened various social networking accounts. Averweg (2011) explains that South Africa has followed the international trend of using social media in local government:

> Like with the advent of television in South Africa, social media tools are becoming an integral part of the infrastructure of South African society and communities; changing how everything is done in all domains of the country. Social communities now exist in almost every conceivable domain. In South Africa, every citizen wants to belong to something. Communities are a vital component of municipalities, the internet and the fabric of South African society. (p. 1)

In studies related to the use of social media within local governments, most of the studies focused on the use of social media to increase citizen engagement and participation, create trust and to enforce government transparency and accountability through public surveillance. Skoric, Zhu, Goh and Pang (2015) and Gauld, Goldfinch and Horsburgh (2010) have found that the use of social media generally has a positive influence on citizen engagement and participation. Bertot, Jaeger and Grimes (2010) and Bonson, Torres, Royo and Flores (2012) have all proven that Web 2.0 platforms, more specifically social media, can be utilized to make governments and local governments more open, transparent and accountable.

Porumbescu (2016) found that the use of social media accounts by the public sector is positively related to citizen satisfaction and perceptions of public sector trustworthiness, especially when compared to other e-government platforms such as websites. Park et al (2015) demonstrates in a study that citizen trust in government can be developed into patronage though government's behaviour on social media.

Although these aspects of citizen participation (reliability and trust, transparency and accountability) are part and parcel of what local governments in a democracy are obliged to uphold, they are not exactly essential public services.

Transparency requires that all relevant information be disclosed in a timely and orderly fashion to assists communities to improve their governments' progressive contributions and helps citizens assist in resolving issues that are inherent to government activity (Valle-Cruz Sandoval-Almazan, and Gil-Garcia 2016). Accountability objectively holds individuals and organizations responsible for their actions of governance (Paul, 1992). Reliability and trust are two elements that is required in development communication and democracy as good governance enables citizens to trust that government will perform in their best interest and they need to be able to rely on government to uphold their rights and promises made to them. However, these themes are incorporated in the implementation of public service delivery and will therefore be adequately discussed within the literature review.

Oliveira and Welch (2013) made use of data collected from an American national survey of 696 local government managers in five different agencies to address the following questions: which social media tools are being used, for which tasks or purposes within each of the four technology-task couplings; social media for dissemination, social media for feedback on service quality, social media for participation, and social media for internal work collaboration. The data showed that the majority of officials preferred to use Facebook and Twitter. Obar and Wildman (2015) also found that:

> Facebook and Twitter are currently the most visible of an avalanche of initiatives aimed at building new services around social media functionalities, and embedding Web 2.0 features into other web-based services. (p. 745)

Bertot, Jaeger, and Grimes, (2010) and Bertot, Jaeger and Hansen (2012) indicate that social media offers opportunities to provide new functions to invigorate established government functions. Bertot, Jaeger and Hansen (2012) argue that social media is forming an increasingly central part of presenting and disseminating information from government, “connecting to government services, and engaging members of the public in governance and civic discourse,” (p.32). These two abovementioned studies also

indicate that social media can be used for the purpose of co-production, where governments and its citizens work together to “develop, design, and deliver government services to improve service quality, delivery, and responsiveness” (Bertot, Jaeger and Hansen, 2012, p 31).

For the purpose of this study the researcher used a case study research approach to illustrate how the JRA uses Twitter to communicate with its citizens. The data for the case study was collected through policy documents and interviews. The study’s participants, namely the staff from the JRA’s Customer Relations Management (CRM) department and the citizens, were requested to provide information through these instruments.

The use if the participatory communication theory of development communication is important to this study as Twitter provides an opportunity for the JRA to enhance development communication and democracy through achieving the benefits of participatory communication. In essence, this study identifies how the JRA uses Twitter to communicate with its citizens and whether this method encourages participatory communication to take place.

1.6 Research objectives

In order to achieve the main aim of this study, the following objectives were addressed:

- To investigate how the JRA uses Twitter as a tool to communicate with its citizens about service delivery.
- To understand to what extent Twitter can be said to enhance participatory communication between the JRA and its citizens.
- To investigate how useful citizens using Twitter to communicate with the JRA perceive this method to be.
- To examine whether Twitter is an appropriate tool for the JRA to use in order to communicate with its citizens.

1.7 Research questions

The research questions are as follows:

- How does the Johannesburg Road Agency use Twitter as a tool to communicate with its citizens about service delivery?
- Do citizens perceive the use of Twitter as a useful communication tool in enhancing delivery of services by the JRA?
- To what extent Twitter can be said to enhance participatory communication between the JRA and its citizens?

1.8 Significance of the study

This study is significant to the field of development communication in the South African context as it indicates how a local government entity (JRA) in the most populated city in this country (Johannesburg), utilises the modern social media platform Twitter to communicate with its citizens. Secondly, to some extent the usefulness of the JRA's communication via Twitter was measured by the participating citizens who reside in the City of Johannesburg. By determining the perceived usefulness of the JRA's use of Twitter, indicated whether this method is a step in the right direction by local government to communicate with citizens about resolving service delivery issues. Lastly, this study contributes to the body of research regarding the digital divide. This study's findings can be used as a stepping stone on which researchers can build to determine how the use of social media platforms, such as Twitter, can possibly be used to enhance participatory communication within a democracy. This study also adds value to the use of Web 2.0 platforms as development communication methods in developing nations.

1.9 Structure of the study

The structure of this study is as follows:

- **Chapter One: Introduction**

This chapter introduces the research problem, research questions and significance of the study.

- **Chapter Two: Literature Review**

This chapter introduces previous studies that have been conducted that are relevant to this study.

- **Chapter Three: Research Design and Methodology**

This chapter lays out how the researcher approached the study, collected data and analysed the data.

- **Chapter Four: Data Results and Discussion**

This chapter relays and explains the information received during the data collection process.

- **Chapter Five: Conclusion and Recommendations**

This chapter sets out the study's findings and recommendations.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, Development Communication is defined after which the researcher explores modern day online media tools that have the potential to support and improve participatory communication. The researcher then takes a look at what benefits and challenges these tools may bring when considering democratic elements of reliability and trust, transparency and accountability.

2.2 Definition of development communication

Communication for development and social change or development communication is a social process, which can essentially be defined as the sharing of knowledge, which propels discussion to reach an agreement for action to meet the needs and interests of those concerned (Servaes, 2008). Quebral (2006) describes development communication within a democracy in-depth:

> The art and science of human communication applied to the speedy transformation of a country and the mass of its people from poverty to a dynamic state of economic growth that makes possible greater social equality and the larger fulfillment of the human potential. (p. 102)

Practically, development communication utilises communication media and modern technology's interpersonal communication instruments to participation and social change for the purpose of achieving social and political transformation (Jenatsch and Bauer, 2016).

Servaes (2008) stresses that change cannot occur regarding development programmes without continuous "culturally and socially relevant communication dialogue among development providers and clientele, and within the recipient group itself," (p.15). This dialogue between authorities and beneficiaries must allow the local community to take up ownership of the development programmes in order to enhance the probability of the programmes having a sustainable impact (Jenatsch and Bauer, 2016). Jenatsch and

Bauer (2016) argue that even though tools are used to facilitate dialogues, debates and interactive communications, development communication is not only an activity. “The decisive element is not so much what tool we use as how we apply it”, (Jenatsch and Bauer, 2016, p 12)**.**

As this study seeks to determine how the JRA uses the communication media tool, Twitter, to engage in two-way communication with its citizens, it falls within the field of development communication.

2.3 Online media tools for development communication

Many governments in developed and developing countries, such as the United States of America and South Africa have adopted Twitter and other social media platforms in an attempt to better engage citizens, promote transparency and advance public service (Bertot, Jaeger, & Hansen: 2012). Generally social media platforms have been seen as useful tools to promote public goals (Oliveira and Welch, 2013). Social media has also provided an opportunity for organizations and government agencies to successfully share knowledge.

Social media tools, such as Twitter, can provide local governments with the opportunity to converse in two-way communication, by which they can speak directly to their citizens. Averweg (2011) says South African societies and communities are adopting social media tools as part of life, just as television was adopted. Averweg (2011) argues that the internet can be used to bring citizens and governments together as many of the citizens in South Africa want to “belong to something”, such as online communities, and communities are an important factor for the democratic functionality of local governments.

As the popularity of social networking grew over the years, so did the popularity of online communities. Web 2.0 applications allow groups to communicate with other groups with many-to-many online connections within municipal areas. Social media tools and sites, such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Flickr and Google+, are giving

local governments cheap, easy to use and personalised options for meeting public service delivery needs for communities (Averweg, 2011). In his 2011 report on *Some Perspective on Using Social Media by Municipalities,* Averweg uses the example of Google's Google+ feature called Circles, to engage communities. This feature was based on the fact that people tend to contextually categorise their contacts into segments of business colleagues, family, friends, etc. Circles is based on these real-world interactions. Circles recreates those contextual groups in a social networking environment by creating an infrastructure for the environment to thrive, and mirroring communications in real life between societies.

For governments to legitimately use social media to share government information and services in order to successfully facilitate citizen participation and engagement, the public must be able to access and use social media technologies (Bertot, Jaeger, & Hansen: 2012). Bertot, Jaeger, Munson, and Glaisyer (2010), argue that citizens' ability to use social media is predicated on the following: 1) Access to the technological devices that support the use of the Internet and Web 2.0 platforms; 2) The scientific development of technology, internet-enabled services and programs that offers equal access to all users; and, 3) Information and literature necessary to use social media.

It was anticipated that a more online, interactive and participatory government would lead to increased civic engagement on the part of the citizens (Mossberger, Wu, Crawford, 2013). This could be conceptualized at the result of higher levels of citizen interest, discussion, knowledge and participation in community and government affairs (Mossberger, Wu and Crawford, 2013). Several features of Web 2.0 allows for customization of information. These features include, RSS feeds or social networks like Twitter and/or Facebook that lower the information cost through alerts and digital sharing, and, like e-government in general, who provide easily accessible 'round-the-clock' access to information, that ultimately adds to citizen knowledge about and interest in public affairs (Mossberger, Wu and Crawford 2013).

Mainka et al (2014) argues that citizens should be seen as customers; their needs must be met and satisfied. Social media can theoretically benefit governments in the following ways; enhanced participation, cost reduction, enhanced trust and transparency. Münchener Kreis (2013) evaluated the general needs of citizens and their interaction with governments and administrations. His study was conducted in 2012 and 2013, which focused on internet users between the ages of 18 and 70 living in U.S.A., China, Brazil, Germany, South Korea and India. The result of the study showed that more than 40% of users in China, India, and Brazil prefer to use electronic services to get in touch with their local governments and administrators via social media platforms (Kreis, 2013).

Münchener (2013) concluded that it would be advisable for governments to be visible and represented on the different social media platforms if they want to be useful in reaching the majority of their citizens. It is however important to note that the level of income of citizens has traditionally influence their level of e-disclosure (Bonsón et al., 2012). According to Münchener's (2013) study, on average, people with higher economic status tend to be more acceptable of, and is more likely to access new technologies and to know how to use it. His study also implies that people with a lower income, and therefore less economic status, tend to be less inclined to use online tools of communication. (Mainka et al, 2014).

The use of social networks and other online tools used by the government to discuss policy issues could potentially be viewed as accessible and responsive because the tools allow governments to interact with citizens. Government in cities seem to be taking several steps in the pursuit of becoming more open and transparent with more interactive platforms. It is remarkable to note the swift implementation of social networking in governments (Mossberger, Wu and Crawford 2013). An example of this is in the United States where, in a period of only two years, the use of social media has been implemented six times over in the largest cities. Most of these local governments allow for comments to be posted on the respected platforms and they include policy content on these social network sites (Mossberger, Wu and Crawford 2013).

The Human Capital Institute (HCI and Saba, 2010) and Saba partnered in 2010 to better understand the use and potential use of social media tools in the United States government workplace. HCI and Saba wanted to gain knowledge on what social media tools are being used in government at that time, the usefulness of social media for assisting in government work, and future expectations and barriers for its use. They created a Web-based survey, which was completed by 607 participants from federal, state and county/municipal government agencies and 192 private corporations. From the data collected by HCI and Saba (2010) there was a growing consensus that social media tools can improve talent management, performance and service to citizens. However, the survey results indicated that government agencies lagged behind in their adoption and implementation of services via social media, compared to privately owned corporations.

The survey results showed that 66% of government workplaces used some type of social media tool, of which 65% used more than one tool. The three most frequently used social media websites were LinkedIn, Facebook and Twitter. This highlighted the value that many organisations found in leveraging already existing tools for their own purposes, allowing government agencies to use social media functions to build capabilities in collaboration and knowledge sharing. The United Kingdom (UK) government has wholeheartedly adopted social media into its civil service (Maude, 2014). The UK government takes social and digital media as service delivery tools, with due diligence that the government has compiled guidelines for the use of social media by civil servants, which has been published on the government's website. Francis Maude MP, Minister for the Cabinet Office stated the following in the October 2014 version of *Social Media Guidance for Civil Servants:*

> Digital and social media can help the civil service reach out to the people it serves. Gone forever is a world when an anonymous man in an inaccessible Whitehall office made decisions on behalf of others – new digital technologies help civil servants across the country engage actively with the public. We can promote what we do, draw on new ideas, and represent the government's views in discussion. However, with these benefits comes greater responsibility – we are

> under more scrutiny than ever before. It is right that the public demands the same standards of propriety in the digital space as in the 'real' world. (p. 1)

Studies have explored the use of social media to increase citizen engagement and participation, as an information distribution platform, create trust and to enforce government transparency and accountability through public surveillance (Bertot, Jaeger, & Hansen: 2012; Kavanaugh et al., 2012; Park et al., 2016). To demonstrate the findings on the above mentioned uses of social media in local government, this study will utilise theories from Development Communication, as well as borrow theories from the fields of Public Administration and Social Computing.

Public Administration "is the most obvious part of government; it is the government in action; it is the executive, the operative, the most visible side of the government," (Wilson, 1887, p. 198). Erickson (1996) says Social Computing is where social interaction in an 'online' environment is supported by digital systems. This includes platforms, such as Twitter, YouTube and Facebook. As public administration is performed by officials within the government, and part of their duty is to share information through utilising government-to-citizen and citizen-to-government communication, this theory forms part of this study. Social computing contributes to this study as it provides tools, such as social media, which enable officials in public administration to communicate.

The New Public Management (NPM) theory of Public Administration supposes that the use of information and communication technologies (ICT), from which social media is developed and maintained, will enhance efficiency, policy usefulness and democratic values (OCDE 2003). Famous economist, Ha-Joon Chang (2007) sees the NPM theory and it's avocation for the use of ITCs as a gateway for corruption and tendering or employing of the private sector to do public sector work. The Social Computing's theory of Social Presence was originally developed by Short, Williams, and Christie (1976) to explain the effects telecommunications media can have on communication and defined social presence as the degree of prominence between two communicators using a

communication medium. However, Jun, Meng, and Venkataramani (2017) indicate in their study that there are potential problems experienced with social presence. They found that social presence has the potential to negatively impact fact-checking and that "fake news" or "lies" can easily and quickly spread with social presence to defame or ruin the reputation of individuals, businesses and organisations. Despite this, these theories are important to this study as they resonate with the core purpose of development communication: social development.

Social media is internet-based platforms built on the "ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of User Generated Content" (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010, p. 61). Practically, social media applications are built on the actual technical platform of Web 2.0, in order to create and exchange user-generated content (Picazo-Vela et al., 2012). These tools offer services in which social conversation, media sharing (audio, photo, video, text), team projects and virtual worlds take place, essentially allowing for the exchange of information between users (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010).

Bonsón, Torres, Royo and Flores (2012) see social media as applications that promote collaboration, exchange of information and learning through the services of online communities. Most social media platforms allow users to express themselves by sharing text, picture, video, and music (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, YouTube) with others, while some platforms enable user to work together to achieve common goals, such as Dropbox, Wiki and Google Docs (Guillamón et al, 2016). The speedy distribution of social media applications is bringing in new ways for local governments and states to communicate and reach the public.

Social media applications bring new opportunities for government service providers and leaders to inform citizens and be informed by them (Kavanaugh et al., 2012). Many academics have researched how social media and other platforms built in Web 2.0, can benefit governments and its citizens. Studies have shown that social media platforms can help governments improve citizen engagement, trust, transparency, accountability

and improve the process of policy making, through sharing information and allowing for interaction with the citizens (Bertot, Jaeger and Grimes 2010; Bonson, Torres, Royo and Flores, 2012).

One of the major challenges faced by municipalities in South Africa is the lack of accountability (Sikhakane and Reddy, 2011). In their article published in the *African Journal of Public Affairs* they say that "public accountability is an important component of local governance as it promotes community involvement and participation," (Sikhakane and Reddy, 2011, p. 1). In their study Marais, Quayle and Burns (2017) attempted to obtain records of information pertaining to public consultation on mental health policy from a number of South African government departments. Their findings suggest that access to information is inconsistently applied across national and provincial departments, and that legislation regarding the transparency of policy consultations seem to be conflicting. They concluded that there may be potential tension that can prevent public engagement between the "accountability and transparency functions of access to information and public participation in policy making (vis-à-vis policy consultation)," (Marais, Quayle and Burns, 2017, p. 1).

2.4 Participatory communication & access

Tufte and Mefalopulos (2009) describe participatory communication as an approach based on the practice of dialogue, which allows for various stakeholders to facilitate their own empowerment through sharing information, ideas and perceptions. They argue that participatory communication is mainly aimed at exchanging information and experiences, but it is also aimed at exploring new knowledge that could be utilised to improve situations. The participatory model integrates the concepts in the framework of multiplicity (Servaes, 2008). The participatory model is the communication tool of multiplicity, which is bottom-up communication based on people's participation, while "top-down communication or the diffusion model is the tool used in the modernization and dependency paradigms," (Musakophas and Polnigongit, 2017, p. 69).

Participatory communication stresses the importance of "democratization and participation at all levels international, national, local and individual," (Servaes, 2008, p.

21). In a democracy, participation is an important factor in the decision-making process to enable sustainable development, which is necessary to share knowledge and information, and to build trust, commitment and positive attitude towards development programmes (Servaes, 2008).

Servaes and Malikhao (2008) explain that there are two main approaches to participatory communication: the dialogical pedagogy of Paulo Freire and the ideas set forth at the UNESCO debates of the 1970s. Freire's dialogical pedagogy focuses on dialogical communication where people are treated and respected as human beings to collectively solve situations of poverty (Servaes and Malikhao, 2008). The UNESCO debates resulted in the ideas regarding access to communication systems, the participation by the people to use these communication systems in order to be involved at the levels of production, decision-making and planning, which in turn could lead to self-management (Musakophas and Polnigongit, 2017).

As a form of new media, social media platforms, such as Twitter, empowers users with its interactivity characteristics of user engagement, where old media, such as newspapers, make people a passive audience (Lister et al. 2009). In essence, new media based in Web 2.0 context allow for participatory communication to take place as user- or people-focused communication systems. Musakophas and Polnigongit (2017) indicate that it also supports the ideas of participatory communication set out by the UNESCO debates "that people can participate as the chooser, the producer, the decision-maker, and the planner of communication systems," (p. 71). Musakophas and Polnigongit (2017) further argues that the interactivity created by new media platforms supports equality of communication between its users.

However, new forms of media and information technology face the serious challenge of the digital divide. Van Dijk (2006) refers to the term digital divide to explain the gap between people who have access to basic forms of information technologies and people who don't. These basic forms of information technologies include computers and internet networks, although some scholars also include other digital equipment, such as

smart phones and televisions (Van Dijk, 2006). In developing countries, such as South Africa, the digital divide poses a concern to achieve the goal of participatory communication.

According to a GSMA (2014) report, mobile reach rates are growing across Sub Saharan Africa. GSMA found that there were 502 million active SIM connections in Sub Saharan Africa by June 2013, which is an average of 61% reach rate. From 2009 to 2013 the reach rates grew by 23% per annum (GSMA 2014).

> Some researchers have tried to put these figures (in particular the more conservative figures) into perspective, saying that more people on the African continent have access to mobile phones than access to clean drinking water. The same study also showed that more South Africans use mobile phones than any other modern and traditional ICTs, including computers (6 million), televisions (27 million) and radios (28 million)."(Thinyane, Sieborger and Reynell, 2015, p. 242).

Gillwald, Moyo and Stork (2012) indicate in their study that the South African information and communication technology (ICT) sector continues to growth, the growth hasn't been able to achieve affordable access to communication services. In recent years the use of phones in Sub-Saharab Africa has increasingly reached people with low incomes in poor areas (De Lanerolle, Walton and Schoon, 2017). "We call these people the 'less connected' and in South Africa, they are a very large group," (De Lanerolle, Walton and Schoon, 2017, p. 4). The After Access Survey conducted in 2017 by Research ICT Africa finds that 84% of adults in South Africa have mobile phones, with internet penetration rates at 53% - the highest among surveyed countries. The majority of South African participants in the survey indicate that affordability prevents them from using communication services, with 47% stating they limit their use due to high costs of data, 36% indicate that the high cost of smart phones and other devices as the main reason and 15% stating that the Internet is too expensive (Gillwald, Mothobi and Rademan, 2018).

The data from the survey shows that digital inequality exists between the rich and poor within South Africa, as 40% of people residing in rural areas (predominantly poor areas)

are not using the internet, compared to only 25% of residents in urban areas (Gillwald, Mothobi and Rademan, 2018). The 43% of adult South Africans, who don't have access to the internet, earn less than R7 167 per month. Gillwald, Mothobi and Rademan (2018) argue that this kind of digital exclusion worsens the existing inequalities for many South Africans. Gillwald, Mothobi and Rademan (2018) report that the survey results show evidence of an increase in South Africa's digital divide in terms of people who have access to these services and people who don't, as well as an increase in the divide "between those who are connected and have the means and skills to utilise the Internet optimally and those who are not," (p. 16).

De Lanerolle, Walton and Schoon (2017) developed a new diary interview method, whereby they created 'mobile diaries', which they called the *Izolo Diaries* which were completed by more than 80 people in three different urban and rural areas in South Africa. Their research explored the role that mobile phones play in the day-to-day lives of these participants and how they experience being connected. De Lanerolle, Walton and Schoon (2017) found that phones are very much an important feature in the Izolo diarists' lives, where they used the phones to communicate with others, manage finances, earn an income and share various forms of media. The research results show that the diarists spent most of their time on the internet within platforms with controlled environments or 'walled gardens', such as WhatsApp and Facebook, but they seldom connected to the World Wide Web. The diarists' connectivity was largely dependent on mobile network operators, which was too expensive for the participants to remain connected continuously (De Lanerolle, Walton and Schoon, 2017).

Geerdts et al (2016) argue that governments in South Africa and around the world can increase broadband penetration and promote digital inclusivity by utilizing the opportunity that Wi-Fi presents. Some of the large metropolitan municipalities in South Africa have rolled out free public Wi-Fi (FPW) hotspots with reasonable success, such as the City of Tshwane, City of Johannesburg and the City of Cape Town. In the research done by De Lanerolle, Walton and Schoon (2017), the diarists who used FPW were already "relatively sophisticated and heavy mobile Internet users," (p. 27). De

Lanerolle, Walton and Schoon (2017) suggests continuing to roll-out FPW may not result in the increase of internet use by people who don't use it, yet it may enrich the access of those already connected. De Lanerolle, Walton and Schoon (2017) warn that institutions wanting to connect to the less-connected via mobile phones would probably not succeed if they do not make more efforts to learn about the circumstance of the less-connected and their everyday struggles. Bertot, Jaeger and Grimes (2010) argue that the challenges concerned with the accessibility of ICT-enabled services are connected to several problems, such as language, technical literacy, internet access and technological infrastructure.

In South Africa the costs of data or internet access is among the highest in the African continent and the BRICS group (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa). In 2017 radio personality, Thabo "Tbo Touch" Molefe started the #DataMustFall campaign in the fight to have data service providers cut the costs of data. The campaign received serious attention as the matter of high data costs in South Africa made its way to parliament and the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (Icasa). Icasa launched an official inquiry into the matter, but gave an explanation as to why the country's service providers ask such high costs (Anderson, 2017).

Paseka Maleka, Icasa spokesperson, explained to Anderson (2017) that spectrum licensing, which is issued by the government to give service providers legal access to the radio airwaves in each country, is a major reason why South Africa is behind other African countries in terms of data costs. Maleka argued that there are a number of issues related to the high cost of data and that other African countries have spectrum "allocated to most network operators; in South Africa we're still battling in terms of licensing spectrum," said Maleka (Anderson 2017, para. 3). Definitively, more spectrum will allow service providers to launch faster, more affordable mobile data services.

In South Africa, it is the duty of the Department of Communication and the Department of Telecommunications to assign and manage spectrum allocation, but these governmental departments have been dragging along the allocation process since 2006, which has forced service providers to "rollout more towers and invest more in

their networks to provide a high-quality broadband experience. These costs are passed on to consumers, who pay higher data prices," (*mybroadband.co.za*, 2017).

With high data prices, fewer citizens are able to afford and access Twitter to communicate with the JRA to lay service delivery complaints or queries. Only those who are able to afford the high costs of data are able to enhance the countries democracy with this quick and easy method of public engagement. Although, those who are able to afford the costs of data, don't generally prioritise the use of Twitter, according to the study of Thinyane, Siebörger and Reynell (2015) on *The potential of mobile phones for increasing public participation in local government in South Africa.* In **Table 1** it is evident that citizens would rather use their data to read the news on the World Wide Web sources with their mobile devices than on Twitter.

Table 1: Use of messaging services and other services.

Platform	Female	Male	White	Indian/Asian	Black African/ Coloured
WhatsApp	56%	76%	92%	75%	61%
Facebook	46%	76%	92%	50%	57%
Twitter	13%	29%	38%	25%	18%
News	19%	33%	69%	25%	19%
Wikipedia	7%	27%	46%	0%	14%
Mxit	13%	20%	0%	0%	19%

**A modified version derived from the data of Thinyane, Siebörger and Reynell (2015).*

In Sibusiso Nkomo's (2017) Afrobarometer policy paper, *Public service delivery in South Africa Councillors and citizens critical links in overcoming persistent inequities,* he reported on data that was primarily drawn from the Afrobarometer's Round 5 (2011) survey in South Africa, conducted by Citizen Surveys and the Institute for Democracy in

South Africa. The survey had 2 400 respondents, were only a mere 37% said that local governments in South Africa were performing basic service delivery “fairly well” or “very well. Nkomo (2017) reports that:

> Half or more of South Africans said municipalities performed ‘fairly badly’ or ‘very badly’ in maintaining roads (56%), maintaining marketplaces (55%), managing land use (54%), and maintaining health standards (50%). Local governments scored slightly better on keeping communities clean (52% said this was handled ‘fairly well’ or ‘very well’). (p. 2).

A strong predictor of satisfactory public services is unfortunately the area in which people reside, urban/city or rural. Residents within rural communities still continue to be at a substantial disadvantage. It is important to note that this is most probably tied more closely to government and infrastructure capacity rather than to councillor performance within that particular community (Nkomo, 2017). Employment status of the respondents is a weaker predictor of their responses regarding service delivery, which is likely linked to their individual socioeconomic status and the respected wealth of their community (Nkomo, 2017). Surprisingly, race is not a substantial explanatory factor for responses regarding service delivery. Furthermore, it actually runs counter to the higher rate of participation in protest actions by black South Africans as well as the high proportion, in media reports, of poor black neighbourhoods as sites where demonstrations regularly occur (Nkomo, 2017).

It is clear to see the urban-rural divide when looking at a breakdown by province. Higher levels of approval can be seen in areas with a higher concentration of big cities, such as the Gauteng (48%) and Western Cape (55% fairly/very well) compared to the more rural provinces such as the Eastern Cape (18%), Limpopo (23%), and Mpumalanga (28%) (Nkomo, 2017). Nkomo (2017) believes that these results suggest that even though apartheid happened two decades ago, many of the structural barriers to useful and efficient service delivery still holds true. He continues by stating that if you are an educated white citizen, with a full-time job, and live in the city, then you are more likely to receive relatively good-quality services from your local municipality. Furthermore, he

argues that if you find yourself on the other side of the spectrum (uneducated, non-white, living in a rural area and unemployed) you are more likely to be dissatisfied and complain about basic service delivery (Nkomo, 2017). According to him the data suggest that the local government research entities may be maintaining (probably unintentionally) the apartheid-era spatial design that most tows adhere to and this is hindering integration and equality (Nkomo, 2017).

Of the citizens who reside in urban areas, 45% said they were happy with the provision of service delivery by their local governments, where only 23% of the citizens who reside in rural areas were satisfied. This indicates that citizens, who were more financially well-off, were twice as likely to be satisfied with local government service delivery as the less financially well-off citizens. The results in the employment category also had similar results, where 45% of citizens who were employed on a full-time basis had more positive views to share, but only 33% - 35% of the part-time employed and unemployed citizens believed that their local government service is “fairly well” or “very well. It was evident that race also had a role to play. 51% of white South Africans were happy with the service delivery they received from local government, which is high compared to the levels of satisfaction perceived by Coloured (46%), Indian (37%), or Black (33%) citizens.

With the development of ICTs and the increasing use of e-government within the public sphere, social media has become a very popular tool adopted by local governments with the purpose of creating greater citizen engagement and participation. Bertot, Jaeger and Hansen (2012) and Bonsón, Torres and Royo (2012) have found that if government agencies use social media correctly, it can enhance citizen engagement with government. Benkler (2006) found that social media allows citizens to formulate and share their ideas without being influenced by the money and politics that may control and corrupt information shared by traditional media. He has noted that social media can foster a higher level of commitment by the citizens to participate in interactions with government so that government can act constructively, initiating engagement beyond the government’s initial publication of information.

This can be described as e-participation, which is defined as citizens' voluntary participation and involvement in public administration and policy through the use of web-based applications (Kim and Lee, 2012). Participation means providing and increasing opportunities for the citizens to participate in policy making and provides the government and policymakers with the collective knowledge, ideas, and expertise—that is, crowdsourcing (Bertot, Jaeger, and Grimes, 2012). Kamal (2009) argues e-participation can be used to boost two-way communication between citizens and their government to legitimise decisions made by government, open up the policy-making process and to educate citizens. He also indicates that the most important aspect of e-participation is to increase citizens' ability to participate in governance – whether it is to share ideas, comment on issues or promote initiatives. Bagui and Bytheway (2013) did a study on the use of e-participation and use of other ICTs at the City of Cape Town. South Africa is yet to become an important feature of increasing public engagement in government in the city of Cape Town, but the necessary transformations to enable the use of ICTs are incomplete.

Agostino and Arnaboldi (2016) developed a social media framework for public engagement, which consisted of two dimensions, popularity and commitment, and these were used to respectfully evaluate two levels of public engagement, namely public communication and public participation. Gauld, Goldfinch and Horsburgh (2010) explain that the levels of citizen engagement with government on social media channels may be used for various purposes, which include: managerial, consultative and participatory. Averweg (2011) expressed that social media can create the opportunity for municipalities to speak directly to their citizens and communities, allowing them to share information directly with stakeholders. To directly communicate with citizens for managerial purposes, lower levels of one-way government-to-citizen engagement are used (Averweg, 2011). In the case of communicating with citizens for consultative purposes, higher levels of two-way interactive government-to-citizen and citizen-to-government engagements are used. For the participatory purpose, the highest levels of

multi-directional, citizen-initiated, interactive citizen-to-government, citizen-to-citizen, and government-to-citizen engagements are used (Averweg, 2011).

Skoric, Zhu, Goh and Pang (2015) did a meta-analytic study by reviewing empirical research published from 2007 to 2013 with an aim of providing robust conclusions about the relationship between social media use and citizen engagement. The statistically significant findings from study sample suggested a positive relationship between social media use and engagement. The findings from 116 effects of social media on engagement together with its three sub-categories (political participation, civic participation, and social capital) showed social media use generally had a positive relationship with participation. Noveck (2009) notes how information and its sufficient availability, or accessibility, are key for democratization; and making this information available to citizens is more important for better governance than paying attention to "experts" that are thought to know what the people want.

Campbell, Lambright and Wells' (2014) used interviews and Internet data to explore the use of social media by non-profit organizations in their study, *Looking for Friends, Fans, and Followers?* Six county areas in south-central New York State, United States of America, participated in the study where the departments are involved in the delivery of services to citizens. The study found the leaders of the organisations in the sample lack knowledge about the potential ways in which social media can be used to advance their goals. The study suggests that scholars share the potential value of using social media with leaders of public offices and provide advice on how social media can be used for two-way communication and stakeholder engagement. Campbell et al. (2014) states that:

> The proliferation of social media has changed how people provide and receive information, creating fundamentally different ways for individuals to interact with each other and democratizing participation in community life. (p. 1)

A variety of management practices in local governments can be altered by the use of social media. When local governments only use social media for information sharing,

the communication is predominantly one-way; however, some governments have required information from citizens to gather more helpful information to operate better, such as reports of infrastructure problems, criminal activity, or conditions during emergencies (Kavanagh et al. 2012). Haro-de-Rosario, Sáez-Martin and Del Carmen Caba-Pérez (2016) found that there has, however, also been a positive relation between engagement and transparency observed, by analysing Spanish citizens' use of Facebook and Twitter. Therefore, citizen engagement was found to be stronger in municipalities where the local government is more transparent.

Hamilton et al (2016) examined the value created from social media and found that social media, such as Twitter, provide completely new ways for consumers to interact, and have in turn become important platforms where public and private spheres can seek to create consumer value. Over the years, researchers have proven that the use of social media can have positive effects, such as an enhanced perspective on communications, increased favourable attitudes toward the service provider, greater loyalty, and increased willingness to communicate with the service provider.

Kumar et al. (2010) has identified four components of consumer value that may increase a company or brand's growth. Three of the four components are very relevant to public services. The first component is consumer lifetime value (CLV) and it takes into account the consumer's financial contribution made over his or her entire lifetime to the government service provider – in the case of the JRA, that contribution is made in the form or rates and taxes. CLV is also associated with the consumer's repurchasing of services, which in many cases doesn't occur when consumers believe they are not receiving the services that they pay for. The second component is customer influencer value (CIV), which is defined as the value of the influence that an individual or consumer may apply on other consumers or prospective consumers. Therefore, CIV comes from a consumer that may purposefully or sometimes unintentionally convince others to engage with a certain service provider. The third component relevant to government service providers is customer knowledge value (CKV), which identifies the

value of feedback given to the service provider by the consumer to allow the service provider to improve its service with innovative ideas and suggestions.

Labrecque (2014) argues that consumers mainly want to experience emotional involvement when using social media. Adopting a relationship perspective, she looked into the concept of online relationships that resemble the dynamics of interpersonal relationships and found social media interactions, with its higher levels of interactivity and openness, lead to more intimate and emotion-driven relationships between consumers and brands, or service providers. This research also had similar findings to that of Kumar et al (2010), that consumers who perceive being engaged in some sort of relationship with a brand, is more likely to be loyal and volunteer suggestions and other information to the brand. Similarly it could be possible that, if citizens of the City of Johannesburg perceive themselves to be in some sort of relationship with the JRA, they could loyally bring service delivery issues and problem solving suggestions to the JRA which can improve the local government entity's delivery of road related services.

Hamilton et al (2016) analysed the effects of social media interactions between consumers and service providers on three of the four types of consumer or customer values: CLV, CIV and CKV. The researchers were able to identify conditions under which a consumer's interaction satisfaction and interaction engagement can create value for brands or service providers. The results indicate that interaction satisfaction positively influences CLV and CIV, whereas interaction engagement influences CIV and CKV. When these findings are applied to local government service delivery, it indicates that if used correctly, social media can encourage citizen consumers to continue paying their rates and taxes for municipal services, influence others to pay their rates and taxes and share knowledge with municipal entities to better their service delivery.

Most public service organisations in South Africa are not active on social media and continue to rely on old media technology to address present and future problems; however, there are examples of government agencies that have taken up social media to make great changes in their service delivery environment and projects (Averweg

2011). This study can be used to educate government organisations and entities about the risk and rewards related to the use of Twitter as a tool to enhance service delivery. If public officials and leaders are educated on the matter, they may opt to adopt social media platforms to communicate with citizens. One local government project that was catapulted with the use of social media is the Green City Initiative of the city of Vancouver in Canada. In 2009 the city's mayor, Gregor Robertson, deployed the Greenest City Action Team to develop and implement a solid plan to make Vancouver the greenest city in the world. The action team created a wide target audience consisting of residents of the city and invited everyone to participate making the initiative a success. The Action Team developed a communication plan to connect with the target audience quickly and easily, by using social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and Flickr.

These social media platforms were successfully used to encourage citizen participation and engagement with the Vancouver about the Green City initiative. With this initiative, the local government of Vancouver was able to create awareness about the initiative, educate citizens and create a multi-platform interactive discussion about the initiative. Averweg (2011) argues that Web 2.0 is focused on the people and not the technology, and that these applications seem to "offer unprecedented opportunities to achieve more simple, user-oriented, transparent, networked and efficient municipalities," (p. 2).

2.5 Reliability & trust

Citizen perceived reliability and trust has decreased around the world and governments now need more stable and continuous tools to communicate with their citizens (Park et al, 2015). Research has found that citizens tend to be less willing to voluntarily comply with public policy and law when levels of trust in government are low (Murphy, 2004). To this end, many government agencies are using social media tools to communicate with the public, with the attempt to promote citizen's trust (Park et al, 2015). The formation of trust between a government and its citizens is tied to the characteristics of their communication media, and as the two-way engagement, real-time nature of social

networking service (SNS) is an easier method of relationship building than traditional methods, it is critical for the government to gain its citizens' trust by utilizing user-oriented SNS media (Reddick, Chatfield, and Ojo 2016).

In Park et al.'s (2016) *Policy Role of Social Media in Developing Public Trust: Twitter communication with government leaders*, the researchers performed an empirical analysis of trust-building with citizens through developing government-to-citizen (G2C) communications via Twitter. The study found that if a citizen's confidence in government officials is formed, the confidence can also expand to general trust in local government agencies. These findings indicate that the use of Twitter by governmental leaders influences citizens to trust and use Twitter for two-way communication with government (Park et al, 2016).

Local governments have improved their communication and service channels with citizens through ICTs. These channels are being used by governments to promote G2C communications, transparency and more efficient service delivery. Social media has particularly attracted a lot of attention from governments in recent years, who have utilized these platforms for influential communication with citizens (Park et al, 2016). The adoption of social media by local governments has enabled them to overcome the limitations of e-government.

Limitations such as poor accessibility, low transparency and service usability have prevented an increase in citizen trust in government, as traditional e-government only allows for one-way communication, which disables citizens from asking questions. Park et al. (2016) argues that "trust should be considered a significant factor which a government can provide stable public service with regard to citizens' adoption of the Internet and e-government," (p. 1269).

Governments can utilise social media to provide information to the public in order to build citizen's trust. The information that governments share with the public seems to have three influential features: completeness, timeliness and trustfulness (Gelders,

2005). The information that these governments need to offer should be reliable and accessible to citizens. When the government uses platforms, such as Twitter, communicating with the public and gaining citizens' trust is very important. Park et al (2016) collected 398 questionnaire samples from citizens in Korean who actively communicate with any of the country's central government departments via Twitter.

The study found that Tweets published by leading government official, had a big mediatory influence in increasing citizens' perception of reliability and trust in governmental Twitter accounts. The study further indicated that the trust of citizens in governmental media (e.g. websites, social media accounts) mediated the expansion of citizens' trust in local government agencies and the national government. The citizens' trust of information released by the government closely linked to the use of the communication media and its features. It is vital for governments on all levels to gain its citizens trust by using social media platforms that the citizens use in order to make two-way communications and building relationships with citizens relatively easy (Park et al 2016).

Twitter can be used by local governments to share information and reach citizens who generally only consume digital media and not traditional media, such as radios, newspapers and magazines. If citizens trust in their government and the laws that are developed and implemented by the government, citizens are more likely to follow and support those laws. This in turn could result in government making stable and reliable decisions (Park et al, 2016). In recent years thousands of local governments have adopted the use of social media platforms, which shows initiative on the part of the governments to get active feedback from citizens that use social media.

When citizens consider their satisfaction with their government's e-government, they acknowledge the effort made by government to interact with them, however, they still expect government to be transparent and improve trust (Park et al, 2016). Park et al (2016) argues that it is incorrect to assume that good two-way communication from local

government alone will result in citizens' trust as there are still other levels of services apart from communications that citizens expect government to meet.

Kim, Park, and Rho (2015) studied the use of social media by government and the effect it has on citizens' perceived reliability of government. The results of the study demonstrate that trust in the government can be enhanced by using social media such as Twitter, which could also be channelled to complement web-based e-government services. The study's results also found that the more satisfied citizens are with the government's social media use, the more confidence and trust they have in the government.

Kim, Park, and Rho (2015) argue that transparency achieved with the use of social media platforms can have a direct positive affect on citizens' trust and perceived reliability in government services and communications. Park et al (2015) studied survey data obtained by Kim, Park, and Rho (2015) on the Korean population who used government's social media service. Their results indicate that the formation of citizen trust in the government can be expanded into patronage. The study also found that factors, such as institutional-based trust, characteristic-based trust, and process-based trust, can contribute to improving trust through the use of government social media services.

Porumbescu (2016) analysed data from a 2012 sample of 1100 Seoul citizens and found that the use of government social media accounts is positively related to satisfaction and perception of public sector trustworthiness. He noted that these findings suggest that forms of e-government benefit from the character limit on social media and that the transmission of less detailed information may be more useful at improving relationships between citizens and their government than forms of e-government, when looking at the concept of psychological distance. Porumbescu's (2016) argument is based on research in the field of consumer psychology, "which demonstrates that shorter and less detailed messages and content tend to evoke more positive evaluations of the objects they discuss and vice versa," (p. 293).

Although the citizen's trust, reliability and support for development programmes are important factors for the programmes to become sustainable, this has the danger of allowing for the relationship between government and society to be dominated by patronage (Heller, 2009). This can become a challenge as government or political parties can use patronage and loyalty against the citizens and reduce them to mere dependent clients or customers, with no means of holding the government accountable, rather than individual citizens who have rights (Heller, 2009). Clientelism can be defined as the "allocation of benefits by political actors (patrons) to political supporters (clients) in return for their support," (Stokes, 2007, p. 605). Trantidis (2015) explains that clientelism generally confiscates the ability of the citizens or voters to usefully hold their leaders accountable. Heller (2009) argues in his research on India and South Africa that clientelism is rife in these developing countries, as political parties monopolise influential channels and dominate setting the public agenda, rather than the agenda being set by the citizens.

Bénit-Gbaffou (2011) studied clientelism and accountability in two electoral wards in Johannesburg's inner-city and argues that clientelism is not anti-democratic per se as "some forms allow for local and immediate accountability of politicians," (p. 1). However, Bénit-Gbaffou (2011) also argues that in most cases clientelism prevents the challenging of existing policies and contributes to the fragmentation of local organizations and social movements. Charney (1991) argues that clientelism is embedded in hierarchy and unequal exchange between the powerful and their dependents, but redistribution and reciprocity tends to legitimize the practice of clientelism.

2.6 Transparency and accountability

Many researchers have emphasized how the use of the internet could potentially enhance the interactivity, transparency, and openness of public sector entities and to promote new forms of accountability (Bonson, Torres, Royo and Flores, 2012). In the past decade, many governments have invested in ICTs to promote openness and

transparency and to reduce corruption though a cost-useful and convenient manner of e-government (Bertot, Jaeger and Grimes 2010). Shim and Eom (2008) found that if ICTs promote good governance, strengthen reform-oriented initiatives, reduce potential for corrupt behaviours, enhance relationships between government employees and citizens and monitor and control behaviours of government employees, it can reduce corruption. The trend toward using e-government for greater access to information and for promotion of transparency, accountability, and anti-corruption goals is growing (Shim and Eom, 2008).

Paul (1992) explains that 'accountability' is when individuals and organizations are objectively held responsible for their performance or actions, where 'public accountability' encompasses the methods and practices used by public service officials and institutions to safeguard that they perform desirably. By being provided information, citizens have the ability to monitor whether the activities of the government are performed desirably and play an important role in battling corruption through the use of e-government and other ICTs (Bertot, Jaeger and Grimes 2010). According to Bourgon (2007) the main objective of accountability is to guarantee that governments are responsive to citizens' communication regarding their rights, such as service delivery. Success of using ICTs to counter corruption depends on the implementation of the strategy, education of the citizens and their culture of using ICTs (Bertot, Jaeger and Grimes, 2010).

Transparency and openness are two core interlinked concerns in modern democracies, where transparency specifically is a major component of online satisfaction and trust in government agencies, which is one of the most central requirements in developing administrative efficiency and citizen satisfaction (Valle-Cruz, Sandoval-Almazan, & Gil-Garcia 2016). Some academics (Bertot, Jaeger and Grimes 2010; Bonson, Torres and Soyo 2012) have studied how information and communication technologies (ICTs) result in developing transparency into a tool that enables citizen engagement and participation, which in turn improves economic and social development.

Bonson, Torres and Soyo (2012) studied the use of Web 2.0 and social media tools in EU local governments and determined that most local governments are using Web 2.0 and social media tools to enhance transparency. Web 2.0 can improve public sector transparency by using social media platforms and the re-publishing of content by a third-party (content syndication) "to bring the public sector agenda and activities closer to citizens and provide news and information in the platforms preferred by citizens," (Bonson, Torres and Soyo, 2012, p. 125). Piotrowski (2007) argues that governmental transparency allows the public to develop a more accurate picture of what is happening in government, which allows citizens to hold governments accountable and evaluate performances of government agencies.

At a time when e-government was relatively new and social media was only a few years old, Bhatnagar (2003) outlined how e-government could promote transparency and battle corruption. He found that "as the possibility of exposure of wrongdoing is enhanced, the fear of consequent embarrassment can be a deterrent to corrupt practices," (Bhatnagar, 2003, p. 24), which is also the case for social media, specifically because much more people have social media accounts, making the exposure and consequent embarrassment of corrupt officials even greater. The publishing of budgetary allocations and expenditure, information on citizen rights, government decisions and actions, and sharing performance data on e-government sites – including social media – are known to increase accountability (Bhatnagar, 2003).

Bertot, Jaeger and Grimes (2010) identify two success factors that the research on transparent and open government points to. First it points to a culture of transparency engraved into the system of governance and second, it points to a transparency 'readiness' or technological infrastructure on the ground (Bertot, Jaeger and Grimes, 2010). In the last few years, a lot of local governments and their agencies have started to use social media platforms to interactively communicate with its citizens as a form of online communication (Valle-Cruz, Sandoval-Almazan, & Gil-Garcia: 2016). Bonson, Torres and Soyo (2012) indicate that the specific benefits of social media for local governments include: (1) quick and easy mass distribution of official website and

government content, enabling citizens to redistribute (called Retweet on Twitter and Share on Facebook) the content through their social networking accounts; and (2) the enabling of communal dialogue, where citizens have the opportunity of sharing their own opinions on the government's distributed material.

Although it is important to know the benefits of using social media in local government and government for the purposes of transparency, governments must understand the risks associated with using social media as well (Picazo-Vela, Gutiérrez-Martínez, and Luna-Reyesl, 2012). Some studies have warned that the adoption of social media by the government and its agencies can have several disadvantages, such as losing control of the entity's management and procedures due to extreme transparency; the possibility of destructive behaviour exerted by citizens and public service employees, as this can cause privacy and security problems (Bertot, Jaeger and Grimes 2010; Picazo-Vela, Gutiérrez-Martínez, and Luna-Reyes 2012).

According to the Human Capital Institute (2010) security restrictions are found to be the major barrier to the future use of social networking tools. The risk of government social media accounts being hacked and exposed to malware exists as social media provides opportunity for two-way communications (Bertot, Jaeger and Jansen, 2012). Distaso, McCorkindale, and Wright (2011) demonstrated that governments also have to deal with risks caused by employees that could potentially damage the FIGURES of the government, such as the sharing of false information, bad management of criticism, intellectual property leakages, as well as vengeful and embarrassing employee behaviour. In poor economies, such as South Africa, the matter of money and affordability is always important to government, especially when budgets are limited due to reduced revenue as a result of slowing economic activity and increased use of government services. (Kavanaugh et al, 2012).

However, it is evident from the 2017 #GuptaLeaks that social media can, in some cases, be used to mask corruption and empower the corrupt. The Gupta family, who are South African business owners and close friends of former South African president,

Jacob Zuma, were implicated in former Public Protector, Thuli Madonsela's *State of Capture* report in 2016 for the improper and corrupt awarding of state contracts to the family. On 24 January 2017 the South African Communist Party (SACP), an alliance of the ANC ruling party, published a report titled *Bell Pottinger PR support for the Gupta family* (Thamm, 2017). The information in this report claimed that the British-based public relations agency was employed by the Gupta family to assist in managing the reputation of the family after the allegations of state capture were made public (Thamm, 2017).

The SACP report alleged that Bell Pottinger created various online social accounts, such as Twitter accounts, news sites and blogs that showed support for the Guptas and Zuma (Thamm, 2017). These accounts were used to deflect attention from the corrupt allegations against the family by exploiting racial tensions in a post-Apartheid South Africa (amaBhungane and Scorpio, 2017). On 23 June 2017 the Daily Maverick's investigative unit, Scorpio, and amaBhungane Centre for Investigative Journalism published an article in which the SACP's allegations against Bell Pottinger were proved by utilising numerous leaked email communications (dubbed the #GuptaLeaks) between the agency and Gupta employees.

Similarly, the United States government charged Russian and American individuals and organisations for interfering in the country's 2016 elections by creating fake social media accounts to pose as Americans in favour of Donald Trump for the presidency. The Special Counsel Robert Mueller (2018), from the U.S Department of Justice, published the indictment document implicating these individuals and organisations. In the indictment, Mueller (2018) stated that the defendants used the accounts to falsely claim that they are American activists and wilfully used social media groups and pages to address contentious social and political challenges in the country. They also stole the identities of real American people, which is how the defendants were able to "reach significant numbers of Americans for purposes of interfering with the U.S. political system, including the presidential election of 2016," (Mueller, 2018, p. 4).

2.7 Service delivery

Guillamón, et al (2016) argue social media provides local governments with a new way of creating transparency and accountability, increasing the opportunities for citizens to participate and work in partnership with the government in decision making, and to allow for the enhancement of public services. In their study, they took a step toward understanding how local governments can use social media as a tool to promote transparency. The researchers used a sample with a make-up of 217 Italian and Spanish local governments, which used Facebook as a two-way communication platform in 2014. The results of the study show that the extent of e-participation, indebtedness, citizens' income and population size has an effect on the use of Facebook by local governments.

With an increase in the social and economic inequalities gap, providing essential public services to all, independent of the social status or income levels, is now become more important than ever (Bertot, Estevez and Janowski, 2016). Kavanaugh et al (2012) conducted a six-month exploratory study, in collaboration with Arlington Virginia County government, of how social media was being used by local citizens, community organizations and government, and how data analysis could be applied in Arlington and environs to improve services and communication with citizens. The study found that social media benefited the county government by allowing them to be pro-active in solving problems that consequentially leads to government efficacy.

Kavanaugh, et al (2012) states that the benefits of using ICT's and social media platforms are available for governments to use to their advantage in order to enhance service delivery. Bertot, Jaeger and Hansen (2012) found that governments seek to leverage the resources of social media to improve services and communication with citizens, with the focus on citizens who were previously disadvantaged, underrepresented or difficult to reach. With social media the possibility of identifying and responding to issues in real time exists to allow for more useful emergency management as well as improved public safety and general quality of life (Bertot, Jaeger and Hansen, 2012).

The United Nations has developed a four-stage digital public service maturity model, which measures what is now a universal standard level for progress in digital public services. The four different stages identify whether a government agency is disseminating one-way information to citizens (emerging), engaging citizens in two-way discrete interactions (enhanced), engaging citizens in linked interactions (transactional) or coordinating internally between themselves (connected) (United Nations, 2014). If the emerging stage starts with identifying a service delivery problem, such as broken traffic lights causing congestion in the inner city, by the end of the connected stage government should have the lights working after internal coordination. Linders (2012) explains that co-creation refers to a process facilitated by digital technology that may be between governments, citizens, industry, or civil society who collaborates to resolve different aspects of governance, such as policy-making.

The goal of public services is to enhance all citizens' lives in the demarcated area in which policy dictates that local government or government organisations are legally responsible for. Averweg (2011) argues that with this method of service delivery, "municipalities can take advantage of internet technology to improve quality (better services), efficiency and usefulness to citizens and communities," (p. 2). With hundreds of service delivery protest each year, this is unmistakable. Without public service delivery, the communities in a local government area will be hazardous, unsustainable, where economic and social growth will stagnate, and social media now represents a key enabler for improved service delivery to these stakeholders (Averweg 2011). Local governments need to focus on adapting and transforming their environment as societies are more and more affected by social media (Averweg, 2011).

Many South African local governments have websites, but at times it can be difficult and expensive to develop and maintain them. With more and more people using social media, the greater the chances are that it may come to replace the "traditional" business model mechanisms media that local governments use to engage in two-way communication with citizens via the internet (Averweg, 2011). Alternatively, social

media and “traditional” websites may come to co-exist, where content will be published on websites and social media platforms. Averweg (2011) argues that these new models of engagement bring new challenges to the foreground, where local governments also have to adopt new policies to run newly established service delivery channels efficiently. In an effort to not fall behind the technology adoption trend, municipalities “need to identify how social media channels should be integrated into their existing citizen and community engagement frameworks,” (Averweg 2011, p. 2).

In 2012, Bruce Perlman wrote a review on research that has been done up until that point on the practical use and implementation of social media around the world in governments and local governments. In his review he also more specifically assessed the research on governments and local governments that used social media for service delivery. Perlman (2012) found that most of the research he reviewed indicated that social media is increasingly being experimented with and used by government and local government entities for the enhancement of daily tasks. Within the transportation management sector social media has been a popular tool used in states and on a local level in the United States and abroad to facilitate transportation (Perlman 2012). It is important to note that transportation does not include the maintenance and upkeep of the road infrastructure; however it does include two critical aspects/components of transport management namely; Traffic Management and Highway Safety (Perlman 2012).

The government of Virginia in Arlington County, in the United States of America, has been using Facebook since early 2010. Through analysing the posts and comments on their pages over a two month period (August–September 2010), it was observed that the most common post by their Facebook staff was related to traffic (e.g., conditions, closures, metro outages) in the County (Perlman 2012). The citizens were also predominately commenting on traffic issues with a few comments related to miscellaneous events (i.e., events that do not fall into other ‘‘event’’ categories) such as food, exercise, music and film. It is interesting to note that other exercise events (city-sponsored bikes and walks) that would have an impact on the surrounding traffic within

the event's area, also generated the next most number of comment from the public (Perlman 2012).

Perlman (2012) further researched the use of social media in regards to Highway Safety in the UK and Australia. He found that both the UK and several Australian states and local agencies utilized the potential of social media to promote road safety and injury prevention, specifically using YouTube and targeting the youth by using simple games to reinforce the idea of road safety (Perlman 2012). The "Embrace Life" seatbelt campaign from Sussex Safer Roads Partnership in the United Kingdom road safety campaign is an example of a campaign specifically designed for distribution through social media and, in this case, a YouTube advert showing the importance of seatbelt use. The above mentioned campaign was so popular that it attracted worldwide attention (Perlman 2012). A similar success story can be found in Australia where a video montage of several Television adverts produced by the Victorian Transport Accident Commission (TAC) was launched on television broadcast and on YouTube in 2009. The TAC's YouTube channel was so popular, it became the third most viewed sponsored channel on YouTube post-campaign (Perlman 2012).

Lastly, the Queensland Department of Transport and Main Roads designed and developed the CityGTiPhone application which was a road safety campaign designed to look like a normal driving gaming application. The popularity of the application skyrocketed as it was ranked in the top 3 of iTunes' "hottest Apps" and it was one of 2009's most downloaded free Apps on the Australian iTunes store (Perlman 2012). Yet another area in which social media has been highly useful in receiving useful information from local citizens in order to monitor government services and operations. Social media was used to report on infrastructure that required either maintenance or repair and for reporting environmental lapses (Perlman 2012). This was a key part of citizen participation in government functioning and served as a great source of valuable maintenance and service information. It is an idea that supports the movement to create smart cities where the public and their mobile devices are converted from civic participants, into ''sensors'' for the local government infrastructure and environmental

management systems (Perlman 2012). This kind of arrangement helps to facilitate and encourage the 70 State and Local Government Review 44(1) in time delivery of repairs that makes the maintenance of infrastructure crucially, more efficient (Perlman 2012).

Several applications developed for smartphones allows citizens of local governments to report failings in highway and road infrastructure, such as potholes, directly to the public works departments which in turn generate immediate work orders to fix them (Perlman 2012). These “apps” combines the availability and commonality of smart phones and their internal GPS with the simple ability of phones to communicate directly with social media over the Internet to report and locate needed repairs. Similarly, other smart phone enabled social media methods have been designed and developed to monitor noise pollution though using the phone’s ability to “hear”, measure and report (Perlman 2012). Yet another application of smart phone use and social media on a the local level is the reporting of graffiti on walls to the removal teams through using the built-in camera phone in conjunction with the GPS and internet connectivity (Perlman 2012).

The Center for Technology in Government (2009) has identified many challenges that governments are faced with when using social media. These challenges include, but are not limited to: resources, legal and regulatory ramifications, governance, making a business case, security, accessibility, perception, and information overload. Reddick et al (2016) warns that an important risk is the increase in demands made by the public through direct communication channels of social media, such as a Facebook page. This is especially a risk if the government using social media doesn’t have sufficient resources to meet these demands (Reddick et al, 2016).

In order to utilise social media optimally within government for service delivery purposes, existing policies would be affected. Social media technologies are not the first newly developed technologies that have been adopted by government agencies, where existing policy requirements and goals have been reconsidered (Bertot, Jaeger, and Hansen 2012). Even though there are some policy gaps or questions that need further investigation, it is not a valid reason for government to avoid the use of social media.

The opportunities that social media offers to governments, such as transparency, accountability and trust (Bertot, Jaeger, and Grimes, 2010), are too valuable to avoid using the technologies. Policy issues should still be addressed, as social media becomes an increasingly popular and central aspect of connecting with citizens, presenting government with information, and connecting citizens with services (Bertot, Jaeger, & Hansen 2012).

Social media has grown exponentially in communities around the world and it has already become an integral part of communication between government and citizens. Bertot, Jaeger, and Hansen (2012) argue that social media is:

> Poised to continue to take on greater prominence as a mechanism of government information and services are more content moves onto this platform and more users come to expect to use social media as a primary method to interact with government, (p. 37).

Social media has a lot of potential, which can concurrently make government more available, reachable, and relevant to citizens, while still offering citizens more opportunities to actively engage with the government. To ensure that social media allows for this potential to flourish, the policy issues must be addressed correctly while social media is still developing and being used (Bertot, Jaeger and Hansen, 2012).

2.8 Conclusion

In South Africa, municipalities need to understand the most useful way to engage and collaborate with their respective local communities in order to deliver the good, relevant public services they desire (Averweg 2011). Urban communities find this task much easier than their rural counterpart. The reason for this is that the urban areas have easier access to curtail services through the use of the internet (Averweg 2011). In South Africa, community need is the key factor that drives the public service establishments and the quality of their respected services on offer. It is important to successfully understand and comprehend the multitude of collaborative Web-based technologies (*e.g*. Web 2.0) and the different social networking applications available (*e.g*., Twitter, Facebook, Google+, Flickr and YouTube) in order to use these tools to

engage with the local communities in a more accessible and easier way (Averweg 2011). The question is, *how* do municipalities usefully utilize the massive potential of social media and different collaboration tools to speak directly to their communities and the people within them (Averweg 2011). It is, however, important to keep in mind that challenges, such as clientelism and access to internet, can possibly prevent these platforms to reach its potential to support participatory communication.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out how the researcher collected data and analysed it to achieve the objective of the study. The content that follows also indicates how the study involved analysing qualitative data, but it also involved elements of quantitative data to compare the recurring bodies of subject matter in the retrieved data. It undertakes to explain how the researcher utilised content and thematic content data analysis approaches through a case study research approach.

3.2 Research design

A case study research design is a qualitative approach that explores a case or multiple cases over time (Creswell, 2007). Starman (2013) says a case study is more qualitative in nature than quantitative, but it can be either or a combination of the two approaches, where both can be equally represented or one approach can conquer the other. This can be achieved with data collection involving multiple instruments such as observations, interviews, documents and reports (Creswell, 2007). The researcher can then provide a detailed description of facets of the case, such as its history or day-to-day processes or activities (Creswell, 2007). Creswell (2009) says a case study is where the researcher explores a process, program, activity or an event in-depth.

A case study was chosen as the research design of this study, because the characteristics of a case study allowed the researcher to best explore the complexities of the research question in the most thorough way possible. A case study allowed the researcher to use multiple data collecting methods (semi-structured interviews and observation), and multiple resources of data (qualitative and quantitative data). In South African local government, there appears to be very few municipalities that have a dedicated team of staff that manage their social media accounts to communicate with citizens about services. The JRA was chosen as a case study for this research as it is one of the few local government institutions or entities in this country that has a

dedicated team to manage official social media accounts to communicate with the citizens it serves.

Even though there are many alternative communication platforms that can be explored for the specific use of communication between government and citizens, the researcher chose to only explore the use of Twitter, as it is already being used by the JRA. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, the JRA's Twitter account was observed. From observation of the JRA's Facebook and Twitter accounts, the researcher found that the Twitter account had a much larger following than the Facebook account. The JRA's Facebook was not included in this study, because communicative engagement between citizens and the JRA via Twitter was significantly higher compared to the JRA's Facebook account. The researcher chose to study only the Twitter account, as the entity is more active on this platform on a daily basis and it seems to be preferred by citizens as the engagement on this platform is higher when compared to that of the Facebook account.

The advantages of case studies lay in their potential to accomplish strong theoretical validity, capacities to address complexities and their solid procedures that assist with developing new hypotheses, among others (George and Bennett, 2005). Similarly, case studies have their disadvantages which include the tendency for bias toward verification, its unsuitability to test hypotheses and its inability to generalise based on a single case (Starman, 2013).

3.3 Research methodology

Mohajan (2018) indicates that all research must "involve an explicit, disciplined, systematic (planned, ordered, and public) approach to find out most appropriate results," (p. 1). Creswell (2009) describes qualitative research as a paradigm that transpires in a natural setting, which allows the researcher to become highly involved on the experiences and develop great detail within the research. Therefore, the researcher's subjective views of what is being heard, or seen during data collection can affect the study's findings (Starman, 2013). Qualitative research involves multiple data collection and analysis techniques, which generally include semi-structured and open-

ended interviews, where subjects are purposefully sampled (Mohajan, 2018). Qualitative research tends to investigate people's knowledge, experiences, relationships and social processes (Mohajan, 2018). In essence, qualitative research focuses on words and not number as with quantitative research, and it is exploratory, seeking to "explain 'how' and 'why' a particular social phenomenon, or program, operates as it does in a particular context," (Mohajan, 2018, p. 2).

The researcher chose to conduct a qualitative study, as a quantitative study would've been less appropriate to obtain and analyse the in-depth experiences of the JRA CRM staff in their day-to-day duties. As there was only a small group of staff members who were eligible to participate in the study, a qualitative study was necessary to enable the researcher to retrieve as much data as possible from such a small sample of participants. However, there are elements of quantitative study present in the study to best present certain information gathered.

Mohajan (2018) explains that qualitative research is advantageous as it gives the researcher a sense of what to expect, subjects can be analysed in depth and sample sizes are smaller, which saves money. On the other hand, qualitative research can be disadvantageous as it is generally not fully representative, and small sample sizes prevent findings to crossover to larger populations and it is more complex to assess and demonstrate data rigidity (Mohajan, 2018).

3.4 Research instruments

Qualitative research mostly makes use of observations, interviews, and open-ended questionnaires as instruments to collect data for analysis and interpretation (Zohrabi, 2013; Creswell, 2007). Zohrabi (2013) explains that these instruments are best to measure the subject's attitude or interest on the topic concerned, as "the researcher wants to get first-hand information directly from some knowledgeable informants," (p. 255).

The interviews that the researcher conducted with the JRA's CRM staff members were semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews involve a set of open questions

that prompt discussion to get the interviewee to talk freely and openly. This method of inquiry or interviewing provided the researcher with various advantages and disadvantages. It allowed probing, which resulted in the researcher getting more in-depth information on what the CRM staff members were experiencing with good interpretative validity (Zohrabi, 2013). Interviews allowed the participants the necessary space to calmly explain themselves and their answers to the questions posed by the researcher during the semi-structured interviews. The time-consuming practice of face-to-face interviews and data analysis (Zohrabi, 2013) were a few general disadvantaged experienced when utilising the interviews as an instrument in this study.

The transcribed interviews of the JRA's CRM staff members and written observations were analysed through the means of a thematic content analysis. This method involved the processing of the interview material by identifying paraphrasing and characterising recurrent themes within the material.

Lastly, to assist in answering the core research question of how the JRA communicates with its citizens through Twitter, the researcher requested and received various documents from the JRA, including strategy, policy and planning documents. These documents were also analysed using thematic content analysis.

3.5 Target groups

There are two target groups that this study aimed to represent: the JRA's CRM staff members that work on the entity's Twitter account and the citizens that reside in the City of Johannesburg that have communicated with the JRA with the use of Twitter. Representing these two groups in the study was imperative to the study as the JRA's CRM staff members enabled the researcher to answer the research question of how the JRA uses Twitter to communicate with citizens on service delivery matters. Secondly, the interviewed citizens enabled the researcher to answer the sub-question of the perceived usefulness of this method by the citizens. Lastly, both groups allowed the researcher to answer the sub-questions of the appropriateness for the JRA to use this method to engage with citizens.

3.6 Sampling strategy

Mohajan (2018) explains that in qualitative research there should be less emphasis on the number of people who share why they think or behave, with more emphasis on explaining why these people think and behave in certain ways. With this in mind, the participants for this research were purposefully sampled. The four officials from the JRA's staff members have been chosen as participants in this study as they are the only people that work directly with the JRA's Twitter account at the time of data collection. Therefore, these officials are the people that can relay the most reliable information with regard to the processes, protocols, challenges and benefits experienced by the JRA when it comes to using Twitter as a tool to communicate with citizens on service delivery matters. The JRA pointed out the relevant staff members that work with Twitter and gave the researcher permission to interview any of those staff members. The researcher personally asked these staff members to participate in face-to-face interviews, to which four staff members agreed to on the condition that they remain anonymous, however all of them gave permission for the interviews to be recorded. Only one staff member didn't participate as this person was on leave at the time of data collection.

The citizen participants were purposefully sampled from Twitter as users who engaged with the JRA. This resulted in the forming of a non-probability sample. Participants in a non-probability sample "are usually selected on the basis of their accessibility or by the purposive personal judgment of the researcher," (*Explorable.com*, 2009). The disadvantage of non-probability sampling is that an unknown section of the population was not sampled and therefore may not represent the entire population correctly (*Explorable.com*, 2009). Therefore, the results of the interviewed citizens can't be used to generalise the perceptions of the entire City of Johannesburg population that uses Twitter to communicate with the JRA.

The researcher observed the JRA's Twitter account over a few days; during these days, the researcher directly messaged citizens who have Tweeted to the JRA with some sort of service delivery query, comment or complaint. These citizens were then

asked to participate in a telephonic interview. This method was used to gather citizen participants, because the participants have to be Twitter users who have at some point used their account to contact the JRA via Twitter to resolve a complaint or query to be able to measure the perceived usefulness of the JRA's use of Twitter to

Ultimately, after the seventh citizen was interviewed, it became evident that no new information was being gathered and the data became repetitive, and therefore saturated. Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006) argue that as the most common form of purposive sampling, non-probability sampling and the size of the sample characteristically relies on "the concept of 'saturation' or the point at which no new information or themes are observed in the data," (p. 59). Fusch and Ness (2015) argue that the validity and quality of the research can be affected if data saturation is not reached.

Although there is no set number that dictates when saturation is reached, it is generally accepted that data saturation is reached when it is no longer possible to gather additional new information, when the obtained information is enough to duplicate the study and when further coding is no longer feasible (Fusch and Ness, 2015; Guest, Bunce and Johnson, 2006). Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006) argue that data saturation may be after merely six interviews, but this depends on the population's sample size. A study's results can reach data saturation with the use of interview in small sample sizes (Fusch and Ness, 2015). Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006) explain that multiple participants must be asked the same interview questions to reach data saturation. In this study, the participating citizens were all asked the same questions. These participants agreed to be interviewed on the condition that they remain anonymous; however all of them gave permission for the interviews to be recorded.

3.7 Data collection method

During the data collection phase, the researcher can identify patterns and "they appear to illuminate the research question and the literature reviewed," (Mohajan, 2018, p. 16). To collect data from the JRA's CRM staff members, who manage the entity's Twitter

account, the researcher conducted semi-structured interviews with the officials in this team. The interviews were individually conducted in boardrooms based in the JRA's head office building (66 Pixely Seme Street Newtown, Johannesburg, 2000).

The researcher also observed the CRM staff members' day-to-day activities and how they responded to citizen queries and complaints on the JRA's Twitter account. By observing the team, the researcher picked-up detailed examples of what the officials mentioned during their interviews or other information that was not discussed in the interviews. The researcher took screen grabs of significant Tweets to the JRA's Twitter account with regard to service delivery queries or complaints as well as the transcribed interview, which were analysed with the thematic content analysis method to identify paraphrasing and characterising recurrent themes within the material, such as access to internet, citizen participation in decision-making, accountability and transparency, reliability and trust. These themes are elements that allow one to achieve participatory communication.

Maguire and Delahunt describe thematic analysis as the process of identifying patterns within qualitative data. Mohajan (2018) indicates that during data analysis, descriptive thematic categories develop from these patterns, which can be identified through closely examining phrases, sentences or paragraphs in relation to the research question (Mohajan, 2018). The researcher also received access to the JRA's logged query reports and social media reports. These reports, along with the *JRA Strategy 2017* and *Customer Charter Standards* were also analysed through the thematic content analysis method as these documents also directly assists the researcher in answering the research question of how the JRA uses Twitter communicate with its citizens.

The information was given by the CRM staff members and citizens during the semi-structured interviews conducted face-to-face and via telephone. The data was also analysed through the means of a thematic content analysis after the interviews were transcribed. By using the transcribed interviews, the researcher was able to compile statistical packages of the received data, in which the researcher identified recurring words, phrases, trends, patterns and correlations.

3.8 Validity and reliability

The principle upon which qualitative research is built is that “validity is a matter of trustworthiness, utility and dependability that the evaluator and the different stakeholders place into it,” (Zohrabi, 2013, p. 258). Essentially, validity dictates whether the data collected from the research is true and if it evaluates what it is meant to evaluate, where reliability is concerned with the collected data’s consistency, dependability and replicability” (Zohrabi, 2013, p. 259).

The information gathered on how the JRA uses Twitter to communicate with the citizens it serves can be regarded as valid and reliable, because the persons most relevant to the day-to-day managing and running of the JRA’s Twitter account were interviewed. All of the interviewed JRA staff members gave the same information as to the processes and protocols within the JRA’s social media strategy. The information given on the challenges experienced by the staff members were given according to each individual staff member’s opinion. The information gathered on the perceived usefulness of the use of Twitter to enhance service delivery can also be regarded as valid and reliable as all of the information came directly from citizens who reside in the City of Johannesburg and who have communicated with the JRA via Twitter to log complaints or queries.

3.9 Limitations of the study

This study was not able to look at the accessibility of internet to use Twitter as a communication platform between citizens of Johannesburg and the JRA. One of the objectives of this study was to determine whether the citizens perceive this method to be useful. To have looked at a larger group of citizens, especially in poorer communities, will complicate the data as it won’t legitimately determine the usefulness of the method when a large sample of the participants either don’t know what Twitter is or know what it is, but have never had communications with the JRA via this method.

The study only used the JRA as a case study, as using more governmental entities in Johannesburg would firstly, have taken too much time that the researcher’s timeframe did not allow for. Secondly, as each entity may have different methods of using its

Twitter account for service delivery, answering the research question would have been too complex. Lastly, the timeframe that the researcher had did not allow for the interviewing of upper-management in the JRA with regards to the use of Twitter as a two-way communication tool. Although upper-management is not involved in the JRA's day-to-day use of Twitter, the researcher believes they could provide some information on policies and standards used to guide the use of the JRA's Twitter and other social media accounts, and perhaps to explain why the entity and its staff regard citizens to be customers.

3.10.Ethical considerations

Rogers (1987) explains that, when conducting research, there must be considerate preservation and observation of many basic principles and actions, which include "freedom from harm, right to self-determination, right to privacy, and right to anonymity and confidentiality," (p. 456). Webster, Lewis and Brown (2014) argue that respecting anonymity and confidentiality of the information provided by the participant is essential in ethical research. In total 11 individuals were interviewed for the purpose of this study of which all wanted to remain anonymous. All of the JRA staff members requested to remain anonymous as they felt their views could put them in danger of being dismissed or in the line of poor treatment. All the participating citizens requested to remain anonymous; however only a few gave reasons resonating with fear of being targeted by government or other citizens. The identities of these 11 participants are only known to the researcher and are protected under pseudo names throughout the study.

Webster, Lewis and Brown (2014) argue that small samples in qualitative research are problematic to the principles of anonymity and confidentiality, as participants could possibly be identified. It is for this reason that the researcher does not include the transcribed interviews of the JRA CRM staff in the appendixes, as the participants could be identified through the information of their positions and individual mannerisms. Although the JRA gave a list of staff that may be interviewed, they are not aware of who was actually interviewed and what each individual staff member said. This information is only known to the researcher.

Before collecting data from human subjects, the participants must give informed consent, as participation should be done voluntarily and not under pressure or coercion (Webster, Lewis and Brown, 2014). Before agreeing to participate, all the participants in this study received information on what the study is about and what the researcher wants to achieve with the information they provide. They also received and signed a document stating that they understood what the study is about and that they would willingly participate. Before the start of each interview the author reconfirmed the participant's willingness before starting the recording of the interview.

3.11 Conclusion

Despite the limitations to the study and the ethical considerations, this study was still able to answer the research question, as well as the sub-questions. With more time, the researcher would have been able to interview the JRA's upper-management in order to shed light on the entity's communication policies and standards. More time and financial resources would also have allowed the researcher to study multiple cases of local government entities who communicate with their respective citizens via Twitter. However, the information gathered and the concluded findings still contribute to the field of development communication with a specific focus on participatory communication when answering how Twitter is being used by a South African local government entity to communicate with citizens on service delivery matters.

CHAPTER 4: DATA RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

In Section A that follows, the researcher explains how the JRA's Twitter account is used daily by its CRM staff members. The study then has a look at the growth the account has experienced and how active it is compared to the JRA's other communication platforms. The staff members also talk here about how they experience their work and what challenges arise when trying to do their work. Some of the interviewed staff members then provide suggestions on how the JRA can improve its services via Twitter.

The researcher spent time interviewing JRA staff members that work within the CRM unit, under whom the Twitter management duties fall. As part of the CRM, these staff members work with or have at some point worked with the JRA's other citizen communication platforms, such as email (called Hotline), calls, and the Find & Fix app. Four (4) CRM staff members that work on the JRA's Twitter account were officially interviewed, all of whom wished to remain anonymous. Within the in interviewed group of staff members there are interns, permanent staff and those in contracts.

In Section B, the researcher explains the information received from the seven interviewed citizens, who were asked to participate because of their recent contact with the JRA via Twitter – which was publicly accessible via the JRA's Twitter account stream. All of the citizens indicated that they wish to remain anonymous. These participating citizens similarly explain how they use Twitter, how they experience the use of Twitter for the purpose of service delivery and what challenges they experience when using the platform. They also make suggestions on how the JRA can improve its service delivery via this method.

SECTION A: STAFF MEMBERS

4.2.1 Use of twitter by staff

4.2.1.1 Process and Protocol

The CRM team has a 12-hour day that is split into two shifts. The first shift is from 06:00 am to 14:00 pm and the second shift is from 10:00 am to 18:00 – both are 8-hour shifts. On each shift, there are at least two staff members communicating with citizens via Twitter. One staff member has to focus on complaints about traffic signals and the other staff member has to focus on all other road maintenance complaints, such as potholes and blocked sewage drains. Every weekend one permanent staff member is on duty to attend to Twitter queries and complaints, where the Saturday shift is from 08:00 am to 14:00 pm and the Sunday shift is from 09:00 am to 13:00 pm. Staff member 1 argues that it is good that there are shifts, so that as much as possible of the day there is someone available to manage the Twitter account and respond to queries or questions from the public. This speaks to the responsiveness of the JRA to remain accountable to citizens over weekends as well.

Table 2 states the JRA's Customer Charter Standards, in which the JRA states the turnaround time for resolving or the actual implementation of each different type of service delivery complaint that is relevant to the JRA. Staff member 3 says this document lists the turnaround time for certain road related problems to be fixed, which is dependent on "the level of danger and severity". The charter provides the policy that potholes and road excavation reinstatements must be fixed within 7 working days, and traffic signals must be fixed within 24 working hours.

When new road related items, such as new traffic lights or speed bumps, are requested, the requesting citizen or citizens must first go through a petition process. Staff member 3 explains that when the petition is approved, engineers must first investigate to see if these items are allowed to be at the specific requested location and how it will affect traffic. Staff member 3 says that these processes can be long, but they can in fact only be implemented when there are resources available. Staff member 3 explains that when it comes to the workings of the charter, some areas get priority, such as schools and homes near the elderly.

Table 2: 2017-18 Customer Charter Standards

Repair of potholes	80% of reported potholes repaired within 7 working days from time of recording of a genuine pothole by the JRA from any source including Call Centre, inspectors, emails, find and fix etc. excluding potholes on roads with a visual condition index below 40% and roads that are due for resurfacing within 3 weeks.
Reinstatements of road excavations	80% of reinstatements of road excavations carried out within 7 working days from completion of the excavation by the way leave holder to the required standard and upon receipt of official work order or payment.
Repair of Traffic signal faults	90% of reported faulty traffic signals repaired within 24 working hours from the time of genuine fault recorded by the JRA from any source including the Call Centre, RMS, technicians, emails, find and fix etc., excluding major repairs such as cable faults, pole repairs, power outages and vandalism.

The name Customer Charter Standards provides an insight into how the JRA sees the people they serve as 'customers' and not 'citizens'. Throughout the JRA Strategy 2017 policy document, citizens are referred to as 'customers'. Similarly, three out of the four interviewed staff also refer to the people they serve as 'customers'. In the JRA Strategy 2017, the JRA is referred to as a 'brand', with phrases such as "brand awareness" and "brand management strategy" being used. In the policy document's focus on communications, the JRA argues that it should engage in "customer education, including road user empowerment which allows for better public relations" (JRA, 2017, p. 20). The document also states that it should run promotions and events for "perception management".

According to the interviewed CRM staff members, whoever is on the morning shift, starts the day by logging onto the JRA's Twitter account and clicking on the account's 'Notifications' page, which shows all Tweets to the JRA, Retweets, Likes and Replies that reference the JRA's Twitter handle (@MyJRA). Staff member 2 prefers using both Twitter and the entity's TweetDeck account, a well know social media management dashboard system for Twitter. Staff member 2 then compares the notifications on the

Twitter account to the responses on the TweetDeck account to see which “customer” or Twitter user was last responded to, in order to determine which notification the staff member would have to start working from to respond to all the queries that have come in since the staff member from the previous day’s afternoon shift went home. However, only one of these systems is necessary for this task. Staff member 3 clarifies that sometimes queries or complaints are missed but “the next person who is taking over a shift, they have to look back. So I think we are doing a very good job of answering queries and that is what people want.”

To have the JRA log a call about traffic signals, the “customer” must state that the traffic signal is not working and provide the JRA with the intersection where the traffic signal is causing problems. For a road maintenance query to be logged, the citizen Twitter user has to provide the JRA with the street name where the problem is and the intersection that the problem is closest to. Citizens can’t simply state the street name where the problem is as many streets in the City of Johannesburg are many kilometers in length.

Figure 1: Example of how a traffic signal query should be sent to the JRA.



Figure 2: Example of how a road maintenance query should be sent to the JRA.



The staff member will then copy the Twitter query and log into the HANSEN system, which the JRA uses to log and record complaints and queries internally. After the call has been logged, the HANSEN system gives a reference number for the logged call and sends the call information to the relevant depot manager. The staff member then takes the reference number and sends it to the "customer" via Twitter with a Retweet. A Retweet is where a Tweet is reposted or forwarded with or without another message attached.

To log the calls for the complaints received from citizens via Twitter and other communication platforms, the JRA uses a system called HANSEN. All CRM staff members and depot managers have access to HANSEN. The CRM team log calls by completing a form that indicates the necessary information, such as what type of service is requested, the location of the problem, in which part of the city's region the problem is, the relevant depot code, the direct complaint or comment made from the citizen and from what platform the citizen's communication was received. After completing the form, HANSEN provides the CRM staff member with a reference number for the logged call. This reference number is then sent to the citizen, which they can use to receive updates on what the JRA is doing about their complaint. The relevant depot managers then receive notifications from HANSEN to schedule the repairs and send out teams. The depot managers also have to make sure that their repair teams have the budget and correct materials to provide these JRA relevant services.

CRM staff members who focus on traffic lights also use HANSEN to log calls, but they need to put different information in. As of 27 November 2017, there were 2 223 traffic signals in the City of Johannesburg that fall under the service of the JRA and the number increases every month with the instalment of new traffic signals. Each traffic signal is given an identity Ts (traffic signal) number. These Ts numbers are all held in an Excel document or the "Bible" as staff members call it. The "Bible" must be updated by relevant depot managers when a new traffic signal is installed, but one of the CRM staff members indicated on 27 November 2017, during the time the researcher observed at the JRA, that the document hasn't been updated since May 2017. This document contains the name of the junction, in which suburb and region it is located, the account

number of the power utility responsible for that location and the Ts number. In order for a call to be logged, the complaining citizen must provide the junction name where the traffic signal problem is occurring. Once the CRM staff member has the junction name, they can cross reference their information with the “Bible” and put in all the relevant information into HANSEN.

CRM staff members who focus on traffic lights don’t record their logged calls on a spreadsheet, but rather in Dashboard, which is systematically similar to HANSEN. The biggest identifiable difference between HANSEN and Dashboard is the fact that Dashboard doesn’t allocate references or track references. Therefore, when citizens want to log a traffic signal related call or follow up on their complaint via Twitter, the CRM staff members can’t use Dashboard as they won’t be able to give citizen references or track existing references. The main purpose of Dashboard is to track each individual traffic signal’s repair history. With this feature, depot managers and CRM staff members are able to see which junctions need to be repaired regularly, meaning that those junctions are not being repaired properly. Staff member 1 explains that the call must first be populated into HANSEN, before it is populated into Dashboard. Staff member 1 says that only after the call has been logged on both systems, can the staff member “go back and answer the client”.

When sending a reference number, the JRA has a straight forward set response in which the citizen is greeted, notified that their call has been logged, with the reference number attached, where the staff member who logged the call leaves their initials at the end. Staff member 3 believes that this is a standard corporate response that the JRA sends to citizens who lodged complaints via Twitter, claiming that it is what the citizens want to hear. Staff member 3 argues that frustrated citizens just want to know that they have been heard and that the problem will be fixed.

Figure 3: Example of what a standard response from the JRA via Twitter looks like.



When citizens send queries via Twitter with incomplete information, the staff members on duty and in whose jurisdiction the call falls (traffic signals or road maintenance) will Retweet the citizen's Tweet and ask for the necessary information. When the citizen sends the relevant information, then only can the JRA CRM staff member log the call and send the standard response.

The interviewed staff members have indicated that in many instances they receive complaints from citizens via Twitter, who are unhappy with the JRA's services, but their Tweets don't contain any information on broken traffic signals or roads that need maintenance. In these cases where citizens send Tweets with nothing more than criticism, the CRM staff members send them a Direct Message via Twitter to discuss the citizen's experience and give information on why certain issues have not been attended to. For example, the depots can't do most repairs when it is raining or if the area needing repairing is flooded. Staff member 3 explains that if the citizen is still unhappy, they are asked to furnish the JRA with their contact number or advised to send an email to the JRA's emailing system called Hotline.

Staff member 3 states that they then "redirect them to hotline, because you know on Twitter you can only fit a certain amount of characters". Staff member 3 argues that through this process, the issue can be solved systematically through the relevant channels of communication. If the citizen either provides their contact number or sends an email to Hotline, it is sent on to one of the assistant managers, who then contacts the citizen to take the discussion further. Most of the interviewed CRM staff members have stated that it very seldom gets to the point where a disgruntled citizen wants to be contacted by an assistant manager.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, there are cases where citizens ask the CRM staff members via Twitter to install new traffic signals at certain junctions or build speed humps in certain street. These kinds of queries are then logged for the Traffic Engineering Department to conduct a feasibility study to see whether these requests are viable for the area and are not in conflict with South African road traffic laws. Once the query has been approved, then budget needs to be made available to implement the query. This entire process, from query to implementation, can take months.

The CRM team has to then also indicate the logged call in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. In this spreadsheet, each CRM staff member need to add information about the logged complaint or query. The information required includes the call accompanied by the date, the staff member who logged the call's details, the relevant reference number, the nature of the query and the location of the problem that needs to be attended to. All queries via Twitter are recorded in this spreadsheet except for queries or complaints about traffic signals. The spreadsheets of August 2017, September 2017 and October 2017, that have been made available to the researcher by the JRA, indicate that there were a total of 911 calls logged via Twitter within these three months for traffic signals and road maintenance repairs, such as potholes, lost manhole covers and trenches. From these calls logged, most of them (424) were just for traffic signals, where the second most calls logged (150) were for potholes. This indicates that the monitoring, management and repairs of traffic signals in the City of Johannesburg is a concerning challenge.

According to all of the interviewed CRM staff members, the JRA's Twitter account doesn't generally get queries where citizens are seeking information. Staff member 3 explains that most of the queries seeking information are citizens wanting to know how to get new traffic signals or speed bumps installed, and there are sometimes queries from people who are just seeking information on opportunities of employment at the JRA.

Staff member 3 believes that merely 3% of queries via Twitter are for seeking information purposes, which is not nearly as much as the number of calls logged via Twitter which are complaints. When it comes to people asking information about JRA

projects via Twitter, Staff member 2 says that citizens don't really ask about these projects as the communities in which the projects will take place, are informed through community meetings about the work that will be done in their area, which means citizens have to use alternative routes.

Staff member 2 says that citizens don't generally request information about community projects, as they wouldn't be aware of the project unless it was in their community. Staff member 2 explains that the JRA goes to the relevant community and informs them of the planned project a few weeks in advance and that surrounding areas will only be informed via social and other media when the project is taking place. This information indicates that the JRA doesn't engage with citizens via Twitter about proposed projects or upcoming projects.

4.2.1.2 Content Calendar

Content calendars are used to plan and organise upcoming content, where the primary focus of a social media content calendar is for planning content for posts, with or without multi-media, to social media platforms (Walters 2017). The JRA also makes use of a content calendar to plan their content for Twitter. The CRM staff explains that the JRA's content calendar is broken up to cover four areas. The content calendars plan for content relevant to coverage of live events, notices of planned work, notices of ongoing work and "educating consumers" (Staff member 3). Staff member 3 argues that publishing Tweets with road safety tips is seen as "educating consumers". The CRM staff argues that Twitter enables the JRA to be proactive in its communications. The four areas of communication come across as solely informative in nature as opposed to participatory.

Content calendars usually plan ahead in terms of weeks (one week, two weeks, and three weeks) and at the JRA it is no different. CRM staff explains that the JRA used to generate content calendars for a time frame of one month, however, they realised that there are too many unplanned contents that need to be posted within the month, which resulted in many of the planned content not being used. According to both Staff member 1 and 3, the depots and engineers have to send the CRM team internal feeds on project updates, to create notices for the public to post on Twitter. These notices are sent to

graphic designers, who design FIGURES with the notices in a visually appealing way, which is then posted with a caption.

4.2.1.3 JRA Awareness

The JRA doesn't only use Twitter to receive and respond to queries and complaints. It is also used to create awareness about the projects that the JRA and City of Johannesburg are working on, as well as educate and promote South African road traffic laws. These awareness Tweets go through a specific approval process. First, notices and updates from depot managers or project managers, who need the cooperation of the general public, are sent to certain CRM staff members. They design figures with messages asking for the public's cooperation in the affected areas. These figures are then put in a content calendar, indicating the caption that will accompany the figures when Tweeted, as well as the date and time the Tweet is set to go out.

Once the content calendar is complete, it is sent to Bertha Peters-Scheepers, the JRA spokesperson, for approval. Once it is approved, the relevant assistant manager schedules the Tweets with a social media tool that has a scheduling feature, such as Hootsuite or TweetDeck. As part of creating awareness, the CRM staff members are sent to JRA events when they arise so that they can Live Tweet at the event to give citizens, who are unable to be at the event, the direct message from the JRA, instead of having to go read about it in the media. According to the Oxford Online Dictionary, "live-tweeting" or identifiable on Twitter as #LT, is someone "post comments about (an event) on the social media application Twitter while the event is taking place". General practice when live-tweeting is to use a hashtag (#) or multiple hashtags associated with the event being covered and those hosting the event, such as #JRA.

4.2.1.4 Response Time

The time the CRM staff members that work with Twitter take to respond to queries and complaints sent to them via Twitter is very quick. Most of the interviewed staff said that they must and do respond within a few minutes. Staff member 4 says that the process of logging a call, getting the reference number and responding to the citizen with the standard response can be done within one minute if the JRA has been provided with all

of the necessary information. Staff member 3 states that they have up to 3 hours to respond, excluding queries that come in after hours.

However, there are circumstances that the staff members have to deal with that effects their response time, such as internet connectivity, getting hold of managers as well as lunch and bathroom breaks. Staff member 1 argues that queries and complaints on Twitter should not take longer than five minutes to respond to, but poor internet connectivity is a challenge and can become very frustrating. Staff member 1 and 2 emphasizes that the lack of response or inability to get hold of managers has a negative effect on the JRA's response turnaround time and relationship with the "customer". Staff member 1 says that someone will ask information, such as updates on their logged call, "but you'll find that the person we are supposed to get information from, he's dilly-dallying". Staff member 2 says that in cases where "customers" want updates on their logged calls, the CRM staff will respond to the "customers" that they will follow up on the matter and respond with an update shortly. Staff member 2 says that if managers are unavailable to provide the information and no update is given within an hour "it's already aggravating to the customer to say, 'but I've been waiting' and when they call again it's double the anger, and it's now hard to control". Staff member 2 says that this, at times, cause the staff members to get upset as they have to deal with the angry citizens when the depots managers are not updating the progress of calls logged on HANSEN.

When asked whether they prioritise responding to queries via Twitter versus responding to queries via the JRA's other two-way communication platforms, Staff members 2 and 4 says that they naturally answer queries from Twitter first. Staff member 2 argues that responding to Twitter queries or complaints first is a way of making sure that "managing the brand" is "well taken care of, because you know the power of a screenshot". Staff member 2 explains that if a call is not responded to promptly, some public users tend to take screenshots or screengrabs of their Tweet at the JRA that has not been responded to or, the issue they reported has not been attended to yet. They then republish it with comments of the JRA's lack of response or action. Staff member 2 says that this creates a bad perception of the "brand", which can be prevented by prioritising Twitter communications.

4.2.1.5 Twitter Account Growth

To measure and analyse its growth on Twitter, the JRA uses Twitter Analytics. Twitter Analytics measure engagement (Likes, Retweets, Replies and Impressions), the gaining and losing of Followers, what people are saying about the brand through Mentions and gives detailed information about the Followers' interests, locations, and demographics. With these analytics social media managers can see what works and what doesn't work about their content and strategies that are being used. They can change, adjust or continue with their approach, depending on what the analytics show. A CRM staff member then compiles monthly social media reports based on the data provided by Twitter Analytics. A social media report plays an important and value function in the running of any social media account for various reasons. As Twitter Analytics, and most other social media analytic tools, only provides analytics of the previous 28 days, social media reports allow you to track monthly growth as well as annual growth.

The JRA has provided the researcher with the social media reports of August 2017 and October 2017, with some comparative data from July 2017 and September 2017 within the two provided reports. In these reports, the Twitter Follower and Facebook Fan growth is indicated for the months of July '17 to October '17, whereas the total Twitter Impressions and Facebook Reach provided in the two reports are only for August '17 and October '17. Twitter Followers and Facebook Fans are essentially the same as Followers and Fans both receive updates in their timelines or feeds from the accounts that they choose to keep up with. Twitter Impressions and Facebook Reach is also essentially the same as both indicate the amount of people or accounts that have seen content published by an account, business or organisation.

Table 3: JRA Twitter and Facebook account growth between July '17 and October '17.

Platforms	July ‘17	Aug ‘17	Sept ‘17	Oct ‘17	Average Monthly Growth
Twitter Followers	84 282	88 603	91 289	93 947	3 222
Facebook Fans	5 229	5 281	5 489	5 639	137

**Average Monthly Growth calculation:*

Aug ’17 – July ’17 = x / Sept ’17 – Aug ‘17= y / Oct ’17 – Sept ‘17= z
(x+y+z) ÷ 3 = Average Monthly Growth

Table 4: JRA Twitter Impressions and Facebook Reach between August ’17 and October ’17.

Platforms	August ‘17	October ‘17
Twitter Impressions	**882 000**	**1 300 000**
Facebook Reach	**29 041**	**64 927**

In **Table 3** a significant difference in numbers is seen between the Twitter Followers and Facebook Fans, where the JRA’s Twitter account had 88 308 more Followers than the JRA’s Facebook. The average monthly growth in Followers is also very noteworthy; as Twitter had an average of 3 222 new Followers each month and Facebook only had 137 over the indicated period. With regards to the impression/reach, the JRA’s Twitter had reached over 1.2 million more than the JRA’s Facebook account. With the data from the JRA’s social media reports in **Table 3** and **Table 4,** it is clear that between the JRA’s two social media accounts, Twitter and Facebook, Twitter is the preferred platform to communicate with citizens of Johannesburg by those who have access to these platforms. This is especially interesting, considering the fact that Facebook is the most popular social media platform in the world today. As of Quarter 3 of 2017, Facebook had 2.07 billion active monthly users (newsroom.fb.com: 2017) and as of Quarter 3 of 2017, Twitter had 330 million active monthly users (Statista.com, 2017).

Staff member 3 believes that “whenever you put permanent resources on something and whenever you put your attention and focus on growing, on informing, on serving, then there is a lower margin for messing it [up]”. Staff member 3 argues that putting resources behind the JRA’s Twitter account is the reason for its sudden and exponential growth in the last few years. Staff member 3: “It was crazy, I mean, it was 9000 [followers] and the next thing it was 17 000 and then 20 000 and then 35 000. It just kept growing.”

4.2.1.6 Other Platform Calls Logged

The JRA has provided the researcher with the statistics for the amount of complaints made via the other communication platforms: Call Centre, Hotline and Find & Fix. The provided statistics are for the three months of August 2017, September 2017 and October 2017.

Table 5: The use of the JRA’s Call Centre.

	August ‘17	**September ‘17**	**October ‘17**
Calls per month	0	10	2

In **Table 5** it is very clear that citizen communication with the JRA through the Call Centre is very low. A mere 12 calls within three months is a very poor result. This low number can be the result of the fact that the number is not toll free, meaning that the citizens have to pay for the call they make to the JRA to lodge a complaint. This can become very expensive to poor citizens and imaginably quite upsetting as citizens already pay taxes for the service to be delivered. As the citizens are the ones calling in and paying for the call, this method of communication costs the JRA barely anything.

Table 6: The use of the JRA’s Hotline:

	August ‘17	**September ‘17**	**October ‘17**
Emails per month	112	87	130

The JRA's incoming queries and complaints from citizens via Hotline are much greater than that of the Call Centre. The emails per month are similar to that of communications received via Twitter, but it is still less than communications through Twitter. This method of communication should not cost the JRA much either, as only internet connection is necessary and unless there are a lot of emails with documents or videos attached, the internet usage for emails should be low.

Table 7: The use of the JRA's Find & Fix application.

	August '17	**September '17**	**October '17**
Application submissions	2 009	1 458	2 480

The Find & Fix application has a high level of activity and receives more incoming communication from citizens in the City of Johannesburg than its other three platforms. Creating, marketing and maintaining the application could be very costly, and from the reviews about the application on the Google Play Store and from the participating citizens, this application has major faults that make it impractical and difficult to use. It could be argued that a lot of money would still need to be spent to have it running better, which could lead to a greater increase in users.

4.2.1.7 Total Logged Calls

According to the information received from the JRA, the total amount of queries and complaints received between August 2017 and October 2017 is 7 221. This means that JRA has received an astounding 82.6% of its incoming communication from citizens through the Find & Fix application. When considering the bad reviews about the application from citizens, this statistic is difficult to understand. From the total calls logged through Twitter, 424 calls were just about traffic signals, with the remaining 487 being calls about road maintenance. With Twitter calls making up 12.6% of the total calls logged over the recorded three months, there is a highly significant difference between Twitter and the Find & Fix app. Although the researcher can only hypothesise why the JRA communication platform with the worst reviews is receiving more calls than

the platform with the best reviews, the researcher hypothesises that the JRA spent a lot of money promoting and marketing the Find & Fix app to the citizens of Johannesburg, while the Twitter account hasn't received the same kind of exposure. The researcher makes this hypothesis based on observation of the JRA communication and marketing output, and the interviews from the CRM staff members.

Table 8: The use of all the JRA's other communication platforms compared to Twitter between August '17 and October '17.

Platforms and ranking	Incoming communication between August '17 and October '17
Find & Fix	5 969
Twitter	911
Hotline	329
Call Centre	12
Total	7 221

4.2.1.8 Daily Workload

When looking at how many calls were logged in the months of August '17, September '17 and October '17, which is 92 days, it seems like there wasn't a lot of work to keep the CRM staff members busy. The researcher observed that CRM staff members spent a lot of time walking around and running personal errands. Staff member 2's view on the worst part about the job is that there is a lot of time spent doing nothing, because there aren't that many calls that need to be logged daily. As seen in **Table 10**, throughout these three months the JRA logged an average of 78 calls per day. As the CRM staff members, who specifically focus on Twitter; work in two shifts per day with two people available per shift, means that four people work on logging an average of 10 Twitter calls per day. Although the staff members that work on Twitter also work on one or two of the other platforms, they still spend a lot of time doing nothing. If a minimum of four

staff members logged an average of 78 calls per day on all the communication platforms, each staff member would have had an average of 19 calls to log per day. According to the majority of the interviewed staff members, it takes less than 3 minutes to log a call. This means that each staff member presumably spent an average of 57 minutes out of their 8 hour shifts to log an average of 19 calls per day.

The fact that there are not enough calls to be logged to keep the CRM staff busy could mean the following: the City of Johannesburg doesn't really experience that many road maintenance issues; or citizens aren't interested in engaging in public participation; or citizens are not aware of the available platforms to lay service delivery complaints.

Table 9: Average of calls logged per day by each CRM staff member, with a minimum of four staff members.

	Calls logged between August '17 and October '17	**Average of calls logged per day (number of calls logged ÷ 92 days)**
Find & Fix	5969	**64.88**
Twitter	911	**9.90**
Hotline	329	**3.57**
Calls	12	**0.13**
Totals	7 221	**78.48**
Average of calls logged per staff member per day(total calls per day÷ 4)		**19.62**

4.2.2 Work Experience

4.2.2.1 Twitter usefulness

All of the interviewed CRM staff members identified assisting and communicating with the citizens of Johannesburg as the part of their job that they enjoy the most. All of the

interviewed CRM staff members also find using Twitter as a two-way communication tool useful, enjoyable and they find it to be “quick” and “easy” to use. Staff member 2 argues that Twitter is an interactive environment “that allows you to get ideas, have engagements, it’s not limiting sessions, it’s quick and straight to the point”. Staff member 2 believes that Twitter’s limited characters feature ensures that users get right to the point regarding important information and what they want to communicate with the JRA about.

Staff member 3 argues that Twitter is an useful communication tool for two main reasons: accessibility and transparency. Staff member 3 argues that Twitter is a very popular platform that forms part of the general communication “platforms that people have access to”. Staff member 4 believes that “most people use Twitter in this world” and when comparing Twitter’s speed to other social networks it is “the fastest of them all”. Although studies have found that Twitter and other web 2.0 platforms are generally not very accessible in South Africa and other developing countries. Staff member 3 also argues that Twitter is dually a useful communication tool as the JRA can use it to show that it is “servicing customers”. Staff member 3 emphasizes that transparency is an important pillar of the JRA, and Twitter allows the public to see what the entity is doing, which in turn creates “positive sentiment”. This remark on “positive sentiment” by Staff member 3 indicates that this staff member, and possibly the JRA itself, may perhaps perceive transparency to be a method with which to obtain support rather than focussing on transparency as an important characteristic of a working democracy. In essence, this would be problematic, as transparency is then used to ensure support for the entity and not to ensure support for the citizens’ right to know what their taxes are being used for.

All four of the interviewed CRM staff members indicated that they perceive Twitter to be an useful tool to enhance services delivered by the JRA. However, Staff member 2 and Staff member 4 believe that Twitter only assists in enhancing service delivery to the suburban areas and not to the poorer communities where it is desperately needed. Staff member 1 voiced concern about the fact that poorer communities don’t have access to internet services which is necessary when using Twitter. This supports the claim that

Twitter isn’t the best communication platform for the masses, especially since the majority (62.3%) of South Africans are within the poorest income bracket, which is an income of less than R86 000 per annum, according to Standard Bank (Hunter: 2016).

Staff member 2 argues that one can see that Twitter itself is an useful communication tool through the level of engagement that the JRA received on this platform, but it is not having an effect on service delivery in “deep townships”, where it is most needed. Staff member 2 explains that one is able to pick up where certain citizens live by the area in which problems are reported. Staff member 2 says “you can see that it's people who [are] from suburbs, medium townships, not people who are in the deep townships”. Staff member 2 argues that Twitter can help deliver the services to people who already have enough resources. Here Staff member 2 emphasizes the issue of the digital divide, as well as accessibility and connectivity in South Africa. Staff member 2 says Twitter is “for modernized people. People who can afford to buy a smartphone and everything, so it is useful at some instances and at some it isn't”. Therefore, Staff member 2 argues that Twitter is not a functional communication tool for all members of society.

Staff member 2 also did not find Twitter to be the best platform on which to give citizens feedback or updates regarding their queries. Twitter doesn’t have a search function where one could track down the last conversation with another Twitter user in one’s timeline history. To view a certain previous conversation, one has to scroll all the way down and search manually through the timeline, until the desired conversation is reached. This manual process makes giving feedback to citizens on their queries extremely tedious and difficult for the JRA staff members. Therefore, the staff members do not provide citizens with feedback unless the citizen requests an update via Twitter.

4.2.2.2 Experienced accountability

All four CRM staff members said they felt more accountable to assist and respond to citizens via Twitter as it is a public platform and their responses or lack of responses are noticed by citizens. Staff member 3 stresses that when calls made on public platforms are not logged and responded to in a timely matter it promotes an image of “bad

government and incompetence". However, Staff member 3 argues that the JRA's first priority is "customer service". Staff member 1 says that the fact that there is interaction between the customers and the staff on Twitter makes staff feel "closer to them" and more accountable. Staff member 1 argues that citizens are more personable on Twitter and that they generally understand "why something is not working, they feel like we are doing something about it, unlike Joburg Water [the city's water services entity], they just Tweet and then it's quiet."

Staff member 3 believes that the local government's "company culture" is based on an out-dated system that is not based on the process of motivation, but rather a "process of structure and hierarchy", which makes it difficult for staff to thrive, especially for the younger staff. Staff member 3 thinks that, if fundamental changes are made to this respect, it would make a substantial difference to the workings of the JRA and the attitude of the staff.

Most of the interviewed staff (3 out of the 4) said that they understand that depots are understaffed and under resourced, and therefore they understand why the JRA's depots have a backlog of calls regarding repairs and maintenance. However, Staff member 2 argues that the depots are generally poorly managed, which can cause problems when responding to citizens. Staff member 2 explains that it is demotivating, "because at the end of the day I as a person sitting on the desk have to engage with the customer, I have to lie to the customer if need be. I have to fool them to just make sure it passes and then we're on to the next level". This remark by Staff member 2 poses a challenge to the JRA's principles of transparency, as transparency can't be achieved if staff "lie" about services not being delivered.

Staff member 2 complains that there isn't always enough work for them to do. The researcher has noted from observations and the information given by the JRA in terms of the number of calls logged in the months of August '17, September '17 and October '17 **(Table 9)** that Staff member 2's complaint holds ground. In these three months 7 221 calls were logged, which amounts to an average of 78 calls logged per day, where each staff member would log an average of 19 calls per day. If logging a call and responding

to a citizen takes only a few minutes as the interviewed CRM staff claim (pg. 64), then each staff member would only be actively busy communicating with citizens for an hour at most out of an eight-hour shift. This is not inclusive of covering the JRA's live events, preparing content calendars or scheduling content.

Staff member 3 and 4 both indicate that it is difficult when they are unable to assist a citizen. These staff members feel frustrated when a citizen continuously complains about their request not being attended to according to the timeframe that the JRA promised to complete certain jobs by in the Customer Charter Standard.

4.2.3 Challenges perceived by staff

4.2.3.1 Budget problems

All of the interviewed CRM staff members have listed the JRA's lack of budget as a major challenge. If there isn't enough budget to fix and maintain all the roads and bridges in the City of Johannesburg, then depots fall behind on their work and the CRM have to deal with unsatisfied citizens. Both Staff member 1 and Staff member 3 emphasize that budget constraints are at the core of the challenges that the CRM staff and the JRA as a whole experience. Staff member 3 complains that budget is "a massive problem. It's a big, big, big problem". Staff member 3 explains that there aren't enough available funds for all the city's necessary road resurfacing, upgrades and traffic signal maintenance. Staff member 1 argues that the lack of budget affects their job as the JRA's CRM staff, as they cannot inform the public that their calls aren't fixed because there is not enough budget to do so. Staff member 1 explains that citizens "assume it's not their issue, because they pay their rates and taxes".

Staff member 1 indicates that there is only one depot that does maintenance on traffic signals and this is not efficient. Staff member 1 doesn't believe that the workers on the ground at the depots are doing a bad job, but rather that capacity to do the work is the problem. Capacity will more than likely remain a problem if there is no budget to increase the capacity.

4.2.3.2 Unrealistic statistics and turnaround times

Staff member 1 indicates that because the CRM staff that work on logging traffic light calls, and the depot managers' use of two different systems to manage logged calls, it makes it difficult to compile realistic statistics of how many calls were logged in a given time and how many were attended to. As indicated in the Process and Protocol chapter, Staff member 1 says that depot managers and some other officials don't log calls via HANSEN like they are supposed to, and log calls directly through Dashboard. If calls aren't first logged through HANSEN, there is no reference number to prove that budget has gone to fixing a certain problem. Staff member 1 says that the statistics of the number of calls logged and fixed don't match up when pulling reports from the two different systems.

When it comes to the timeframes given in the Customer Charter Standards, Staff member 1 and Staff member 2 say that the depots are not keeping up with these set standards, or perhaps promises, to the citizens in terms of the turnaround times to attend to their complaints. This makes the CRM staff members' work difficult. Staff member 2 argues here that giving citizens timelines in which services should be delivered is not useful, as the current turnaround times are not being met for many reasons. Staff member 2 suggests that it is good enough to just tell citizens that the problems will be resolved, without giving any deadlines. Staff member 1 argues that there is no capacity to keep up with the Customer Charter Standards, which is affected by budget.

4.2.3.5 BPDAM and depots not sending issues

According to Staff member 1 the JRA's Business Planning and Development Asset Monitoring (BPDAM) section and the depots, according to Staff members 2 and 3, are not updating the dashboard or sending feedback for the CRM staff members to properly follow-up on logged calls. Both the BPDAM and the depots have to give information to the CRM, but the information is different. The BPDAM appoints private companies to complete certain servicing projects on the private land of the City of Johannesburg. According to Staff member 1, the BPDAM is supposed to send the CRM regular updates on which company has been given way leave for which project, in which area,

what their deadlines are and their contact details. However, the CRM staff members are supposedly struggling to get this information. Staff member 1 complains that because this information is not available to the CRM staff, they cannot assist citizens who complain about poorly done work as they don't know who was given way leave to do the job or their contact details are not available to request that they return to the site.

4.2.4 Suggetions by staff

The JRA's interviewed CRM staff members said they have suggested solutions to management regarding many of the challenges they face, they have indicated that their solutions and ideas are not taken seriously and the challenges still remain. Some of the suggestion include: internal information sharing between the BPDAM, depots and CRM so that the CRM staff are able to give disgruntled citizens follow-up information on their complaints to put them at ease; employment of permanent staff to prevent wasting time to train interns every three months and insuring the work is done by people who are passionate about social media and customer service; a disclaimer needs to be added to the Customer Charter Standards to indicate that the provided turnaround time may be longer in certain circumstances; and depots need to plan better, by sending one team in the area to do general diagnostics and maintenance to make sure storm drain systems are clean in order to prevent flash floods and traffic signals are in good working order before the start of the rainy season, and the second team to attend to logged calls.

Some of the interviewed staff members have also made suggestions to improve the Twitter team's services, but not necessarily resolve a challenge.

4.2.4.1 Weekend shifts

Staff member 1 explains that weekend shifts are too short and the account comes up short and does not meet the same standards as the Twitter account meets during weekdays. According to Staff member 1, the CRM staff members that work on Twitter have requested two floating laptops so that staff can work from home on the weekends to cover the "quiet" hours, however, up until the interview with Staff member 1, this was still not implemented. Staff member 1 argues that "it is unacceptable" that the standard of response upheld during weekdays is not met on weekends.

4.2.4.2 Education

Staff member 2 argues that providing citizens with Wi-Fi won't encourage people to communicate with the JRA via Twitter. This sentiment is shared by the findings of De Lanerolle, Walton and Schoon (2017). Staff member 2 suggests that the JRA develop and run a campaign to teach citizens of the City of Johannesburg how to use Twitter to communicate with the JRA, as well as educate them on the specific language used on this particular platform. Staff member 2 argues that when the vast majority of the citizens in this city have access to Wi-Fi and those citizens know how to use Twitter, then it would be a fully functional, useful communication tool for the JRA to use.

SECTION B: CITIZENS

4.3.1 Use of twitter by citizens

Seven citizens were interviewed for a minimum of 20 minutes in which they answered questions about their experience of communicating with the JRA via Twitter. If they have communicated with the JRA through its other platforms, such as Hotline, Call Centre and the Find & Fix app, they answered questions about their experience with whichever other platforms they have used. It is important to note that the researcher has communicated with 23 Twitter users who have communicated with the JRA, but only nine agreed to be interviewed, of which only seven answered their phones for the scheduled and agreed upon telephonic interview dates and times.

Table 10: Details about the participating citizens.

	Gender	Race	Age	Suburb	On Twitter
Citizen 1	Female	White	48	Kensington	1 year
Citizen 2	Female	White	44	Fourways	1 year
Citizen 3	Male	Black African	33	Soweto	7 years
Citizen 4	Female	White	59	Paulshof	4 years

Citizen 5	Male	White	41	Horizon View	7-8 years
Citizen 6	Female	Indian	27	Crosby	1 year
Citizen 7	Female	Black African	33	Paulshof	6 years

All the interviews started with general personal information questions, such as their age, in which suburb they reside and how long they have been on Twitter (**Table 10**). After they have given their personal information, they continued to answer questions about their experience.

World Wide Worx indicate in their publication *SA Social Media Landscape Report for 2018*, that Facebook was the most popular social media platform in South Africa over 2017. Almost 30% of the population has downloaded the platform, adding up to about 16 million users of Facebook at the end of 2017, 14 million of which access the platform from mobile devices. In Johannesburg there are five million Facebook users, making it the area with the most users in the country. The report indicates that as of August 2017 Twitter hit eight million users. This is significantly less than the number of Facebook users, which makes it very interesting that citizens residing in the City of Johannesburg prefer using Twitter to communicate with the JRA, rather than using Facebook.

Some of the citizens have explained why they are using Twitter over any other platform to communicate with the JRA. Citizens generally agree that they enjoy using Twitter to communicate with the JRA as it is instant and a live record. Citizen 4 explains that when communicating with the JRA via Twitter there is always proof of the communication on the live platform, which can be used in a Retweet to the JRA with a request to escalate calls that have not been fixed. Citizen 3 and Citizen 5 indicate that they already use Twitter, and that using it to communicate with the JRA is easy. Citizen 3 argues that Twitter can be used “on the road”, which is better than having to wait until one gets to their destination before calling the JRA. Citizen 5 says that communicating with the JRA

via Twitter saves time spent trying to find out what the JRA's phone number or email address is.

4.3.2 Citizen experience

4.3.2.1 Response time

From what the JRA's Customer Relations Management (CRM) staff members have stated in their interviews, protocol is that each Tweet to or Direct Message to the JRA's Twitter account must be responded to within a maximum of three (3) hours. Most of the citizens (6 out of 7) find that this protocol is being achieved or implemented. Three of the seven citizens have noted that the JRA's response time via Twitter is less than one (1) hour. The majority of the interviewed citizens perceive the response time to be quick. However, there is a citizen who feels "ignored" at times when she makes it known that she is not happy with the responses she receives. Citizen 2

4.3.2.2 Standard response by JRA

As per the JRA's protocol, the CRM staff members mostly send a standard response when dealing with complaints and queries. The citizens are greeted by name, informed that their call has been logged and then they are given a reference number.

From the comments received from the citizens, most of the participating citizens (6 out of 7) are happy with the response, but would like more or further information on the updated status of what is being done about their complaint. Citizen 7 says that the communication from the JRA seems to be merely to confirm that a call has been noted and logged. Citizen 3 describes the JRA's standard response as "a typical municipality response"; where there is never a follow-up to indicate that the call has been attended to. Citizen 6 says that she would be happy to receive a follow-up on why a call is taking so long to attend to when she has already Tweeted a few times about the same problem. Citizen 1 and Citizen 5 agree that it would be beneficial for the citizens to receive updates, so that citizens don't have to monitor if a problem has been fixed.

Citizen 1 says that this would save her a lot of time as she keeps record of all the calls she has logged on an Excel spreadsheet and an update from the JRA would give her back the time she spends driving around to ensure that her logged calls have been

fixed. Citizen 4 suggests that it would be good if JRA provided citizens with information on when the call is scheduled to be fix, or to indicate that the call has already been logged by another citizen and is due to be repaired on a certain date. Citizen 1 argues that updates from the JRA regarding logged calls would make them more accountable.

When asked whether she would want to receive updates from the JRA about the developments of her complaints, Citizen 7 says that “It would be nice” to receive updates, but she isn’t really that concerned.

4.3.2.3 Service delivery complaints

When it comes to the actual fixing of the problems that the citizens complain about via Twitter, the turnaround time, according to some of the participating citizens (3 out of 7), is not up to the standard that the JRA promises to uphold in its Customer Charter Standards. The majority of these citizens perceive the average turnaround time of services (no matter which service) to be one to three weeks. Citizen 2 explains that in some cases the services are delivered quickly (within 24 hours) and in other cases it would take weeks to resolve.

4.3.2.4 Information queries

The JRA is also responsible for providing citizens with information pertaining to the roads of the City of Johannesburg, such as road closures, public meetings and projects. Most of the participating citizens (4 out of 7) have never communicated with the JRA via Twitter asking to receive information. Citizen 2 prefers to rather ask for information via her community WhatsApp group, as she says “they’re more on the ball”. Citizen 4 has only asked the JRA for information once via Twitter, which was about flooded bridges. Citizen 4 says that the JRA responded to the information query, and they confirmed that they are aware of a problem, but they couldn’t “attend to certain problems without conferring to the Gauteng Province Government and so on. So you get a response, but not really the answer you want.”

Citizen 7 indicates that in the few times that she has communicated with the JRA via Twitter it was about raising a “concern” or complaint, but even if she had a question, she wouldn’t bother asking the JRA as a local government entity as she has the perception that South African government doesn’t respond to citizens in general. Citizen 7 says she

doesn’t tend to communicate with government entities and that she wouldn't set herself up for failure or disappointment. Citizen 6 felt that she has never really needed to ask for information as the JRA and the City of Johannesburg are proactive with informing citizens about plans for road closures during events or when maintenance work will be done.

4.3.2.5 Other platform use

Other than using Twitter to have two-way communication with the citizens of Johannesburg, the JRA also uses other platforms for service delivery and other communications. These other communications platform consist are the following: Call Centre, Hotline (email) and Find & Fix. The Call Centre, Hotline and Find & Fix are not stand-alone departments or sections of the JRA. All three of these platforms are handled by the CRM staff members. Out of the seven participating citizens, three have never used any of these other methods to communicate with the JRA, they have only used Twitter.

4.3.2.6 Call centre

The Call Centre is essentially the landline telephones that are on each CRM Staff member’s table. The number for the Call Centre is: *0860 562 874*. When a call comes through to them, they answer and assist with the caller or citizen with their query or complaint, logging the call on HANSEN and getting a reference number to give to the citizen.

Of all participating citizens only Citizen 1 has actually communicated with the JRA via the Call Centre. Citizen 1 says she communicates with the Call Centre after she continuously complains on Twitter, aimed at the JRA, about a problem that is not being resolved. She says the response from the call to the Call Centre has always been very good and the problems then get resolved. However, she still prefers to use Twitter rather than call in to the Call Centre, as using Twitter is instant and less trouble, where a call to the Call Centre is time consuming with having “to listen to those bloody stupid options”. Citizen 4 compared the use of Twitter to communicate with the JRA to a similar method as the Call Centre with which you can lodge complaints, she still prefers

Twitter over actually calling in to the Call centre as Twitter allows users to keep easily accessible record of communications, where this is more difficult with a phone call.

4.3.2.7 Hotline

Hotline is the email communications platform of the JRA at the email address: hotline@jra.org.za. Each of the JRA's CRM staff members are linked to this email address and receive queries and complaints from the citizens of Johannesburg. Although there are specific staff members assigned to respond to Hotline's incoming communications, all of the CRM staff members are required to respond to emails when they see it isn't being attended to in instances where the staff focusing on Hotline takes a bathroom break, coffee break, lunch or is on leave.

Out of the seven participating citizens, only two have communicated with the JRA via Hotline. One of the citizens (Citizen 1) found this platform and method of communication with the JRA to be "not useful", while Citizen 4 found it to be "somewhat useful". Both of these citizens perceive Twitter as the JRA's best platform to communicate queries or complaints. Citizen 1 claims to have emailed the JRA via Hotline, but she found them unresponsive on this platform. After complaining about a problem several times on Twitter, Citizen 4 was linked in an email that was sent by a CRM staff member to a depot manager to escalate the complaint [to management].

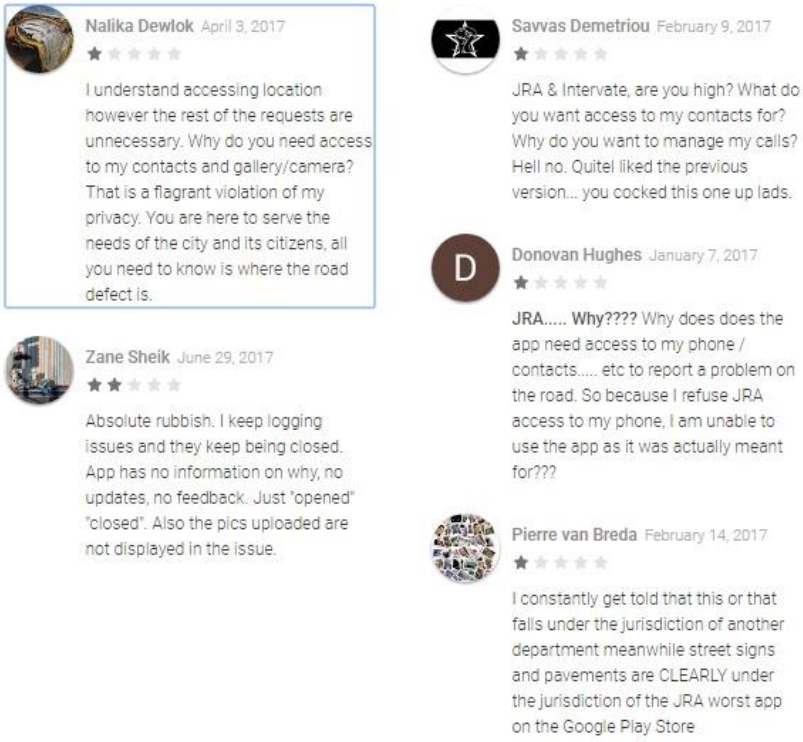
She was then asked to communicate directly with the depot manager if the problem continues to remain unresolved. Citizen 4 says she doesn't mind emailing as long as it gets things done. Although she explains that "sometimes you have to send them a double email to remind them". With regard to the responsiveness of Hotline compared to that of Twitter, Citizen 4 says Hotline is "not as quick. It can take an hour or two and then they reply. Probably because they want to investigate. But Twitter is immediate".

Citizen 3 has never communicated with the JRA through the Call Centre or the Hotline, as his perception is that all South African government entities don't respond to those methods of communication.

4.3.2.8 Find & Fix

Find & Fix is an application (app) that the JRA launched in 2014 to allow citizens of the City of Johannesburg to log road issues directly to the JRA. On Google Play Store, the app has been downloaded by more than 10 000 users, but has been given a low rating of 2.9 out of 5 with 223 reviews as of 2 January 2018. Many of the reviews have complaints about the app not being user friendly and impractical. Despite this, the most calls were received between August 2017 and October 2017 were from the app.

Figure 4: Screengrab of reviews about the Find & Fix app on Google Play Store.



Out of the seven participating citizens, only three have used the Find & Fix app, of which one perceived it to be “somewhat useful”, while the other two perceived the app to be “not useful”. Citizen 2 argues that the app is difficult to use as it requires that users be at the location where the road problem is which they want to log and have fixed. These three citizens say that they mostly notice road issues whilst driving and by the time they get the app open and insert the problem information, they have already driven past the issue and when they submit the complaint, it sends the wrong location. This is a big problem, because unless the user adds the actual address where the problem is

situated in the app, it will in turn waste tax payer money to send maintenance workers on the ground to locations where there are no problems to be fixed.

Citizen 4 didn't find the Find & Fix app good, "because often they say they can't find the reference number. So, there is something wrong with that app". Citizen 6 explains that she has used the Find & Fix app a few times before, but not anymore as she never once received a reference number in contrast to when she communicated with the JRA via Twitter. Citizen 6 says "on Twitter I know that that someone has actually logged it for me, and I get an actual reference number".

Citizen 6 also said that the Find & Fix app is "tedious" to use and she doesn't like the fact that it is a computerised system, where on Twitter there is a person responding to the complaint, making her feel like she has been heard and the problem will be fixed. Citizen 6 explained that one can see who responds to a particular query, because the staff members put their initials at the end of their responses.

> So, you know that someone actually read it and you know like, if I send them a follow-up thing; 'Oh, what's happened to this reference number', then they will be like; 'Oh sorry, you know, we sorry for the delay and stuff'. I think it's maybe a bit more personal, because they will be like; sorry for the delay we have escalated it and so on. So I feel like I'm actually getting a response you know like I know that someone will attend to it. (Citizen 6)

4.3.2.9 Preferred platform

All of the participating citizens have indicated that out of all of the other platforms with which they can communicate with the JRA, they all prefer to use Twitter. The biggest reason given is that the platform is accessible by the public and the public can see if the JRA doesn't respond to complaints or fix the problems within the time indicated in the Customer Charter Standard. The fact that Twitter is available to the public makes the JRA more accountable, as they don't want to give citizens the perception that the local government entity isn't using the tax payers' money for what it's supposed: to deliver services. Most citizens have also said that using Twitter is quick and easy compared to the other platforms, as well as accessible if you have internet access.

Table 11: The use of platforms other than Twitter to communicate with the JRA and their usefulness.

	Platform	Usefulness
Citizen 1	Hotline Call Centre	Not Useful Very Useful
Citizen 2	Find & Fix	Not Useful
Citizen 3	N/A	N/A
Citizen 4	Find & Fix Hotline	Not Useful Somewhat Useful
Citizen 5	N/A	N/A
Citizen 6	Find & Fix	Somewhat Useful
Citizen 7	N/A	N/A

As indicated in **Table 12**, the 7 participating citizens perceive the use of Twitter to communicate with the JRA as useful. Where out of the 7 only two said this method is "somewhat useful" and the rest said it is "very useful".

Table 12: The usefulness of communicating with the JRA via Twitter.

	Usefulness
Citizen 1	Very Useful
Citizen 2	Very Useful
Citizen 3	Somewhat Useful
Citizen 4	Very Useful
Citizen 5	Very Useful

Citizen 6	Very Useful
Citizen 7	Somewhat Useful

> I heard of the app [Find & Fix] I've never used it. I've never used any other method. I find Twitter easy and I mean I'm already on Twitter. I have the [Twitter] app. I wouldn't send an email. I definitely won't call. (Citizen 7, 161)

Citizen 5 believes that if other municipal entities implemented the same communication practices on Twitter as the JRA has, then the process of logging a call would be “so much easier, and so much faster”. Citizen 6 says that before she started using Twitter to communicate with the JRA she was hesitant to log calls, but since using Twitter she logs calls “immediately”. If the process of logging calls with municipal entities become easier and faster, it could possibly encourage more citizens to participate in communicating with their local governments about problems they experience in their communities. However, this possibility needs to be researched further.

With the results, it is evident that people, who are white, lives in an urban area, is more educated and employed, commonly have a positive assessment of service delivery by local government. Both staff members 2 and 4 mentions that most of the citizens who complain via Twitter, live in suburban areas and that these citizens also demand quicker services. Staff member 4 is of the opinion that the citizens who reside in suburban areas are much more impatient for their complaints to be resolved, compared to those who reside in townships. Citizen 4 says the citizens in the suburban areas argue that because they are tax paying citizens that their problem needs to be fixed immediately.

When looking at the statistics from Afrobarometer (**Table 1**: 23) it correlates with the data from this study, where the Black African participating citizens were less satisfied with the JRA’s service via Twitter. Azwifaneli Managa (2012) put it very well in his policy brief for the Africa Institute South Africa (AISA), titled ‘Unfulfilled promises and their consequences: A reflection on local government performance and the critical issue of poor service delivery in South Africa’:

> Notwithstanding the role that government has played in shaping the new democracy to achieve constitutional prescriptions and a better life for all South Africans, it appears that public service delivery is in a very precarious state. Many South Africans have little confidence in the efficiency, usefulness and responsiveness of local government, as demonstrated by their protests. Municipalities' underperformance and mismanagement, coupled with corruption, have led communities to have little confidence in the local government. Moreover, this is aggravated by unfulfilled political promises, abuse of power and lack of accountability to the public by councillors and government officials. (p. 6)

4.3.3 Challenges perceived by citizens

The citizens of the City of Johannesburg and South Africa as a whole face many challenges when it comes to service delivery. Although, when it comes to service delivery via Twitter, there are truly only a few challenges preventing citizens from publicly participating in logging calls to improve the roads within the jurisdiction of the JRA. The information gathered from the interviewed citizens indicated that access to data and historically poor perceptions of government's competency to deliver services are two challenges that stand out.

4.3.4 Suggetions of citizens

The seven participating citizens were given the opportunity during their interviews to provide the JRA with suggestions on how to improve their services via Twitter and notes on what certain citizens mentioned that the researcher thinks is of value to the study are mentioned below.

Although the participating citizens perceive JRA's communication via Twitter to be useful, they believe there is room for improvement. For example, Citizen 2 would like the JRA's responses on Twitter complaints to acknowledge that there is a problem, apologise for it and state how the problem with be fixed or attended to, instead of "playing the blame game".

Citizen 5 doubts if the use of Twitter to communicate with citizens would be affective in other local government entities. Citizen 5 explains that after communicating with Joburg City Power, the City of Johannesburg entity that manages the power services, the response received was to phone the entity to log the complaint, “so, talking on Twitter to them is completely useless”. What Citizen 5 mentions here is very noteworthy. The participating citizens find communication with the JRA via Twitter useful, but this result can’t be generalised over all local or national government structures or entities. Twitter is an easy to use platform, that is quick and it’s setting in the public domain increases accountability, but unless you have properly trained and dedicated staff to professionally handle the account, the results in usefulness and growth may not resemble that of the JRA’s account. Citizen 6 also agrees with Citizen 5 that not all government entities that have Twitter use it to communicate usefully. Citizen 6 uses City Power as an example of a City of Johannesburg entity that has a Twitter account, but is not “as responsive as [the] JRA”. However, Citizen 6 believes that it would be good if other government entities, such as the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD) implemented the same communications via Twitter.

Citizen 4 notes that the person who handles the Twitter account is not the same person on the ground at the depots that do the repairs. Citizen 4 says that because of this, the JRA CRM staff that manage the Twitter account have no recourse. Citizen 4 explains that the Twitter managers at the JRA “can only really say; ‘Sorry, it’s been logged again’ or ‘escalated again’ or ‘we will check why’. They have no information, if I can say, information as the actual depots supposed to carry out the work”. What Citizen 4 mentions here is very significant to the workings of the JRA’s processes. The CRM staff members do not have accurate and truthful information regarding the progression and updates of the calls logged at hand. For a staff member to find out what is being done about a logged call, they need to email or call the depot managers to find out what is going on, and from the interviews with the staff members, they don’t actually do these follow-ups unless citizens complain that their issues haven’t been resolved. This goes hand-in-hand with Citizen 5’s suggestion that the JRA gives feedback on what is happening with the each citizen’s complaint, even if feedback is given via Direct Message.

Citizen 7 suggests that the JRA markets or creates awareness about being able to lay service delivery complaints or receive information from the entity's Twitter account.

Conclusion

The participating JRA CRM staff has explained the processes and protocols that are involved when communicating with citizens via Twitter. From the studied JRA policy documents and the language used by the interviewed staff, indicates that the JRA sees citizens as customers and that the entity is fully aware of the effect Twitter can have on the JRA as a "brand" and not as a local government entity. The interviewed staff has identified several challenges that affect their attitude towards their work and influences their performance. In general the participating citizens have found the use of Twitter by the JRA to enhance service delivery to be "useful". However, some of the citizens feel that there is room for the JRA to improve its service delivery via Twitter by providing citizens with updates on their logged calls. From what some of the participating citizens have said, whether it is true or not, they generally perceive South African government and local government entities to be non-responsive. When looking at South African Customer Satisfaction Index's 2016 results, where the City of Johannesburg performed worse than the national average score of 59.5, the perception of non-responsiveness is understandable.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

The JRA as a service delivery entity of the City of Johannesburg has benefited from the use of Twitter as a two-way communication platform with citizens residing in the jurisdiction of the city. Although the JRA established its official account @MyJRA in 2012, the entity only started backing the account with funding and manpower in 2015. Since then the JRA has seriously grown and developed its Twitter account and services provided via this account. The researcher focused on the JRA because it is one of the few local government institutions or entities in South Africa that has a dedicated team to manage official social media accounts to communicate with the citizens it serves. However, the extent to which the findings from this study influence the broader principles of development communications, more specifically participatory communication, can only be suggested.

In this section, firstly the key findings in light of the literature review are presented followed by the key findings ascertained from the primary research to answer the research questions. The findings are analysed in terms of how it relates to participatory communication and its relevant subcategories, such as accessibility, transparency and accountability, clientelism and trust. Finally, the study is concluded with highlights of the findings and areas for further study.

5.2 Findings from the study

5.2.1 The literature review

There are an adequate number of studies conducted exploring the benefits and challenges of using Twitter and other social media platforms in local and national governments (Averweg 2011; Bertot, Jaeger, and Grimes, 2010; Kavanagh 2012; Kamal 2009). Previous studies have found that using these methods of two-way communication on a public platform can support participatory communication and

enhance democratic characteristics, such as transparency and accountability, citizen engagement, reliability and trust, and service delivery (Bertot, Jaeger, and Grimes, 2010; and Bertot, Jaeger and Hansen 2012; Bonsòn, Torres and Royo 2012). Even though these democratic characteristics can be enhanced with two-way communication platforms, such as Twitter, they can negatively develop citizen patronage, which can enable governments to reduce citizens with rights, to mere customers paying for a service (Heller, 2009).

The lack of access to the internet and the digital divide is a major challenge in underdeveloped and developing countries, which may be preventing the appropriate utilisation of modern communication technologies and tools to engage citizens in two-way communication (Gillwald, Mothobi and Rademan, 2018; Van Dijk, 2006). Even if the digital divide is addressed with more affordable data costs or publicly accessible Wi-Fi, it may not increase the number of citizens engaging with government via the internet (De Lanerolle, Walton and Schoon, 2017).

However, there isn't enough research to answer the research questions of this study, with a specific focus on how the JRA as a local government entity uses Twitter to communicate with the citizens they serve and a secondary focus on whether citizens perceive it as a useful communication tool to engage with the JRA; whether this is an appropriate tool for communicating with majority of the citizens; and to what extent this tool can be said to enhance participatory communication between the JRA and its citizens. When answering these research questions, the themes in the Literature Review findings of participatory communication and its subcategories of accessibility, transparency and accountability, clientelism and trust, must also be analysed.

5.2.2 How does the Johannesburg Roads Agency use twitter as a tool to communicate with its citizens about service delivery?

The JRA seemingly uses its Twitter account in a way that a private business would as opposed to a government entity. From the information received from the interviewed staff members and the policy documents analysed, the JRA is more focused on making a good impression on a public relations level, than it is focused on good governance.

The strict protocols that need to be followed when compiling and approving the JRA's social media content calendars leaves no room for errors related to grammar, spelling and incorrect information. The content calendars have to be compiled more than a week in advance to allow time for the JRA spokesperson, Bertha Peter-Scheepers, to go through the calendars and approve it in time to schedule the content before the next week starts. The content calendars allow the JRA to plan its Twitter content constructively. Without content calendars, the JRA may run the risk of accidently overlooking the sharing of vital information to the citizens with regard to on-going road related projects, JRA events and awareness campaigns to prevent dangerous situations on the roads.

Rather, the above-mentioned efforts are in place to only provide one-way information of decisions already made and is not an initiative to engage with citizens on decision-making matters via Twitter. Only in the cases where citizens are first contacting the JRA with regards to service delivery queries or complaints does the JRA engage in two-way communication, but the responses from the JRA are standard or rehearsed responses. This suggests that the principle of two-way interaction in participatory communication is not achieved.

The interviewed staff members at the JRA have indicated that the public environment in which Twitter is situated makes them feel more accountable to serve the citizens of Johannesburg quickly, diligently and professionally. The fact that it is a policy of the JRA staff working on Twitter to state their initials at the end of every response, may add to a stronger sense of accountability to the citizens and the local government entity itself. When these staff members state their initials in the public environment of Twitter, they can be identified and implicated directly if they provide a poor service that is not in line with the JRA's policies. This does, however, pose the question: why don't' the JRA staff members feel equally accountable to provide good communication services to its citizens via the other platforms in place?

In general, the JRA's CRM staff members that work on the @MyJRA Twitter account are well managed and trained in the use of Twitter and the culture of "customer relations". The staff find that Twitter as a public platform, contribute to the factors of

accountability and transparency of the staff to deliver services quickly and diligently. From the researcher's interviews with the staff members, it was evident that the staff advocates for better services to the citizens of Johannesburg on a daily basis. However, there are internal issues of communication, teamwork and budget within the JRA that negatively affect the speed and accuracy of the information relayed to the citizens via Twitter.

5.2.3 Do citizens perceive the use of twitter as a useful communication tool in enhancing delivery of services by the Johannesburg Roads Agency?

The findings of the interviewed citizens can't be used to generalise the perceptions of the entire City of Johannesburg population that uses Twitter to communicate with the JRA. The interviewed JRA staff members have indicated that they prioritise responding to citizens' queries or complaints on Twitter, because the platform is quick and easy to use, and if they don't respond swiftly it can create a broad bad perception of the JRA as it is a public platform. All of the interviewed citizens are of the perception that the JRA's use of Twitter is useful. Five out of seven citizens said that they find this method of communication "very useful", whilst the remaining two citizens said that it is "somewhat useful".

The JRA's use of Twitter has, to some extent, positively influenced the perception citizens have of the service delivery entity. It has seemingly enhanced communication between the JRA and its citizens, which enables trust in the JRA to flourish. Responsiveness from the JRA seems to satisfy the citizens as they feel that they are being recognised and assisted in logging a complaint quickly and easily. This in turn instils trust in the citizens that the JRA will assist them with their queries, which may lead to citizens participating and engaging more with the local government entity to resolve service delivery issues. This suggests that this method of communication enhances citizen trust, which is a necessary element in development communication.

When comparing the activity on the JRA's Twitter account to other Twitter accounts of the City of Johannesburg, such as Joburg Water and City Power, it is evident that the use of Twitter alone does not enhance service delivery within an entity. Some of the citizens and staff have indicated that these other local government entities are not utilising Twitter to communicate with citizens correctly to enhance service delivery. Solid

social media strategies, policies, plans, budget as well as dedicated and trained staff are necessary to realise the potential of Twitter as a communication tool.

5.2.4 To what extent can twitter be said to enhance participatory communication between the Johannesburg Roads Agency and its citizens?

To answer this question, it is important to look at the benefits of participatory communications and whether these benefits were achieved by the JRA's use of Twitter. Arguably the biggest benefit of participatory communication is the strengthening of democracy through engaging citizens in matters of policy and problem solving. The JRA has put Tweeted notices of public meetings that were held regarding the discussion of policy changes in communities across the City of Johannesburg, but there has been no two-way communication concerning policies via Twitter. The JRA has not achieved this benefit by the way the entity uses Twitter to communicate with its citizens.

Transparency and accountability are also benefits that practised participatory communication can bring. To a limiting extent the JRA's use of Twitter has brought about a sense of transparency and accountability. The JRA's responsiveness to queries and complaints via Twitter enhances the feeling of accountability and its sharing of information of what is being done with the citizens' tax money through planned projects enhances the feeling of transparency. However, some of the JRA's staff members have indicated that they are obligated to avoid answering questions that would identify problems within the JRA's service delivery capabilities, such as shortage of feet on the ground and funds. This obligation to lie to the citizens as to why their services aren't being delivered breaks down transparency and accountability.

Through the responsiveness a government can also benefit from increased trust in the government. The majority of the interviewed citizens seemingly trusted that the JRA would respond to their queries and that at some point their service delivery issues will be resolved. However, the citizens didn't rely on the JRA to resolve their issues within the promised turnaround times in the JRA's policy documents. It can be said that the JRA's use of Twitter has increased trust in the government entity, but not reliability.

The extent to which Twitter enhanced participatory communication between the JRA and its citizens is very limited. Transparency, accountability and trust seemingly

improved, but only on surface value. The JRA's use of Twitter doesn't encourage citizen participation in matters of decision making and resolution finding. The limitations are not of such a nature that it is impossible to achieve with the use of Twitter. The current clientelistic nature of the JRA goes against the fundamentals of development communication and democracy, therefore the JRA's use of the platform merely need to shift from serving customers to serving citizens with rights.

5.2.5 Is twitter as a communication tool an appropriate platform for the Johannesburg Roads Agency to communicate with the majority of its citizens?

From the statistics received from the JRA about the number of calls that were logged via its different communication platforms (Twitter, Find & Fix, Hotline and calls), Twitter is the second most used platform. However, only a mere 12.6% of the 7 221 calls that were logged between August 2017 and October 2017 were from this platform. This is very low when considering the amount of Twitter users that follow the JRA's account.

The research has indicated that a racial and economic divide is still rife in South Africa today. Financially well-off citizens who reside in urban areas, mostly White citizens, have better perceptions of local government service delivery, versus Black African citizens, who are generally less financially well off and reside in rural areas. From the researcher's observation of the JRA's Twitter feed, complaints from White citizens seemed significantly more regular than complaints from Black African citizens. The five White citizens who were interviewed seem to engage with the JRA regularly, believe that their complaints will be attended to and that they have the power to make a difference, whereas the two Black Africans who were interviewed did not. Staff member 2 and Staff member 4 have both mentioned that citizens residing in urban areas also demand that their services be delivered quicker because "they pay taxes".

This racial and economic divide still goes part and parcel with the digital divide today as the majority of citizens, Black Africans, don't have the financial means to easily acquire access to internet services to be able to communicate with government entities around service delivery issues. When they do acquire access to internet, they are more inclined to use their data with other platforms, such as Facebook and WhatsApp. As the majority of citizens aren't able to access Twitter to communicate with the JRA regarding the services the entity delivers, this method of communication is not appropriate for the

setting it is used in. As it is not accessible, the UNESCO debates' idea of the necessity of access to communication systems in participatory communication is not fulfilled. Despite this, Twitter can still be seen as a useful platform to communicate with the JRA, because the interviewed citizens, who are users, perceive it to be useful and it has the capability to enhance transparency, accountability and trust.

5.2.6 Participatory communication

The nature of participatory communication theory's two-way communication between government and its people to engage in collective decision-making is what makes it relevant to development communication. Twitter as a public platform that allows for two-way communication has the potential to enhance transparency, accountability and trust within a democracy. Although the JRA engages in limited two-way communication with when receiving and responding to a query or complaint, it doesn't engage with citizens to participate on the Twitter account to discuss policy suggestions, programmes or budget attributions. This indicates that the opportunities that Twitter holds for enhancing participatory communication has not been fully utilised by the way the JRA uses Twitter.

The JRA's communications via Twitter seem to only take advantage of the two-way communication opportunities of this web 2.0 platform when citizens are the first to engage with the JRA. Essentially, only when citizens communicate with the JRA via Twitter to log calls or ask questions, does the JRA engage in and achieve participatory communication with the citizens. If one analyses the type of content the JRA plans in its content calendars merely provide information and doesn't encourage citizens to provide feedback, suggestions or solutions. This doesn't uphold the principles of multiplicity, with a bottom-up communication system based on people's participation, but rather a top-down communication system where people are dependent on government's decisions.

Freire's dialogical pedagogy, which focuses on dialogical communication where people are treated and respected as human beings with rights to collectively solve situations of poverty (Servaes and Malikhao, 2008), has not been achieved as the JRA merely treats its citizens as customers. The UNESCO debates' ideas of access to communication systems, people's participation in production, decision-making and planning were also

not met to achieve the full opportunities that participatory communication via Twitter has to offer as Web 2.0 platform. The JRA's use of Twitter to communicate with its citizens did, however, enhance participatory communication principles of transparency, accountability and trust to a limited extent.

5.2.7 Accessability

As development communication requires dialog, the tool with which dialogue between government and its citizens communicates must be accessible to the majority of the citizens. According to the City of Johannesburg's December 2016 issue of *The City of Johannesburg at a glance* (2016), more than 58% of its 4.94 million residents have access to internet, with 11.5% accessing internet through Wi-Fi. This means that there is room and potential for the JRA's account to reach a lot more users as citizens become aware of Twitter's active citizen capabilities. Twitter cannot, however, at this time be classified as an accessible platform for the JRA to communicate with citizens as the majority of the citizens don't have adequate access to the internet or don't know how to use it, or prefer to rather use other platforms when they do have access (Gillwald, Mothobi and Rademan, 2018; De Lanerolle, Walton and Schoon, 2017).

De Lanerolle, Walton and Schoon (2017) found that citizens are more inclined to use WhatsApp or Facebook when they have access to data or internet. However, the interviewed citizens indicated that they use Twitter to communicate with the JRA as it enables them to have a public archive of their logged calls and responses from the JRA. The interviewed JRA CRM staff also indicated that Twitter makes them feel more accountable because it is publicly visible. Although WhatsApp may perhaps be a more accessible platform for citizens to communicate with the JRA, it doesn't have the feature of a public archive that is visible to all other WhatsApp users, which may then be less appealing to citizens. Theoretically, Facebook seems to be the ideal communication platform for communicating with the JRA as it possesses the same public archive and two-way communication features as Twitter. However, the JRA already has a Facebook account, which doesn't receive as much active engagement from citizens and it has less

Followers than on Twitter. Perhaps this will change of the JRA prioritises responsiveness on Facebook rather than Twitter.

5.2.8 Transparency & accountability

Transparency and accountability are very relevant to development communication as it ensures that a government communicates the affairs it conducts openly and takes responsibility for its governing actions and decisions. The interviewed staff members at the JRA have indicated that the public environment in which Twitter is situated makes them feel more accountable to serve the citizens of Johannesburg quickly, diligently and professionally. The fact that it is a policy of the JRA staff working on Twitter to state their initials at the end of every response, may add to a stronger sense of accountability to the citizens and the local government entity itself. When these staff members state their initials in the public environment of Twitter, they can be identified and implicated directly if they provide a poor service that is not in line with the JRA's policies.

Communication with citizens is a vital part of service delivery as it informs the citizens on how the JRA plans to use their tax money and how it has used their tax money to deliver road maintenance services. Responsiveness from the JRA seems to satisfy the citizens as they feel that they are being recognised and assisted in logging a complaint quickly and easily. This makes the citizens feel that the JRA is being transparent and accountable. The interviewed citizens have complained that in most cases, the actual turnaround times to fix problems are not in line with the turnaround time stated in the Customer Charter Standards. As some JRA staff members confessed that they need to lie about why these services are not delivered within the turnaround time provided in the Customer Charter Standards. This negatively impacts and limits the extent to which the JRA's use of Twitter enhances transparency and accountability.

5.2.9 Clientelism

Clientelism goes against the principles necessary for development communication and democracy to flourish, as governments must interact with their people as citizens with rights and not as customers who pay for a service.

The JRA has seemingly based its services via Twitter on strict policies and protocols that are similar to the culture and behaviour of corporate communications practices. From analysing the JRA's policy documents, namely the *Customer Charter Standards* and the *JRA Strategy 2017*, the JRA clearly identifies citizens as customers. In these documents, it seems as if the main goal of JRA's communications is to show the entity in a good light, by means of convincing "customers" to have a positive perception of the entity through "brand awareness" and "brand management strategy". Similarly, the JRA has instilled a customer service culture in the staff who manages its Twitter account daily, which is evident from the language used by most of the interviewed JRA CRM staff, which also refer to citizens as customers and use corporate communication phrases, such as "customer service" and "managing the brand". The JRA's use of corporate communications practices in essence links to Heller's (2009) argument on clientelism in South Africa.

It also coincides with Heller's (2009) argument that clientelism is rife in developing countries, such as South Africa, as influential channels are monopolised and the setting of the public agenda is dominated by the government, rather than the agenda being set by the citizens. It could be said that this way of thinking is the reason why the JRA doesn't achieve the full potential the Twitter presents for the enhancement of participatory communications.

5.2.10 Trust

Trust is necessary to foster meaningful communications between a government and its citizens to uphold the principles of development communication and democracy. The perceptions of citizens and their trust in government have a significant effect on the engagement that the citizen has with its government agencies (Valle-Cruz, Sandoval-Almazan, & Gil-Garcia: 2016).

The interviewed JRA staff members have all agreed that Twitter is a useful tool to communicate with citizens about service delivery within the JRA. The JRA's interviewed staff members prioritise responsiveness on Twitter as they know it influences public perception. This responsiveness in turn instils trust in the citizens that the JRA will

assist them with their queries, which may lead to citizens participating and engaging more with the local government entity to resolve service delivery issues.

5.2.11 Reliability

If government is not reliable in delivering on promises made to citizens, it could be said to tarnish the validity of development communication. It would be ignorant to assume that because the interviewed citizens perceive Twitter as a communication tool with the JRA as useful, that the use of Twitter in general truly enhances reliability. It is only evident that the citizens were satisfied with the real-time response they received from the JRA, but the turnaround time to resolve the issues, which citizens complained about in most cases, are not in line with the turnaround time stated in the Customer Charter Standards.

Five out of the seven participating citizens could recall an average turnaround time regarding response to issues raised, as one to three weeks. According to the Customer Charter Standards, the type of problems that takes the longest to resolve is a pothole (7 days). With factors, such as the weather and budget to supply the maintenance materials and employ enough workers, influencing turnaround times, the use of Twitter to log a complaint doesn't, in actual fact; result in problems being fixed quicker or even within the times that the JRA indicates in the Customer Charter Standards.

5.3 Conclusion and suggestions further research

The JRA appears to be using Twitter in a way that enhances the communications aspect of service delivery to a certain extent. This study has shown that the JRA has fixed strategies, policies, protocols and plans in place to utilise its Twitter account usefully as a corporate communications department and not a local government entity. Further research should be done to determine whether all South African local government Twitter accounts that are as responsive as the JRA's account, see and respond to their respective citizens as customers. The corporate structure in place at the JRA to ensure necessary efficiency is not the problem in question, but rather the language, culture and mind-set of categorizing citizens as customers to receive services and not as citizens with entitled rights. If the framing of services focuses on citizens with

rights, it may change the way in which government entities respond to citizens and prioritise services to areas most in need, such as schools, clinics and poor communities. Shifting the framing of services to that of citizens with rights may change the way with which the service is delivered, but to what extent is uncertain and needs to be explored.

Although the JRA's existing policies and protocols could work in a corporate communications setting, it doesn't meet the fundamental needs to serve citizens with rights in a democratic government setting. To rectify this, the goals of the JRA's communications must first be shifted from serving the "brand" to serving the people. The JRA can then include content on the Twitter account that engages citizens to participate in policy-making and decision-making processes, as well as gather opinions and suggestions on the JRA's road related projects. After the JRA takes the input from the citizens into account, the entity can report back to the citizens via Twitter as to what decisions were made and how the input from the citizens were taken into account.

De Lanerolle, Walton and Schoon (2017) warn that institutions wanting to connect to the less-connected via mobile phones would probably not succeed if they do not make more efforts to learn about the circumstance of the less-connected and their everyday struggles. De Lanerolle, Walton and Schoon (2017) found that South African citizens prefer using Facebook and WhatsApp when they have access to internet. Perhaps the JRA should prioritise these as the JRA staff prioritise Twitter, more citizens will be able to engage in participatory communication with the entity, especially by focusing on Facebook as it is a public platform that could enhance transparency, accountability, reliability and trust.

The participating citizens perceive the JRA's use of Twitter as a communication platform to enhance service delivery as useful. The fact that citizens logged queries or complaints via Twitter didn't result in problems being attended to within the JRA's standard turnaround times promised in the Customer Standard Charter. It rather allows for the strengthening of transparency, accountability and trust of the local government entity through the platform's quick and easy to use two-way communications capability. Although, transparency and accountability is challenged when the CRM staff is not inclined to respond truthfully to the citizens.

The study has also indicated that the financially well-off citizens who reside in urban areas, mostly White citizens, have better perceptions of local government service delivery, compared to Black African citizens, who are generally less financially well off and reside in rural areas. From the researcher's observation of the JRA's Twitter feed, White citizens seem more likely to engage with the JRA, believing that their complaints will be attended to and that they have the power to make a difference, whereas Black Africans don't.

A major limitation to this research was the lack of time to interview upper management to discuss the policies and strategies that are in place that influence the day-to-day activities of the JRA's Twitter account. Similarly, the lack of sufficient time hindered the researcher from studying multiple-cases. Therefore, further research is required to build upon this study to concretely determine how South African local governments are using Twitter to communicate with citizens regarding the delivery of services.

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APPENDIX A: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT STUDY

City of Johannesburg
Johannesburg Roads Agency

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Ms Anlerie de Wet
Journalism and Media Studies Student
Witwatersrand University

RE: REQUEST TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT JRA

Dear Ms De Wet

Your e-mail dated 15 June 2017 is acknowledged.

Your request to conduct research at the Johannesburg Roads Agency towards the use of Twitter to improve service delivery and the effectiveness of this method is granted.

As mentioned in your e-mail, you will be conducting a research on the use of Social Media such as Twitter to improve service delivery. You will be allowed to interview JRA employees in the twitter section.

After drafting your research questions, you will be expected to first submit these questions to the Acting Head: Corporate Services to obtain her consent.

It should also be mentioned that the information provided by JRA employees or obtained via any other means, is purely for academic purposes and cannot be used for any other purpose.

We hope that the topic of your research will contribute to the improved use of social media to improve service delivery efficiently. We are looking forward to the final product of your research results.

We hope that the information gathered during the research exercise will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Yours Sincerely

Dr Sean Phillips
Managing Director

Date: 30/06/17

Chairman: S Tshabalala,
Executive Directors: S Phillips - Managing Director, G Mbatha - Chief Financial Officer
Non-Executive Directors: L Mashamaite, Q Buthelezi, S Thunzi, P Govender, M Tshetshe, T Magerman, K Sihlali, A Torres
Company Secretary: K Mills

Registration No. 2000/028993/07

APPENDIX B: TRANSCRIBED INTERVIEWS

(Citizen 1)

Anlerie	Are you then happy to start?
Citizen 1	Yes, absolutely.
Anlerie	Do you any questions about the study that you first want to be clear about?
Citizen 1	Umm… No, I mean my understanding is that you, you are investigating or doing a study on the usefulness of twitter umm… in, in reporting service delivery isuess.
Anlerie	Yes, yes, definitely. I also will be doing interviews with the JRA officials that run the twitter account.[Right] Umm… so, but this is just to get the perspective of citizens, you know, [Right] who at the end of the day laid the complaints or eh… the queries and so forth through twitter. [Aha] OK, [Aha] so now umm.. the first few questions are just… the first few questions are just umm… logistical stuff. So eh would you mind, just give me your age please.
Citizen 1	I'm forty-eight.
Anlerie	Forty-eight, OK. And umm... in what area do you reside, in which suburb in Jo'burg.
Citizen 1	Kensington. Ken-sing-ton.
Anlerie	Kensington, alright. And umm… how long have you been using twitter?
Citizen 1	I would say, probably about a year.
Anlerie	For a year?
Citizen 1	Ja.
Anlerie	How did you come about it? Did someone you to it or…
Citizen 1	My husband did actually and it was because of my frustration of reporting service delivery issues. And umm… I'm as you probably know, I'm very useless on social media. I'm not on Facebook. I'm actually not on any social media except, except twitter. And he said it's… it's the quickest way of, of umm… you know, reporting issues. So that's why I got onto twitter and he showed me how to use it.
Anlerie	Great, so umm like you've said now, a bunch of times, you have used twitter to lay service delivery complaints.
Citizen 1	Many times.

Anlerie	Alright, so then do you mind explaining to me umm… what, what were the complaints about, like are they mostly potholes or traffic lights?
Citizen 1	OK. OK mine... the majority of mine are missing storm water drain covers, missing manhole covers, umm… storm water drain covers that are, have collapse or that needs to be repositioned. Umm… lately I also report a lot of street names, you know, on the curves that needs to be repainted. I also always report, although that's not JRA, always report water, burst water pipes or anything like that. Anything.
Anlerie	Yes, and they... they revert it then to City power's twitter.
Citizen 1	Umm… Well, if I, if I report, if I report water leaks I report to Jo'burg water. Umm… the JRA, all the JRA related stuff; storm water drains, and umm… repainting street names and missing manhole covers, all that sort of things.
Anlerie	OK. Well then umm… with these, these, these complaints that you've laid, umm… do you think - if you can give me an average – about how many times a week or eh in two weeks do you contact the JRA via twitter to lay a service delivery complaint?
Citizen 1	Umm… in a week my guess would be on a… about eight a week, I'd say.
Anlerie	So you are quite vigilant about what's going on in the community?
Citizen 1	Oh yes. I know exactly what's going on here.
Anlerie	Hehehe. Alright umm… well, in general, the responses you've received from the JRA, how would you say the response from their side was?
Citizen 1	Is it as far as resolution of the issue goes or, or their response to the, to the tweet?
Anlerie	Well there response to the tweet itself? We will get to the actual implementation or correction of eh… complaints.
Citizen 1	Yes, so I always get, 'cause I normally send my tweets with a photograph attached, I always receive a umm... reply tweet with a reference number umm… and I'd say the success rate, you know, the resolution of my issues has certainly definitely improved over the last couple of months. And umm… I would say, umm... ja some of my older complaints have not been resolved, but some of my newer one get resolved quickly.
Anlerie	Hmm, so when you got twitter did you immediately…

Anlerie	… Now when it comes you say the older complaints are not resolved. Not really...
Citizen 1	Some of my, some of my, my original old issues that umm… recorded actually weren't resolved until more recently when I re-umm…

	resubmitted the issues. I re-tweeted about, about a lot of the stuff that hadn't been resolved. I've re-tweeted and for some reason umm… the things started to, to happen more quickly. So definitely is a much higher resolution now in the last few months that there was previously.
Anlerie	Hmm. And umm… do you find that they are also, you know, resolving it much, much quicker? Ehh… even no matter what the problem was, so for example; a pothole takes a lot longer to fill up then replacing a manhole cover.
Citizen 1	Yes. You know what, it's a very difficult thing. Sometimes I'm amazed at how quickly the respond to a missing manhole cover or a storm water drain that umm… collapsed. Some issues they respond to very quickly, like in… within a few days and other issues, well I can may… you know, ongoing issues for absolute months and months, and I don't know why some are resolved and some are not.
Anlerie	Hmm. So what do you, do you think is the problem behind this? Why do you think the respond to some quickly and to others not?
Citizen 1	Umm… joh. I really don't know. Umm… I mean, I had one issue that I tweeted about, for easily a year, and I got no response at all and eventually I phoned the JRA call centre and got new reference numbers, followed up on those reference numbers and eventually that issue was resolved, but I don't know why. I don't know why some get done and some don't. I don't know if they're different staff umm… sometimes you, you get the, the issues, report it to them and they are more proactive. I really don't know.
Anlerie	Hmm. So on average would you say, now taking into account those umm… complaints they've taken long time to respond to or umm… the complaints they responded to quickly, if you could give your neighbour an average time of eh… days or hours that you think the average amount of time that they have taken in general to respond?
Citizen 1	To respond?
Anlerie	Yes.
Citizen 1	Yes, Ok, I would say in general… Oeff… it would have to be a couple of weeks, and that may be good. Umm I would say, joh… It's probably closer to a month [A month] on most of them I would say. [Hmm] You know, the issues is that Kensington is a very big suburb. So I report umm… issuess from one end of Kensington to the other, but because I don't, often perhaps, drive around in a certain area I will report issuess there but might not go back there for quite a while to see whether it's resolved or not. So umm… it might be a bit unfair to get the… umm… but I know that the main [tarrif is] Queen street, Langeman and Roberts, sometime a lot of those umm… original issuess actually took many months before they were resolved but in.. when they started to be resolved then a whole lot of issuess were resolved all at once. [Yeah]

	Umm… and I don't know if that was because umm the Kensington residence and rate payers association had requested a meeting with the mayor, with the mayor's office and it kind of eh… put a spotlight on Kensington as really needing attention, and I don't know if that made all of a sudden the resolutions happen faster. But I would say, I would say, I might be incorrect but I would say easy three weeks, a month for most issuess. [Hmm] It's sometimes longer, sometimes quicker, haha. I don't know.
Anlerie	Ja, but it's great to know an averge.
Citizen 1	Ja, I would say safely that, that would be an average.
Anlerie	Hmm, OK. Great. You see now I will umm…

Citizen 1 3

Citizen 1	… Another thing that happened umm… quite often, not so much as me, but I've got friends who say they report issuess and when they follow up with the reference number, the issues has been logged as closed [Oh] when it's actually not been resolved.
Anlerie	OK. Alright. Well, umm… have you experienced that yourself before?
Citizen 1	Umm… I'm trying to think of if I've actually, and I think that's more using the JRA app umm… the Find&fix app, emm let me just think about it – I've actually experienced that myself… I mean, I've got outstanding issuess that I have not followed up on lately and they might well I don't know – they might still be active they might be closed because nothing's been done – but no, I can't say that I've experience that myself.
Anlerie	Umm, OK. Well then in terms of their response saying, you know, the query has been closed and so forth. Have you ever received a response from the JRA twitter account informing you, your query that, which you've logged and you got a reference number for, has now been fixed?
Citizen 1	Never once, never once.
Anlerie	OK. Do you feel like you would like to get a response like that?
Citizen 1	I would love it. I would absolutely love it. It would save me umm… because I keep a, I keep a whole excel spreadsheet of all the things I've logged. Umm… and for me it would mean that I wouldn't have to drive around, you know, trying to locate all the issuess I've logged to check if they have been done. It would be amazing. And it would make them more accountable to go; "Yes that issues is being resolved", "… that issues has been resolved." I would love that.
Anlerie	Hmm… Talking about accountability, do you think that the reason why you are using, and many Jo'burg citizens, are using twitter to communicate with the JRA is because it holds them accountable - it's public.

Citizen 1	Absolutely, absolutely. Because it's in the public domain. Now normally we'll tweet to JRA and city of Jo'burg umm and sometimes umm… you know, our DA or whatever. I've very seldom tweeted only directly to JRA so I do, I do umm tweet with, to other people as well. Because with photographs as well, it is very in your face you know, everyone sees it. [Hmm] So I definitely think that, that is a far better way of holding them to account than if you use the JRA, you know, Find&fix app. I didn't find that useful at all, but this way… and I always tweet if, if umm thing have been done, or if I'm very impressed with the service then I will always tweet to say; "Oh my goodness, you know, I reported this three days ago and, you know, now I can see they're starting to fix the door" or whatever, you know, if I say, you know, like the painting the street names. {hmm] It was one of those things two weeks ago, I reported a street name and I promise you it was like three days later and I couldn't believe it and I tweet and I say; "I can't believe this amazing service." So I always recognise a good, the good service I get as well.
Anlerie	That's good. That's good giving them recognition for the good work they do. [Yes] Umm well then… so we finished now the section of the complaints. Have you [Right] ever sent a query for example the… wanting to find out where the next town hall is, and what's going on with the M1 rehab or anything like that?
Citizen 1	No, never once, sorry. Never once.
Anlerie	Haha, you don't have to say sorry. Ahaha. Umm can you explain why you have never used it to get information?
Citizen 1	Umm… I've never felt like there was any information that I needed from them. I mean, I wouldn't even know what I would've asked them about. I don't, you know, use the freeways all that often. I don't know I just never thought of asking for anything related to that.
Anlerie	Haha. Great. Well then umm… then I'm going to come to the next section…

Anlerie	… that you have umm… once called after one of your complaints that hasn't been resolved for a very long time. So you called into the call centre?
Citizen 1	Yes, I have.
Anlerie	And umm… tell me have you used any other methods or platforms to communicate to the JRA?
Citizen 1	I have emailed them on their, you know, their JRA email thing. [Yes] Umm… I just, I just didn't find… there is no response. So I, I can't remember getting… I just remember feeling like, you know, you don't have any control over or, you know, know whether they received it or not. For some reason I have a feeling there wasn't umm… much response

	from them, but umm… so I definitely find the, you know, using twitter is far more useful and umm… as far as the call centre, I‘ve had, the few time I’ve phoned the call centre to escalate something, I’ve, I had to say I had very good, very good feedback and very good results from them and umm… things that happened.
Anlerie	So then if the call centre is so good in what they… in their response and their feedback, why do you twitter?
Citizen 1	Because I am in the streets a lot. Umm… because I have guys who clean in the street that I work with and I walk a lot in the suburb, so then I walk with my phone. Umm… where I am I see, you know, the issues, I take a photograph I log it straight away. I don’t have to then come home, get on my email, you know, remember or write down which streets, the intersection… I’m right there, I do it right away.
Anlerie	And you’ve never thought of, while you’re at that street to call the call centre?
Citizen 1	No. No, because you know what? The call centre is not immediate, you know, you got to listen to those bloody stupid options [ahahaha] and, you know, dial this for that one and I don’t like talking to people anyway generally and then… ag, no. Too much trouble if you… This way it’s instant, you don’t have to talk to someone, it’s quick, it’s done, it is acknowledged, and you walk away. You know you come back with… you got a reference number. It’s all very immediate and I can keep track of it easier cause it’s… then I have a record on my phone, you know, on my twitter account.
Anlerie	So the response you get on twitter for your complaints, is it within an hour, two hours; what would you say is the average actual response to get a reference number?
Citizen 1	I would, I would, I would say within an hour. It’s normally quicker, but within an hour.
Anlerie	OK, alright. Umm… So then … I’m going to give you a couple of options here. Umm this is more specifically for the research topic, [Alright] well it’s more of a sub-category topic but ehh… how useful do you think the twitter used by the JRA is to communicate service delivery complaints and queries. Umm… I’m going to give you three options, and I’d like you to choose one. So the first one is that it’s not useful. Second one is it’s somewhat useful. And then the third one, very useful. Which of the three would you…
Citizen 1	I‘d say, I would say very useful.
Anlerie	Very useful
Citizen 1	Ja.

Anlerie	Alright, so umm… let me just highlight that because that's a very important answer. Umm… so when you started using twitter, did you stop using emails?
Citizen 1	Ja, I pretty much… when I, when I started getting the results on twitter I pretty much stopped everything. Unless there's a particular issues that's very sticky that I don't see resolution then I will phone the call centre.
Anlerie	Alright, so your, your go to is twitter and then your second back up is the call centre?
Citizen 1	Yes, yes.
Anlerie	Alright, do you then feel that the call centre more likely gets things done but it's not the easier way to go?
Citizen 1	Yes. Yes, absolutely. That's how I perceive it.
Anlerie	And umm… so since you say you've used the call centre and emails. I'm going to ask you the same question about the usefulness. So for your… in terms of the email, do you find that that channel is of…
Citizen 1	No, not useful.
Anlerie	Not useful. OK and then the call centre you would say is?
Citizen 1	Is very useful.
Anlerie	OK, good. And then umm… when you compare all these channels with, with twitter use, you will always use twitter, correct?

(Citizen 2)

Anlerie	… just want to make sure. You said you wanted to remain anonymous?
Citizen 2	Ja well I know, I don't know how, I don't know how you going to do it. If you need me, I mean I'm quite happy either way, because umm I mean it really doesn't make a difference so it's up to you how you want to, I mean, I don't know if you running everybody anonymous or some not or how you wanting to do it. That's why I thought; well, I'll do whatever you… is required.
Anlerie	It's, it's up to preference. Umm… [OK] I only give that option for in case people feel like they will be targeted personally by the JRA or whoever for participating in this study, maybe because of things they say or whatever. [oh OK] So it's just for those people who want to feel like ok they secure, and umm… some people… I even had a lady who said that she, she ticked to remain anonymous because she doesn't want me to share information, but umm… that's not how it works. I don't share anyone's contact details. [No, you won't] It's basically just saying in my study, either your name or a pseudo-name. So, ja that's [Oh OK] the only difference the two, but I will still

	in my personal files on my personal devices I will keep everyone's name and assign a pseudo-name to whoever wants to remain anonymous.
Citizen 2	OK. OK [Yes] Ja, no well ja. Just do umm… umm… do… I'm not to fussed, believe me. I mean you must see I how go, have ago with them over at twitter. If they can get my information from twitter and umm… hahaha. And get a hold of me anywhere that way.
Anlerie	Ja, ja but umm if you feel like you want to change it then you have to redo the consent form. But if you don't want to change it [OK] it's a hundred percent. Then we keep it as it is.
Citizen 2	OK cool. No then we just leave it as it is and we make it easier so that we can go ahead and you can get all your information.
Anlerie	Great, great, great, great. Alright so first a couple of logistical questions. Umm so firstly how old are you?
Citizen 2	I'm forty-four.
Anlerie	Forty-four. Alright and in which suburb do you reside?
Citizen 2	I'm in Fourways.
Anlerie	Fourways. Great. Umm… how long have you been on twitter?
Citizen 2	Actually not long. Umm… probably about, only about a year.
Anlerie	A year. So you [Ja] started 2016. OK so…
Citizen 2	Ja, only because I needed to get hold of city power [is it] to shout at them. That's why I joined so that I could get hold of city power, hahaha. The only reason.
Anlerie	So do you, do you mostly just use twitter to get hold of umm… municipal services?
Citizen 2	Yes, yes.
Anlerie	Is it, OK.
Citizen 2	That's… I don't, I don't, I'm, I'm, I don't tweet my feelings or whatever. I can stalk but I don't umm… ja, I don't have time so it's normally to get hold, if you have a look at all my friends and who I follow, it's all Game,[..], umm… DA, future city fourways, all that kinds of things.
Anlerie	Ja, OK. Well umm so how it's going to go; there are three sections. Right, so the first section has to do with umm… using twitter to lay service delivery complaints with the JRA. The second one is using other platforms of communication with the JRA. And umm… the third one is eh basically umm… to say you know your preference and whether you, you know, tell people to use this method compared to others or so on and so on.

Citizen 2	OK. OK.
Anlerie	So let's start with the first one about service delivery complaints, umm so you have obviously laid service delivery complaints, am I correct in assuming that what we just spoke about now?
Citizen 2	That is correct, yes.

Citizen 2 2

Anlerie	… lay a complained via twitter this way with the JRA?
Citizen 2	Well it depends. I can do one every day. Umm… I can do one once a week, it's normally on average with JRA probably once a week but then a lot of time in the car umm… but I have known to send complaints or send issues every day [Alright] if they don't listen to me.
Anlerie	Ja, ehehehe. So it's on average a new complaint once a week and then [Yes] follow ups all the other days?
Citizen 2	Yes, ja.
Anlerie	Alright. So how do you, you know, experience the response you've had from the JRA's twitter team?
Citizen 2	Umm… it depends. Umm sometimes they respond quickly, and by the time I've logged the question, ehh… logged the query, within twenty minutes I've got a response for it. And this can be at half past six in the morning. [Hmm] However if I go on about it they sometimes ignore me. [Hmm] like for instance for now I see that Witkoppen, the robots have been of for two weeks and they keep saying; "It's Eskom", "It's Eskom", "It's Eskom", so I said "It's not good enough." [Ja] And then they ignore me.
Anlerie	Well how does this make you feel? Do you feel like you have no other way to umm get the lights to work? Do you feel like they are the last resort and if they are not going to sort this out then it's not going to sorted?
Citizen 2	This is the thing, yes. And they are not the ones who sit in three hours of traffic a day. I can spend four hours in my car every day just in Fourway-traffic. [Hmm] And if you come by, if you driving that same road three or four times and this robot is still not working, still not working, and it's still no point or it's raining and there is no point men and you send a whatsapp at quarter-past six because Witkoppen is already backed up and you sent to JRA and they say sorry it's Eskom. [Hmm] Then I want to fly into a rage.
Anlerie	Ja, mhaha. Well so you say sometimes umm… they'll respond in twenty minutes [Yes] Do you , could you perhaps give me about an average as their response time?
Citizen 2	Ummm I'd say most of the time I'd say between twenty minutes and an hour. [Alright] When they are prepared to respond otherwise they ignore you. It's that or nothing. There is no sort of like in between.

Anlerie	And umm… in terms of having those problems resolved, what do you, what would you say is the average turnaround time?
Citizen 2	Umm… well agreed it's very inconsistent. The traffic lights at Witkoppen was two weeks before it was resolved, however when [sedar] at Witkoppen was off three months ago at six o'clock in the morning I tweeted the JRA to say if they going to keep the robots off can they please provide points men earlier and within twenty-four hours, the following morning the points men were there at six o'clock. So it can be twenty-four hours. [Ja] It can be that, you see I will also let Outsurance know at the same time so I don't know which is doing it. You know, if it's Outsurance or free flow traffic Outsurance or umm… JRA, I don't know which one is responding to it.
Anlerie	So if you could that an average from that, so it could be twee week or it could be twenty-four hours, so would you say in general in most of your experiences…
Citizen 2	Within a week I'd say.
Anlerie	Within a week, OK. [Ja] Alright umm… and then the type of responses you get umm… do you feel like it's very standard and very... you know, I use it for every other post and very, you know, mandated response.
Citizen 2	Ja, it is. It is a standard response. Umm… I don't know if you do follow city of Jo'burg?
Anlerie	Yes.
Citizen 2	OK. Do you see what is put up there? And how it's tweeted and what response you get? I don't know who runs that twitter site, that person deserves a medal.
Anlerie	His name is TK.
Citizen 2	Sorry?
Anlerie	His name is TK.
Citizen 2	Oh OK because he is hilarious. [Yes] Umm… I don't expect JRA to be anything but standard, because when you dealing with a complaint it's the same thing over and over. They need to… I would prefer a response to the point…

Citizen 2	… you put something funny up. Because then I just leave my [rag].
Anlerie	Ja, so you'd rather have it to the point then [Yes] beat around the bush with the JRA?
Citizen 2	It can be standard, it can be a copy and paste from any other person's umm… umm… response, but as long as it's honest and to the point.

Anlerie	OK, alright. OK so then when it comes to the second section with umm… queries, asking for information, for example this past weekend it was the 94.7 cycle challenge and there were major roads routes that were closed and so forth. [Ja] Have you ever for example sent the JRA a tweet asking a question about a certain event or when is this and this happening, when is the M1 rehabilitation finishing and so forth?
Citizen 2	Umm… No, actually the 94.7 was clearly sign posted so my entire route to school and back is a 94.7. So I see a post every hundred meters. This road is closed, this road is closed. Umm… and for the rest of it… umm… like for instance with the Witkoppen business and seeder, I don't tweet the JRA, I normally tweet [peter] city Fourways, because they're more on the ball [Hmm] to say when is it going to be finished.
Anlerie	OK. So for your local information you rather ask smaller community groups rather than municipal groups?
Citizen 2	Yes. Yes. Yes. And also whatsapp. So you'll have your community whatsapp and from a trusted point of view I use allot of apps. So I have my way. I use Ways and the Ways will inform me before I get to the point then I don't have to tweet umm… jRA, because I've already been informed that the robot is out there so I go somewhere else.
Anlerie	Alright. So umm I'm going to give you three options here [Ja] to the answer of or to the question of umm... how useful did you find using the JRA's twitter to communicate service delivery complaints. So it's… you have to choose between: not useful, somewhat useful and very useful. What would you say?
Citizen 2	Umm… well they answer so I would say very useful for me personally. Because that's how I work. Umm…
Anlerie	You feel that's what a service is.
Citizen 2	Yes, that's what I've been looking for. It's not, I'm not wanting bells and whistles and the whole lot, I'm wanting an answer and I'm wanting an answer now. [Great] So in generally, if they're not sick of me, they answer umm… pretty quickly.
Anlerie	OK. Ja, that's actually something I'm going to be addressing in my interviews with them.
Citizen 2	Oh is it? OK.
Anlerie	Yes, umm… alright. So now moving away from twitter, [Yes] have you used any other platform to communicate with the JRA?
Citizen 2	Yes, I've got… I've downloaded the app.
Anlerie	The Find&fix.
Citizen 2	Yes. Yes, umm which wasn't a nice [meh] because by the time I get it open and try and find where I am and the whole lot to mark a spot umm… and say OK here's the problem – I past it long ago. So I find twitter, at least then when

	I drop my child at school, while I'm at school I can log the complaint. I don't have to be at [On the spot] the position to log the complaint
Anlerie	And umm... have you ever… when you've used the Find&fixed app, have you ever used it and got a response?
Citizen 2	Actually no, I haven't. Because I'm often as I say what happens I'm driving and I'll be on, say on Earling road and there's a big pothole that I can't, because there is so much traffic, I can't stop and log the query so I log it as I'm driving [It's very impractical] so it might not even pinpoint the right position. [Hmm] You know, or didn't go through properly or it doesn't work. [Ja] umm… unless you going to stop your car and take a picture and we don't have time to do that. [Ja] SO that's why I've abandoned that, I've actually deleted the app, I only used twitter.
Anlerie	OK, so have you ever emailed or called the call centre?
Citizen 2	I have called. They had a, at one stage they had a... umm… oh that was jamPete… there was a hotline number that went out with regards to, and I don't actually know if it was JRA, but the thing is when it's six o'clock and you've been sitting in traffic for three hours or you know, you…

Anlerie	Ja.
Citizen 2	Cause then I don't have to get my phone, look for the number, dial the number, anything like that. Twitter opens, send.
Anlerie	Hmm, ja. And when you do send a complaint with twitter do you generally add photos or not?
Citizen 2	Umm… sometime I do. Umm… it depends, it depends on how quickly traffic goes, so I would say I don't want to take photos if umm… if traffic is running too quick, I've got kids in the car and it's not safe. But if I'm stuck and the reason is because of the robot and I can take a picture, yes then I will.
Anlerie	Hmm so umm… when you look, think back about a post you've sent with a picture and a post you've sent without one, do you think that the ones you've sent with a picture got a quicker response?
Citizen 2	No, I always get the same response. Generally I find that ones that I've sent with a picture get picked up by other people and then re-tweet it. [Ja] So umm… umm… it from that perspective it captures other people's eyes and someone like umm… Hour news's traffic will pick it up and re-tweet it. [Hmm] But umm… it doesn't make a difference whether I send a picture or not to JRA. The response is the same.
Anlerie	Alright, so umm… just the same question as we had previously with the three options, [aham] now you said you basically used the Find&fix and then you deleted it. [Ja] Now yet again, how useful did you find this method; not useful, somewhat useful or very useful?

Citizen 2	Not useful. No, not useful at all, it just didn't suit me.
Anlerie	Alright, so when it comes to your first choice, you say twitter right?
Citizen 2	Yes.
Anlerie	And have you ever encouraged friends or family or other loved ones to use twitter to lay complaints rather than other methods?
Citizen 2	Yes, I have in fact.
Anlerie	And how have they taken it up?
Citizen 2	Sorry?
Anlerie	How have they taken it up, have they come back to you giving you feedback as to how they… it works for them?
Citizen 2	Umm… not really, no. But a lot of people will… my friends who are following me will see tweet and they'll start doing the same thing. Umm… they will pick up whom I'm following and they will start doing the same thing, but nobody's really come to me or said anything and then I'm kind of maybe… maybe it's because I spend more time in traffic. Umm… they maybe don't see as much as I do.
Anlerie	So if you have any advice for the JRA's twitter team, what would it be?
Citizen 2	I would say it would be to be totally transparent, don't ply the blame game, Don't blame somebody else, if it's happening, you acknowledge that it's happening. And yes, we will look into it. They will normally say; "Yes, we are aware of you call", "A call is logged." Acknowledge it, we are aware, call is logged, solution. What's the solution. Points men are on their way. [Hmm] umm… it's a temporary, we will fix it. It's a temporary block, it's going to be permanent, you know, a little bit more information, it doesn't have to be big long sentences, but acknowledge, apologies for the inconvenience, call has been logged. Points men are on their way.
Anlerie	Alright. So…
Citizen 2	But then so I know the pointsmen on their way so then do I send it, because otherwise the do I send the same thing to Outsurance, [Ja] do I send the same thing to JMPD, do I send the same thing to Freeflow and then it's a [.befication?]. [Ja]
Anlerie	Ja, umm so you would like responses where they tell you OK, this and this is going to happen so we are sending… we're sending points men out right now, they will be there in twenty minutes, or for example; "Your call has been logged about the traffic lights. The technician will be there in the next hour" or something like that?
Citizen 2	Yes, yes. Umm… "It will be resolved in twenty-four hours." As I've said, my thing is it's supposed to be done in twenty-four hours but when it rains in Fourways, on my trip to school, just one trip I come across at least six robots

	that are not working. [Hmm] And that it probably about ten kilometre radius and that is specifically when it rains. So ten my thing is as well…

Citizen 2	…figure out how to fix it, waterproof it. And I think I've even tweeted before to JRA saying; "Would you like me to stop and Builders Warehouse and get a can of waterproof paint? [hahaha] because clearly you need help."
Anlerie	Ja, the same problem shouldn't be occurring at the same places.
Citizen 2	Every time, every time it rains it's the same place. And that is what I think frustrates people.
Anlerie	Ja. Umm well that's [Ja] basically it [OK] unless there is something else that you want to add?
Citizen 2	No, it's cool. You got my details so if there is anything else you want to ask whatever you can just interested to know.
Anlerie	Thank you so much Citizen 2. [cool] You must have a lovely evening.
Citizen 2	Cool. Good luck, bye.
Anlerie	Bye.

(Citizen 3)

Anlerie	So umm… tell me how old are you?
Citizen 3	I'm thirty-three.
Anlerie	Alright. [Yes] And in what umm… suburb do you reside in Jo'burg?
Citizen 3	Eh, its protracline in Soweto.
Anlerie	Alright, and umm… how long have you been on twitter?
Citizen 3	On twitter, oh I think it was on two thousand and… around 2010, ja let's say 2010.
Anlerie	2010. [Yeah] Mmm OK. So umm… there are bunch of sections, there are three sections actually. One of the sections is umm... laying a complaint,]OK] other one is making a query [OK] and the other one is about different communication platforms that the JRA used other than twitter. [Oh, OK] umm… So we going to start with the service delivery complaints. [OK] Umm… now have you ever used twitter, your personal twitter account, to lay a service delivery complaint with the JRA?
Citizen 3	Ja, no, I've done it a couple of times, yeah.

Anlerie	Umm if you can give maybe perhaps… ehh … how regularly you do lay a complaint?
Citizen 3	Umm ghee, it's not much. No, normally like in my neighbourhood like with, with ehh the potholes, some other potholes and stuff, but it's not really a lot. [Mmm] Ja don't even think it gets to maybe six, eh I read it do, but in terms of when I'm driving around there's a big pothole that's been there for two weeks about, I take a picture, I'll tweet it to them.
Anlerie	Hmm that doesn't happen weekly, or does it?
Citizen 3	No, not weekly. No, not weekly.
Anlerie	Maybe once a month?
Citizen 3	Let's say once in three months hey.
Anlerie	Once in three months, OK.
Citizen 3	Once in three months, ja.
Anlerie	Alright. And umm… when you have, you know, made these complaints via twitter, [yeah] what kind of response did you receive from them?
Citizen 3	I normally get … eh…"Your querry, your call has been logged with this reference number." Ja, they will give you a reference number and ja, ja.
Anlerie	Alright, so usually how long does it take for them to reply to your complaint?
Citizen 3	It's before a day… Let's say a couple of hours. Let's say within three or four hours. It's normally… The response is quick, well visive the fixing, the fixing normally takes… eh at times I take the same photo again after a week and send it, you know, ja.
Anlerie	Ja, so when it comes to the actual fixing, you say now it takes a lot longer than the actual messages… ummm [Yeah] … How long would you say on average does it, with your own personal experience with …umm… complaints you've made, how long would you say that the actual problem takes to be fixed on average? Does it take a few days, does it take weeks, months?
Citizen 3	Let's say three weeks, like the latest that I've logged was it ehh, was it last week? It's still there. There is no movement. Ja it takes let's say three weeks.
Anlerie	Three weeks?
Citizen 3	Ja.
Anlerie	So when you... do you tweet to the JRA? Is it… are there certain things that you easily pick up such as potholes or lights, or do you just in general when you see something then you tweet about it?

Citizen 3	It's normally a… potholes. Potholes … or those, you know, at times they be working on the road, say they'll… well maybe there's a pipe burst or something, so the Jo'burg water guys will dig up and everything, but like for weeks I'll find that that hole is still there – just marked with those tapes, those plastic… the markation tapes. Ja, Then it there for, for, for some time. [Mmm] Yeah.
Anlerie	Alright, well then. Umm… how do you feel about the responses you've received and their umm basically their response to you and how the service has… is better?
Citizen 3	Ah,it's ehhh… Man, it's like a typical municipality response. They just say your call has been logged. You never hear anything from them saying; "no, the call has been closed." You know, what will you expect to say if say; "The call was logged." After a week must say; "Oh ja, well the call has been attended to, it's been closed." So after some time you drive past the road again you say; "OK well." A couple of weeks later it's been sorted, but there is never any feedback after that, ja.
Anlerie	So you most definitely like some feedback after, you know, it's been completed or to say; [Yeah] "Well, today they are going out to fix it. So it will be fixed by the end of today."
Citizen 3	True, something of that sort.
Anlerie	Alright, umm… so now we are going to get…

Citizen 3 2

Citizen 3	… OK.
Anlerie	So have you ever sent a query to the JRA to get information of some sort on, for example I can use this Sunday there's the cycle challenge, the 94.7 cycle challenge and [Oh ja] and a lot of roads in Jo'burg is closed. [Rediculous, yeah] So umm… for example have you ever sent them a query to find out about an event like that or how long the M1 rehab project is going on or any information that is relevant to the JRA?
Citizen 3	Nah, I've never. I've never.
Anlerie	So you've never sent queries, just complaints?
Citizen 3	Ja. No, ja. Honestly I've never, I've never. No I couldn't…
Anlerie	So can you tell me why you have never sent any queries?
Citizen 3	Well, there've never been, really a need to. Whenever there's a road closure, you read there's a road closure and that's it, you know, and then you never really get a lot of interaction with them besides potholes from us… storm water drains from our side, ja. Ja, so there's never really any problems for me to say; "Let's just check with the JRA", you know.
Anlerie	Ja, OK. Alright well then umm… I'm going to give you three options.

	When it comes to communicating with the JRA via twitter, you need to choose one of the three following to describe how useful it is in your eyes. You need to choose between; not useful [Yeah], somewhat useful [OK] and very useful, which one do you choose when you want describe the JRA's response
Citizen 3	OK let me say somewhat useful.
Anlerie	Somewhat useful, OK. Could you give a fuller explanation, I know you said it's because it's a… you get standard responses. [Ja] but eh [Ja]… more than that why would you else say that it's… you'd rather choose "somewhat useful".
Citizen 3	Well, for example you… when you log a call you'd expect for example your response time to be like three or so days and stuff, so at time you… like I said last week I logged a call, they told me that… well, they asked me the street name and I've eh… I give them the address and, even now, still there's no movement. I drive past there all the time and there is no movement. So, ja. I know when… it will be fixed one day but it's a matter of, I don't even know, we will check, we will check a month, you know, and things like that. So, ja, ja. So their turnaround time is not that hundred percent, ja.
Anlerie	You'd like an estimated turnaround time?
Citizen 3	Ja let's say probably. I mean maybe a week but I mean for a… common for the JRA for example it also depends because I mean if it's a storm water drainage thing, I mean the work is also eh… too long I mean I will expect them to fix it in a couple of days, you know.
Anlerie	Hmm. [Ja] Alright then I just want to know as well, have you ever used any other platform to then twitter to complain with the JRA, like call or email.
Citizen 3	Nah, normally it'll be, you know, we do this Consular engagements. Next there's settling of the sorts and then someone comes from these agencies that's the other… ja, cause for example every three months you have your local counsellor calling a meeting for example, they will call the agencies to say, Jo'burg water, JRA and whoever and then you voice out your problems there.
Anlerie	And how useful do you find umm… these counselling… the meetings with these councillors?
Citizen 3	No, I … They are not really that useful you see for me I will say it's information sharing because remember they never sort out anything while they're there. They will just tell you all the processes, the procedures. Which is […] you know just google from the internet, you know. So they'll just tell you what you know anyway.
Anlerie	Ja, haha. [Ja] So umm… through the… can you explain why you never

	used email or called the call centre to log complaints?
Citizen 3	Well honestly it's a matter of perception (reception), you know, you just done things and you get a response or if you call someone will answer the phone instead of someone… ag, you know, sommer just do it via twitter because you know that almost every company has a, what you call this, a media person sitting there, but in most cases, I mean traditionally, whenever you call a government department you never get a response from the phone or with the email they won't respond. So I think it's from that history- government kind of, you know… the way they treat their complaints.
Anlerie	So would you say in a sense you feel that umm… the government can be kept more accountable by…

Citizen 3 3

Citizen 3	… when you are twitter, normally you are on social media anyways so it's easy to just send it while you are there on the road, [rather] than to wait 'till you get to the office and call or get to the office and then type your name in, but only on twitter you see something, you take a picture, you send it, you know. It's more useful, it's more live and stuff. And even if they don't respond, you know that someone can re-tweet it and it becomes viral, so normally they'll normally attend you, but if it is an FIGURES; no one will say it and no one will re-tweet it, you know, and forward it and so on, yeah.
Anlerie	Alright, so umm… when you do tweet these complaints, is there always a photo or video that's present?
Citizen 3	I might take a photo, for example; if I say there is a pothole on the corner of Kleim and Wolmarans street, I'll take a picture, ja.
Anlerie	Hmm, OK. And umm… would you say that you would or have ever in the past umm told family and friends to use this method of communication with the JRA?
Citizen 3	Friends, yes. Ja, because […] because normal […] it's better… just take a picture and chat. Ja, you know, you talk about it. It's a … how useful can it get. Ja, not even about JRA but with most of the things, you know, I mean, if I was on twitter or HaloPeter in term of […] companies, you know,it's… ja.
Anlerie	Hmm, alright. Well, then in terms of umm… the data that you use to go on twitter and communicate with the JRA, is all to your own expence?
Citizen 3	Ja, it's my, it's my contract yeah.
Anlerie	Alright, so theirs is no wifi hotspots in the areas that you move around in?
Citizen 3	There are, but where, OK where […] … who fires it… I think […] it's four

	kilometres away, so in my, ja… so in my house I don't have that city wifi but I mean in our area, I think in the library, the clinic or the mall as well, you get those but it's ja, but it's… I don't really have that in my catchment, ja.
Anlerie	So it's also a nuisance if you did not have any data with your contract; to go to the library and so on to go and log these complaints via twitter.
Citizen 3	Ja, ja, ja, so ja. So ja, I mean, if I didn't have my own data, chances are I wouldn't be able to, ja.
Anlerie	Alright. Well, umm… thank you so much Citizen 3, that was basically it. Hahaha.
Citizen 3	Wow, gah. No problem, no problem.
Anlerie	Umm I don't know if there is anything you'd like to add or say about the jRa and the use of twitter that I haven't asked?
Citizen 3	No, not that much. But, what do you work for them or are you researching from [No] from JRA or just doing your own… [No, I am…] Oh well, you said you from Wits.
Anlerie	No, ja I'm doing my own study, it's [Oh, OK] completely independent from the JRA. [Ah, OK] It's for my masters [OK], so umm at the end of the day all of my eh… all of my eh qualitative research that I've done and all the interviews and the conclusions that I come to will all be published only at the university library.
Citizen 3	Ah, OK, OK.
Anlerie	JA, so it's not going to newspaper or a journal or anything like that, so it's just [Oh alright], it's just specifically for umm… university purposes
Citizen 3	Oh Oh OK. No mistakes, alright. Ag, nah, ja that… Well I'm glad I was able to help.
Anlerie	Thank you so much for helping, not a lot of people umm like doing this kind of thing, you know.
Citizen 3	O ja true. They eh… Everyone hates phones, so when someone call and asking questions ai, like ahh. Hahaha.
Anlerie	Hehehe ja. Thinking conspiracy theories are out when we… out to get you.
Citizen 3	Ja, ne'. Ja, ag alright. Ah, shap then.
Anlerie	Thank you so much Citizen 3. Have a lovely evening.
Citizen 3	Thanx man.
Anlerie	Alright, bye

Citizen 3	Bye.

(Citizen 4)

Citizen 4	Oh, how are you?
Anlerie	I'm good and yourself?
Citizen 4	OK, wow, you doing your masters? That's wonderful.
Anlerie	Yes, yes. It's quite time consuming. Ahaha.
Citizen 4	I'm sure it is, especially as you said you work all day too.
Anlerie	Yes, yes, I have a full time job, luckily, ahaha. Umm…
Citizen 4	Ja, but that is impressive, very impressive.
Anlerie	Ahh, thank you. I'm just quite happy that a… you are willing to participate.
Citizen 4	No problem at all. I will help you anyway I can. You fire away and I will help you.
Anlerie	Great, OK. So Citizen 4… umm … basically I just to explain to you, you … eh … saw on the consent form that I'll be recording the interview.
Citizen 4	Yes.
Anlerie	So please try to speak as clearly as you can … eh … because right next to my phone, which you might notice is on speaker phone – I'm alone in the room that I am so no one else is hearing us, and … umm … there's another phone next to it recording everything that we are saying.
Citizen 4	That's fine.
Anlerie	Great. So is there any… do you have any questions about the study that you don't quite understand?
Citizen 4	No, not at all, not at all.
Anlerie	Hundred percent. Ok, so just a bunch of logistic questions first. Do you mind telling me what you age is?
Citizen 4	It's fifty-nine.
Anlerie	Fifty-nine, alright. And then obviously you are female. And … umm … which suburb of the city of Jo'burg do you reside?
Citizen 4	I live in Paulshof which is the Sandton suburb.
Anlerie	Paulshof, alright. Ok, so … umm … I'm going to start. There are three sections of questions that I want to ask, firstly is the section of service delivery complaints. The second one is service delivery queries and the third one is to do with all the other different platforms of the JIA that you can

	communicate with them through.
Citizen 4	OK.
Anlerie	So tell me how long have you been on twitter?
Citizen 4	Umm four years.
Anlerie	Four years?
Citizen 4	Umm it's 2013 – was my entry. Haha.
Anlerie	Is it?
Citizen 4	Yes.
Anlerie	And how were you introduced to it?
Citizen 4	I just… Somebody said to me: "Why don't you go on twitter, because a lot of companies… it's fast, furious, quick information." And I thought, OK. And then that's how I got onto it and then started slowly noticing that various people communicate via twitter, especially when it comes to service deliveries from various municipalities. So, that is why I joined.
Anlerie	Great. Well … umm … so obviously you have communicated with the JoIA, but … umm … via twitter, but have you laid any complaints specifically?
Citizen 4	I have. Umm when they say they have a three day turn around for potholes, and then three weeks later the potholes are still not repaired - even though I have a reference number so I do complained, yes.
Anlerie	So do you more or less know how many times a week or eh a month do you complain?
Citizen 4	Well this particular month of October I think I've complained about four times about things not done yet. Each time they've replied saying it is on schedule. It's just that they behind, I believe, in their promises [hmm] to rate payers.
Anlerie	So you get a response saying that it has already been logged, it's in the… in line of being attended to?
Citizen 4	Yes, that's the response one gets. Umm except that their promises don't meet their response.
Anlerie	SO what it sounds like to me, Citizen 4, is that you not very happy with their responses, am I correct in assuming that?
Citizen 4	I think the person who handles the twitter account is not the same person at the depo you actually goes and does the actual job.
Anlerie	Yes.
Citizen 4	Yes, so they have no recourse. They can only really say; "Sorry, it's been logged again" or "… escalated again" or "… we will check why". They have

	no information, if I can say.

Citizen 4	... information as the actual depots supposed to carry out the work.
Anlerie	And umm tell me, when you have logged these complaints via twitter, how long would you say was the response time to let you know; “OK, your call has been logged and you have a reference number”?
Citizen 4	Probably three minutes. Some days it’s literally within the minute. Some days it’s about five or ten minutes. It depends, I presume from there side, how many complaints they’ve got or logging they’ve got.
Anlerie	And umm … you say that when they say they’ve got a three day turnaround for potholes specifically … eh… when you think back, maybe the last month or the last couple of years that you have been laying complaints via twitter to the JRA, what would you say is the average turnaround time per complaint? If you put all that time together and you would divide it with the amount of times and how long you’ve waited; is it two week or three weeks before something gets done?
Citizen 4	I would say about ten days.
Anlerie	About ten days?
Citizen 4	Ten working days, because I don’t actually know if they work on Saturdays and Sundays, but its ten working days I would say is the average.
Anlerie	Hmm OK.
Citizen 4	Some are very quick, they … I’ve logged a complaint before on a day and the very next day the pothole has been filled, and then other areas - two to three weeks you complaining again.
Anlerie	So is it area specific? So if…
Citizen 4	I believe it is. They don’t say so but I believe it is area specific
Anlerie	So would you mind telling me...
Citizen 4	In, in, in… Let me explain. In other words, if a certain suburb has a sub-contractor that has allocated potholes for that suburb and he’s really a very good contractor, he will get those potholes filled very quickly. Then when you pass another suburb and complain, then those holes get filled maybe two to three weeks later. I believe it depends on the sub-contractors that they actually have.
Anlerie	Hmm. So when you… basically after going into the areas and seeing the problems, do you right then and there take a photo, take a video and tweet it to the JRA, or do you take a photo-video and then when you get home later on you tweet?

Citizen 4	I usually do it when I get home on wifi and the I, I send it. Umm, sometimes I do there and then, but mostly I take a picture, record it as to what it is and then when I get home I send the tweet.
Anlerie	Hmm, alright. So with the … umm … responses you've received, we've discussed you've received responses about three minutes or quicker when getting a reference number; now have you ever received a response from the JRA twitter account saying that your … umm … the issue you complained about has been fixed?
Citizen 4	No, no, not at all.
Anlerie	Alright, would you like to receive that kind of message?
Citizen 4	I definitely would. [Would it…] I think it's very good information if they say it has been attended to or is being attended to today and it will be fixed, or they say to us in the mean … something like; "In the meantime while you record… while you telling us about this problem, we have had it on our system. It is being fixed today" or "… has been fixed today." Yes, I would love that.
Anlerie	Or like specific days it's the… the call has been logged and in three days it has to be fixed.
Citizen 4	Yes, I would like that as well.
Anlerie	Alright. Umm… then now we're coming to the query section. Have you ever sent a query to get information, maybe perhaps about the M1 rehab project or other bridge building projects or … umm … anything specific to the JRA and their plans?
Citizen 4	Yes I have, especially on over flooded bridges.
Anlerie	And … umm … what was the kind of response you received for that? Do you find that it's the queries were slower or faster than the complaints?
Citizen 4	Just that they are… are aware of a problem but they have jurisdictions of the, the government, the local government area compared to them and so on. So they cannot attend to certain problems without conferring to the local … umm … Gauteng province government and so on. So you get a response, but not really the answer you want.
Anlerie	Yes, OK. And that was also in a turnaround…

Citizen 4	…very impressed with them. Their twitter account handler, well handlers, answer very quickly.
Anlerie	Hmm, ja that is good to hear. So you saying that the information they gave you wasn't really helpful in terms of your query?
Citizen 4	Not every time, eh, the one about the bridge that we have that keeps getting flooded, it's not … umm … helpful information, because as they say it's not

	really only their jurisdiction so they're relying always on the provinces government.
Anlerie	Have you complained about… ag well, sent a query about this more than once and you received this same response?
Citizen 4	I have, and I received the same response.
Anlerie	Hmm, ok. And umm … so when it comes down to it, would you say that using twitter to communicate service delivery complaints or queries with the JRA is one of the following; I would like you to… I'm going to name three for you and you need to choose one for me please. [OK] Is it not useful, somewhat useful or very useful?
Citizen 4	Very useful.
Anlerie	Ok. Umm… so have you used any other platforms, except for twitter, to lay complaints or queries to the JRA?
Citizen 4	I have used the Find and fix.
Anlerie	The app?
Citizen 4	Yes.
Anlerie	And how does it compare?
Citizen 4	Not good, because often they say they can't find the reference number. So there is something wrong with that app.
Anlerie	Hmm. And any other channels?
Citizen 4	I have used email … umm … when they have said; "Please communicate via email to this person to escalate." I have used email.
Anlerie	And what was the kind of response you received from that?
Citizen 4	Very good, because the copied two or three other people and say; "Please escalate, this customer is not happy." Very good, very, very good.
Anlerie	So who told you to email?
Citizen 4	It's… The twitter account will give an email address and say; "Please email this person at the depo for further communication."
Anlerie	Hmm. Ah, OK. So how do you feel about the fact that you had to go through different channels to get to the same message?
Citizen 4	I don't mind, as long as the work will be done or is taken care of. I don't mind then.
Anlerie	Alright. Umm… so then in terms of these other channels, you said now that the Find&fix app is not to great, but I need you to say it for me the same as the previous question about whether it is not useful, somewhat useful or

	very useful. How would you categorise the Find&fix?
Citizen 4	Not useful.
Anlerie	Not useful. [No] Alright, and email – same question?
Citizen 4	Somewhat useful. [Somewhat useful] I would, I would, would… Yes, because sometimes you have to send them a double email to remind them.
Anlerie	Hehehe. But your turnaround time and response from the email, how quick was that compared to twitter?
Citizen 4	Not as quick. It can take an hour or two and then they reply. Probably because they want to investigate. But twitter is immediate. It's like a… twitter reminds me of a call centre, they just immediately reply.
Anlerie	So if it reminds you of a call centre, why do you prefer twitter rather than calling the call centre?
Citizen 4	Because with the twitter I have something in writing. And that I can refer back to in a week and say… to reply to that particular twitter in writing or tweet I say; "I have still not got a repair on this account, can you please escalate."
Anlerie	Hmm, OK. And umm … so when it comes to the communication options, hands down, which one would you rather use; twitter, email…
Citizen 4	Only twitter, only twitter. Haha.
Anlerie	Alright, so it's your go-to and then secondly, what would you say?
Citizen 4	Umm then it's email.
Anlerie	And then thirdly?
Citizen 4	And then it would be the Find&fix.
Anlerie	OK, so you won't use the call centre at all?
Citizen 4	No.

(Citizen 5)

Anlerie	What's your age?
Citizen 5	Ah, forty-one.
Anlerie	Forty-one, and in which suburb in Jo'burg are you staying?
Citizen 5	I'm in Horizon View.

Anlerie	Ho-ri-zen View, OK.
Citizen 5	Ja, it's Roodepoort side.
Anlerie	Alright, OK. And … umm … then how long have you been on twitter, do you know? Since which year?
Citizen 5	Umm, sho … I don't know exactly … umm … well, if I had to guess I'd probably say about seven or eight years.
Anlerie	Seven or eight years, joh.
Citizen 5	Ja. Hahaha.
Anlerie	Hahaha. So you a pro?
Citizen 5	Eh, sometimes I'm on there a lot, other times I don't do much on there for like months at a time.
Anlerie	Oh.
Citizen 5	I know in the beginning I joined and I didn't, I didn't really ever logged into it. Hahaha.
Anlerie	Probably forgot your password and had to recreate another one.
Citizen 5	Ja, ja something like that.
Anlerie	Ok well then … umm … so we're going to start with the first section.
Citizen 5	OK.
Anlerie	Umm… So I have … umm … basically taken a screenshot of … ehh … one of the communications you've had with one of the JRA , but just note that because you said that you'd like to remain anonymous I'll be like blurring it out within my studies. Umm…
Citizen 5	OK I don't really mind. To be honest with you I don't really mind whether it's anonymous or not.
Anlerie	OK well because you said on the form, we are keeping it like that. Alright?
Citizen 5	OK. Hundred percent. […….]
Anlerie	Haha. So ja, first question. Have you ever used twitter to lay a service delivery complaint to the JRA?
Citizen 5	Umm … Would that mean' where I feel they didn't do what they were supposed to do?
Anlerie	Yes, so if you saw a pothole and/or a traffic light that's out or … umm [ja] … maybe a manhole cover that's been missing. You complained about it being missing and then, you know, that is a service delivery complaint.
Citizen 5	OK. OK ja. No I have definitely done at least two of those things. Hehe.

Anlerie	At least two, ahahaha.
Citizen 5	Ja.
Anlerie	Ah, so in those times that you have complained … umm … how did you find the JRA's response?
Citizen 5	Umm … usually they, they pretty good, actually. I'm pretty impressed with how quick they are to respond and to actually look into the problem.
Anlerie	Mmm, so in terms of the time that they've responded in the past to you … umm … what would you say would be the average time that they take to respond to your tweets saying; "OK this is the reference number, call has been logged."?
Citizen 5	Umm… on average maybe around two hours.
Anlerie	Two hours, OK.
Citizen 5	Ja, sometimes a lot quicker and … umm … you know, once or twice maybe a lot slower. [Mmm] The one that you spotted now last time, that one was pretty slow. [Ja] I think I reminded them twice before they gave me a number, but usually [call] in the past it was a lot faster.
Anlerie	Mmm … And … umm … when they responded to you saying; "This is your, this is your reference number." Have you ever received another response saying; "OK, ehh … so it's going to take so long for it to be fixed" or "Someone is on their way" or something like that?
Citizen 5	Umm… Not that I can remember.
Anlerie	Mmm … OK. And in terms of the complaints you've laid … ehh … for example … ehh … if you've laid a complaint about traffic lights that are out … umm … how long does it more or less take for it to be fixed? Does it take two to three weeks, four weeks – in your experience?
Citizen 5	Traffic lights I think are usually a little slower to me than something like pothole. [Mmm] Umm … it's once again I'm guessing it depends on what's wrong, which we never get to know. So sometimes it's the same day, other times three or four days maybe.
Anlerie	Is it?
Citizen 5	For traffic lights specifically. The potholes, well everything varies, but I had potholes fixed the same day that I replied … ehh … that I posted the query with them.
Anlerie	Mmm … so that's quite quick.
Citizen 5	Well normally yes, especially the potholes I think.
Anlerie	OK. Well, umm … then the next section is … ehh … before we go to the next section … umm … when it comes to the twitter use to communicate

	service delivery complaints … umm … how useful do you …

Citizen 5 2

Anlerie	… Somewhat useful or very useful?
Citizen 5	Well, I thinks it's very useful actually.
Anlerie	Is it?
Citizen 5	If you compare that with […] you know, phoning in to log the call with some place like Jo'burg city power or, you know, something similar. This seems a lot more useful.
Anlerie	And … umm … when it comes to queries, have you ever sent in a question wanting some information via twitter to the JRA?
Citizen 5	Umm … I don't think so.
Anlerie	For example like the M1 rehab with the bridges. Have you ever asked; "How long is it going to take?" or anything similar?
Citizen 5	Ja, it's possible that I have, but I honestly [joh] [hahaha] I can't remember.
Anlerie	Ok. No problem, no problem. Umm… so I'll just then skip this section since you can't remember or you don't recall. Ehh.. [ja] Then we'll go on to the final section which is about other methods of communication with the JRA. Have you ever used any other platforms to lay a complaint or get information from the JRA.
Citizen 5	Mmm I don't think so. Ehehehe I really I don't think I have done anything but go on twitter for them specifically now.
Anlerie	Ja, so you've never called the centre and you've never sent emails or nothing like that?
Citizen 5	No.
Anlerie	No. Have you ever used the find or fix app?
Citizen 5	I… I haven't actually. I've… Every now and then I hear about it somewhere and I think ok, I should do that and then, ja – I forget.
Anlerie	Hahaha. OK so is it safe to say that twitter is your platform of preference to communicate with the JRA?
Citizen 5	Yes, definitely.
Anlerie	Alright. So why have you not ever used any other platform? Is it just because you never thought about it or because you don't think you going to get much out of those different platforms?
Citizen 5	Umm… Like I said I feel that the twitter thing is pretty useful … umm … I've tried the same thing once again, I think it was Jo'burg city power, the only

	thing they do is they tell you to phone and log a complaint. So talking on twitter to them is completely useless. [hmm] Whereas the JRA, if you do a complaint on twitter they give you a reference number and they actually do something about it. [Ja] So I don't know how much faster it would be if you would … if it would be faster or more useful anywhere else. Plus twitter is, I mean it's easy, I'm already on there. [Ja] I don't have to phone or email or find addresses. It's just… Shout at them basically. Hehehe
Anlerie	Hmhmhm. OK. No, great, great, great. Umm … So have you ever, you know, told any friends or family about, you know; "Use twitter and if you've got a complaint do it via twitter to the JRA."?
Citizen 5	Ja. No, I have definitely done that.
Anlerie	And … ehh… they giving some feedback as to how they've experienced it?
Citizen 5	Ja, ehh I think if they … umm… logged a complaint and it's, you know, the first one was one of the ones that were handled quickly then they always happy. [Hmmm] But because it's now a little variable, especially with the repairs … uhh… if someone has just logged a call and that's one of the ones that happens to be slow for some reason then; ja, obviously they not that as much impressed. I don't think they would've tried again afterwards. Because they don't think it's useful.
Anlerie	Hmm… So if you had to … umm … give some advice and place spots of improvement that you believe that the JRA can do with their twitter use. Do you have any advice?
Citizen 5	Umm… Ja, I think like you said earlier, they can give feedback on what they doing or you know give you a time frame or something like that. [Hmm] It's… I think that's why I've never logged or asked information from them, because they, you know, they kind of discourages people of asking when will this be fixed if you know that they'll never be coming back to you on a complained that they know you have.
	Ja, so you [I would… Ja?] are one of those people, because I've had interviewed some people who … umm …

Citizen 5 3

Anlerie	It's done, but sometimes you never know if it's done unless you drive past there. Ehh… so you're [Ja] you're one of those people that are… that even if you don't drive past that area, you want to know that it has been fixed.
Citizen 5	Ja, that's … ehh … that's helpful to know that it's been attended to. Then you don't have to worry about it the next time. You know, sometimes … we don't always take the exact same routes to work or where ever we go. [Mmm] You might drive past the place this morning and then in two weeks at night it would be helpful to know that, that hole is not there anymore, or the traffic lights is working, or, especially you know, if you drive past a traffic

	light in the morning, you don't want to drive to that light in the afternoon and know and then find out that it's still not working. [hmm] That would be helpful if you knew that ahead of time so you could know it to avoid it all out.
Anlerie	And save yourself some sanity.
Citizen 5	Ja.
Anlerie	Basically. Alright, well Citizen 5 that is basically it hey. Umm … [OK] I really want to thank you once again for being willing to participate. Umm …
Citizen 5	Ja, it's a pleasure.
Anlerie	Ja, it's quite a struggle to get people to do this, so … ehh … I think you are absolutely amazing for, you know, doing this.
Citizen 5	Oh no, it's a pleasure. I think if other places can do the same thing, [Hmm] you know, other municipal or state entities could, could do the same thing, things could go so much easier, so much faster. [Mmm]
Anlerie	But then the other debate that's, that some … umm … state entities might have is that not everyone has access to internet to be able to use these platforms, so they first want to you, you know, roll out wifi across the universe before, before … umm … you know, focussing on delivering services by this platform, which I personally think is … umm … is a grey area, because yes everyone has to have wifi to use it, but those that do have wifi on their … or data on their own to use it can already lay the complaints that others would have laid as well that don't have the data.
Citizen 5	Ja, ja it's true. [Ja, it's just a…] You know it's a mission doing a, you know, a double barrel approach some maybe via internet complaint form on the website and phone and twitter, but … ja, definitely the one is so far quicker than the other ones.
Anlerie	Ja, because it's different teams hey. They don't have the same people answering those different communications. [Right] Twitter just has one twitter team and that twitter team attends to those complaints and queries.
Citizen 5	OK.
Anlerie	Yes. [OK] Ja, so they are obviously much better.
Citizen 5	Ja haha. No, I don't know, it still feels like someone is looking at your query when you actually have someone replying to it. Even if it's just with a reference. If you send an email off into the wild blue beyond you never know if anyone's received it.
Anlerie	Ja, because twitter is so public. [Ja] Mmm, I've read many studies that show that … umm … if something is made public then people are held much more accountable for it.
Citizen 5	Ja.

Anlerie	And they take responsibility quicker. So…
Citizen 5	Ja, definitely.
Anlerie	Ja. Hmhm, makes a difference.
Citizen 5	Twitter I think is, is maybe a little too full of people who like complaining because I do that as well. I tweet at companies if they drive a little… being reckless on the road. I tweet directly to them and you can see they response where if you email them, which I also done if they don't have a twitter account, they sometimes don't even come back to you.
Anlerie	Hmm, ja. Ag, but…
Citizen 5	Now everyone can see what's going on so they kind of have to say something about it.
Anlerie	Ja. Ja, now I also agree with you there but I don't think it's umm a complainer's platform. Ha. [Ja] I think, I think that if … umm … everything was being done right in the first place it wouldn't be need… necessary to complain, you know?
Citizen 5	Ja, ehh … True.
Anlerie	Ja. But an anyway, we're talking nonsense now. Haha. Thank you so much.

(Citizen 6)

Anlerie	…reminder on the consent form, you did say that you will be aware that I will be recording everything so please speak as clearly as you can, so that my recorder can pick up your voice.
Citizen 6	OK, sure.
Anlerie	Great, great. So first we starting with a few logistical questions such as your age. How old are you?
Citizen 6	Twenty-seven.
Anlerie	Twenty-seven. And in which suburb do you reside?
Citizen 6	Crosby
Anlerie	Where?
Citizen 6	Crosby
Anlerie	Alright. And for how long have you had Twitter?
Citizen 6	Not very long. I think for just about maybe a year now.

Anlerie	Is it. And since when have you been commenting and posting to… or tweeting rather to the JRA's Twitter?
Citizen 6	I think probably a few months after I started when I saw they responded quite quick on Twitter. I'm not so sure the exact month but probably as long as I've been on Twitter for.
Anlerie	Now the rest of the interview is dealt into three different sections and the first section being service delivery complaints laid via Twitter to the JRA or service delivery queries sent to the JRA via Twitter and then other communication platforms with the JRA. [OK] So just first cause I get that a lot of people don't generally use Twitter to get information from the JRA, have you ever sent them a tweet asking questions about certain things such as; when are certain roads going to be fixed, or when are certain projects due to start what alternative routes and so forth?
Citizen 6	No I don't, I usually just tweet them when there's something I see either like there's something wrong, so if I see an open manhole or a robot that is out of order, that's usually the time when they tweet them and then... I think it's only for one robot that I logged that it wasn't fixed and that's when I just sent them like... I don't even know if it's a follow-up but I would just asked them when it will be fixed and quote the same reference number, but I don't really ask them for other information.
Anlerie	So you mostly lay service delivery complaints?
Citizen 6	Ja, all of them are usually that.
Anlerie	And what kind of response have you received from the JRA?
Citizen 6	No they're quite good. They have responded to all of my tweets and they give me a reference number, usually it is fixed within a decent period of time.
Anlerie	What would you say is the average time they take to respond?
Citizen 6	Usually it is quite quick, I think usually it's about a week. It was just recent when I logged a Twitter... but I think actually that the reason why that took... so usually it's about a week but the latest one...
Anlerie	Are you talking about the actual fixing or the... I'm actually talking about the actual tweet coming back to you.
Citizen 6	Oh no, no. It's really like an hour or two.
Anlerie	Hour or two OK. But the other question would have been the actually implementation of fixing of the problem you complained about, you saying that's about a week?
Citizen 6	Yeah, yeah it is about a week. It's only 2 cases where I found they didn't respond or they did but it took a bit longer, but it is fixed now, but usually I would say like, all the other times that I logged something it was fixed quite quickly.

Anlerie	And these cases where it wasn't fixed quickly, what were the complaints specifically about?
Citizen 6	Which one?
Anlerie	The ones that wasn't fixed quickly.
Citizen 6	Oh OK. So the one was where the robot was, it was working but you know certain of the lights would not work. So for example it would just pick a red and would not see the green. So it was a bit confusing although the robot was working, I don't really know what that is, so that one took a bit long, but I actually think the reason why that one took long was because they had to redo the cables, and it has been fixed now, because I think about 2-3 weeks ago they actually redone all the cables. So I don't think that was such a quick fix. And then the other one....
Anlerie	Have you been notified that that it was cables, or are you guessing?
Citizen 6	No, because I saw them busy at the robot.
Anlerie	Oh OK, [Ja, digging up] do you think that, do you believe that it would be nice to have them let you know that they are re-cabling and this is the date that we will be doing it?
Citizen 6	Yeah I guess it would be nice if I, for example if I have tweet them twice or thrice about something, if they can just give me a follow up on why it is taking so long.

Citizen 6	..I never really required that.
Anlerie	But why is that?
Citizen 6	Because usually like when there is road closure and stuff, at least on the roads that I drive on, there's usually signs up already. Like I know, when it was the 94.7 and so on then usually on those roads if I drive on it then they already have notices up saying that this road will be closed or I know like for example when it was the Walk the Talk where a lot of roads were affected, then I think city of Joburg would also tweet saying that, you know, these roads and so on are affected. So I guess for now it's because I have seen it before. I have seen such notices and so on.
Anlerie	So you believe that they inform people quite well in a sense that you don't need to ask these questions?
Citizen 6	Sorry I guess it also depends on what sort of question it is, so for me, for now, because it would just maybe be the road closures and stuff. But I guess for others it might be different, yeah.
Anlerie	So I'm going to give you three options here in terms of the usefulness of Twitter being used to enhance service delivery for the JRA, so The choices that you have that you have to let me know and say what you feel is; is this

	method of communication to lay your complaints is it; not useful, somewhat useful or very useful?
Citizen 6	Very useful.
Anlerie	Very useful in the sense of what? Because the communication is fast or do you think the problem is fixed faster because you've complained via Twitter.
Citizen 6	Ja, so the thing is it's more efficient because I don't have to sit on the phone because I'm mean, before if you needed to like log something like a pothole you would have to phone and it would take some times very, very long for someone to answer to phone, where in now it's like a second I can just tweet it and they give me a reference number so it terms of out that I'm not wasting my time anymore and certainly I have always got reference numbers almost immediately it's not like I had to wait for like 5 hours or like two days to get a reference number and I have seen with everything that I have logged so far that like it's fixed in a reasonable period of time so I don't I'm not hesitant now about logging a query because I don't have to phone someone I just tweet it and someone has logged it for me already. So that for me is like very useful.
Anlerie	Great OK. So umm… now the final section basically is the other platforms that the JRA has for people to communicate with them which is email, call centre and to Find&fix app. I don't know if you heard of the Find&fix?
Citizen 6	I do have that app. I used to use it before but I just found that it needs... the only thing with that one is that... I don't really... I don't choose anymore, I don't know, I just find the Twitter one more... but I have used it before the find and fix one, but for some reason I found that the Twitter one, because sometimes, I don't know if it has changed, because I don't use it recently but on that one I never ever got a reference number and stuff like that, but on Twitter I know that that someone has actually logged it for me, and I get an actual reference number. So I don't actually use that app anymore.
Anlerie	Yes, as I understand it you are supposed to get a reference number immediately when you using Find&fix it's part of its built-in system that they send you a reference immediately after you've logged your complaint so it's very strange that you didn't get any.
Citizen 6	I don't know but maybe I... I haven't used it for very long. That's it then. I have it on my phone but I just haven't used it recently.
Anlerie	So have you ever used the email or call centre?
Citizen 6	Ah no, I have never used the email and the call centre.... no I don't know if it's the same... no, I don't... I haven't used the call centre for JRA.
Anlerie	So the channels you have used is Twitter and Find& fix [Yes] you've said that you some reason you prefer Twitter because it's... the communication is fast and you get your reference and you know the call has been logged. Do you perhaps have any other reasons why Twitter... you prefer Twitter above all these other communications?

Citizen 6	I guess it's just more real time, I don't know, I'm not sure, I guess it's...

Citizen 6	I actually don't know why, I don't know if I just find it more convenient probably, ja.
Anlerie	So is data never an issue when you want to log a complaint?
Citizen 6	Sorry, what was that?
Anlerie	Is data never an issue to get on Twitter and log on a complaint via the JRA?
Citizen 6	Sorry, I don't understand that question. Maybe I am missing something?
Anlerie	Do you have any problems getting access to Twitter to be able to lay a complaint?
Citizen 6	No, no, no. I think maybe probably that's why it's so simple to get onto Twitter and just tweet them.
Anlerie	So the complaints you laid via find and fix, did you find that they were resolved?
Citizen 6	Like I said I didn't... I haven't used... I use the Find&fix app before I downloaded Twitter and sometimes then it would take a bit of a while, and I don't know maybe it was a bad time, I don't know if I was using the app even correct. At that time I found I didn't really... I would login and stuff but I just found it tedious then Twitter for some reason I don't know, because here I'm just like there's a manhole open with a robots out in this street and this street and then its fine I don't know I just… I don't know if it's just a preference change now.
Anlerie	Do you think maybe, because it was an automated response and not a person responding?
Citizen 6	Yeah, I think so. I think now because someone initials is in so you know that someone actually read it and you know like if I send them a follow-up thing; Oh, what's happened to this reference number, then they will be like oh sorry, you know, we sorry for the delay and stuff, I think it's maybe a bit more personal [Hmm] [...] because they will be like; sorry for the delay we have escalated it and so on. So I feel like I'm actually getting a response you know like I know that someone will attend to it.
Anlerie	Yes OK. So having explained how you feel about find&fix, I just need you to do the same that you did for Twitter and measure their usefulness in the different categories so would you say that find&fix is; not useful somewhat useful or very useful?
Citizen 6	I think somewhat useful.
Anlerie	Somewhat useful. OK and have you ever basically told your friends or recommended using Twitter to communicate with the JRA your friends or your

	family or others?
Citizen 6	I actually have told them but they told me when I tell them they like; no you can just do it because you like to do it so you can just carry on doing it. So I always tell them. They are aware like if there is a robot or something out and they'll come home and they'll be like no why don't you log it because this robot is out. I think maybe they just know that I guess they know that it sort of an useful way, because I always tell them that now I've logged this have logged that, but I don't have the [...] to just do it because I already been doing it.
Anlerie	Is it maybe because they are scared of Twitter do they not have Twitter?
Citizen 6	No, they do have I don't know, I don't know why. Maybe they just feel like I should just do it because I'm always just complaining to the JRA or something.
Anlerie	OK, well I don't know if there is anything you would like to add but that's.... does all the questions from my side.
Citizen 6	No, I think like honestly overall it's like since I've been Twitter with JRA, I actually you know, before if I like see a robot I would be like so feel a bit hesitant to log it but now it's so responsive on Twitter like I'd log it immediately and stuff so I think overall for me personally I feel like service delivery has improved and actually it would be nice if I know like City Power also has it but I actually don't find them as responsive as JRA, ja, they are quite responsive. So it would be actually nice like if other you know government agencies implemented it like for example the Metro cops, because like for example if I saw the traffic jam, you know, I could tweet it and could send it to the metro offices and so on. So yeah, it would be nice if other government departments also included sorry implemented it

Anlerie	…for the JRA to improved their responsiveness and communication via Twitter?
Citizen 6	I think where, let's say they log something and they expect it to take long longer so let's just say like for example the issue with the robot I think I would have just liked to know if they just responded to me and told me no like you know it's taking a bit longer because of x y and z. I think it would have been better because then I would get a bit frustrated and then like re-tweet them the same thing over and over again so I guess that would be something quite nice but I think overall I don't know they quite good. They are quite responsive and stuff to date.
Anlerie	OK, great well, fantastic, thank you so much for participating I really, really appreciate.....

(Citizen 7)

15 Citizen 7	How are you?
Anlerie	I'm good, I'm good. Sorry I'm calling early, I thought maybe I just take a chance maybe you just have some time?
Citizen 7	Yes, you did really take a chance because I was actually going to postpone because I was on my way out but I guess we can have a call now I'm actually affected by this stupid water outage in Joburg. I need to find water.
Anlerie	No man, yeah, I was affected by it at work.
Citizen 7	No, at home, I'm affected at home.
Anlerie	No, I'm saying I was affected at work.
Citizen 7	Oh, you were affected at work but not at home?
Anlerie	Ja.
Citizen 7	Well, rather that hey?
Anlerie	Yeah, so I could at least still shower tonight.
Citizen 7	That's the thing, I'm like; "Oh this is awkward." But anyway, you can carry on, yeah, you really caught me just in time, I was just about to bounce but you can carry on.
Anlerie	Yeah, it will it will take about twenty minutes. [OK] I'll try and keep it short [No worries] and not talk too much nonsense in between. OK. So firstly do you have any questions about the study that you're not quite sure of that you want to know?
Citizen 7	Umm… No, not really.
Anlerie	Great. So you understand everything and you've read the participation sheet and everything?
Citizen 7	Yeah, I read, I ticked to please be anonymous but I'm happy to give you whatever information you need.
Anlerie	Great, great, great. Fantastic. Oh alright, so we just going to… just once again it is on the consent form and you did say it's fine, I am recording this call and just please speak as clearly as you possibly can just so that my recorder I can pick up your voice.
Citizen 7	Sure.
Anlerie	Great, great. So we going to stop with logistical questions. Firstly, what is your age?
Citizen 7	Thirty-three.
Anlerie	Ok, so you are the youngest participant to have so far.

Citizen 7	Really?
Anlerie	Yes. Then in which suburb do you reside?
Citizen 7	I'm in Paulshof.
Anlerie	Paulshof ok. Alright. And how long have you been on Twitter?
Citizen 7	Oh wow. I don't know. A few years? I really don't know hey.
Anlerie	Do you know what you can do, you can always just go check on your Twitter account and it generally shows you what year you started at.
Citizen 7	Yeah I can do that for you if you want? Will you send me an email with just like instructions?
Anlerie	OK, now I'll check for you and I'll just put it on.
Citizen 7	OK, so you can just check on my profile oh yeah I think I can actually yeah.
Anlerie	OK, so the interview is 3 Sessions the first section is specifically oh sorry wait I'm going to have to call you back I need to get more airtime.
Citizen 7	Ok sure.
Anlerie	Yeah, I just finished another two interviews before you so I just need to reload.
Citizen 7	No problem.
Anlerie	Just give me some time. Sorry.

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Anlerie	Hi. Sorry about that.
Citizen 7	No problem.
Anlerie	Ok great. So yes the three sections that the questions are divided into. The first section is using Twitter to lay a service delivery complaint. The second is using Twitter to lay, ag, to ask for information and the third one is about other platforms you've used to communicate with the JRA.
Citizen 7	OK, so all the sections are with regards to the JRA only?
Anlerie	Yes, yes, yes, pretty much.
Citizen 7	OK so?
Anlerie	So firstly have you ever used Twitter to lay a service delivery complaints with the JRA?
Citizen 7	Yes, I have.
Anlerie	And how regularly would you say on average do you lay a complaint in this manner?

Citizen 7	Shoj, I would say as and when because it's only been, if anything been three times.
Anlerie	That you have laid a complaint?
Citizen 7	Yeah, so I think… yeah it's not like just like I'm just out there trying to lay complaints. Because very often you spot something while you driving and by the time you get home you be on Twitter, I forget, so yeah so it's really as and when.
Anlerie	And in those few times, you say approximately three times, and those times how quick was the response you got from the JRA's Twitter team?
Citizen 7	I think for this recent time it was very quickly, actually. The other times I think they did give a response, but I think this one was particularly quickly. So a response as in, sorry?
Anlerie	If you can perhaps give an estimated time maybe like twenty minutes, thirty minutes?
Citizen 7	Umm… For this one or previous times or umm... average?
Anlerie	Well you can give me two estimated times. You can tell me; well, this time it was twenty minutes, last time it was an hour, two hours.
Citizen 7	Yeah, I think that was actually this time it was a few minutes [a few minutes] yeah, again I guess you can check that information I'm not hundred percent sure but it was a few minutes. Umm... and then I think the last time was probably, maybe I could say less than an hour.
Anlerie	OK.
Citizen 7	Ja.
Anlerie	And the type of response you received, on those three times, we are happy with the type of responses?
Citizen 7	Well, I think the responses are generally noted, you know, it's just to say... it's basically just confirmation that we've received your, your query and a reference number. Like this time I remember a reference number, can't quite remember a reference number the previous time. So it's not to say that "we are on our way there right now". But rather it's a response that says; "we saw your tweet, this is your reference number, thank you."
Anlerie	Alright, so have you ever received a response later on saying; "OK, we have now fixed it or it will take twenty, after logging the call we've received a reply from the team on the ground, that's umm... the technician will go out in the next hour to fix the traffic lights"?
Citizen 7	No, so it's always been the instant response that says; "we will escalate." But no, no real follow up.
Anlerie	Is this something that you, you would like to see more or see of?

Citizen 7	Umm... I mean one would imagine they've got a lot of queries, so you also want to be reasonable especially if like a small thing, but I think, I think if it's a huge thing, let's say it's a traffic light at a huge intersection, then maybe yes. But if it's like a smaller little road, I mean, as long as it gets fixed eventually. I think I'm fine actually, I'm not want to say how far are you, I mean this is a government department after all.
Anlerie	So your expectations are not high because it's municipal?
Citizen 7	Yes. Yeah basically.
Anlerie	Alright. Umm... so then the three times that you have laid a complaint, what would you say is the average turnaround time where the things you complained about was fixed?
Citizen 7	I actually...

Citizen 7	That I do, I mean I notice things, but it's only because I noticed most likely because, you know, I was at the intersection on a road or at a, you know, I noticed a pothole being fixed but, but not because sorry I can't, I can't give it to you actually.
Anlerie	No, no, that's fine. It's hundred percent, it's hundred percent. So but do you feel like, because you don't always perhaps drive the route where you saw what if a problem and complained about via Twitter. Do you feel like you would be a lot more satisfied with the service if you got a response to say; "OK, the problem has… that you logged on this day, at this time has been fixed"?
Citizen 7	You know what? It would be nice, but yeah as long as it gets fixed, I think that would be very nice, because obviously you raise a complaint because it's a problem. If it gets fixed there is always satisfaction to it. As far as remaining up to date, no because it doesn't really... no I'm not too concerned to remain up to date, ja, but as long as it gets fixed, you know. Because obviously like you don't want to keep swerving around a pothole or being frustrated at a robot or whatever the case is.
Anlerie	OK. Alright, so now we coming to the next section which is the queries one. In those three times that you communicated with a JRA via Twitter, have you ever sent them any questions to get information?
Citizen 7	No, it was always to raise a concern, it was always; this is the situation, can it be fixed, please, thank you. And you know, I move on. So it's never been umm... there's never been really questions... I just think from my side it's never a question to say that... an information seeking question because I mean I don't think they respond in the first place. So when they do respond you like; oh that's nice. So I wouldn't set myself up for failure basically or disappointment.
Anlerie	Umm... so now with the service delivery complaints, I'm going to give you

	three options here to tell me how useful you think that method of communication is with the JRA. So the first option is not useful, then it's somewhat useful and then very useful. Which of those three we should say the JRA's Twitter communication falls into?
Citizen 7	Not at all, somewhat and very?
Anlerie	Yes.
Citizen 7	I think somewhat.
Anlerie	Somewhat because of your past experiences, your first two experiences with them?
Citizen 7	Yes.
Anlerie	Do you maybe perhaps remember how long ago those first ones were?
Citizen 7	I can't remember but I would want to say in the last twelve months at least.
Anlerie	Alright. No, that's good, that's good. And then when it comes to communication with the JRA through other methods that are not Twitter, so this is email, phone call or using the Find&fix app, have you ever used one of those methods with the JRA?
Citizen 7	I heard of the app I've never used it. I've never used any other method. I find Twitter easy and I mean I'm already on Twitter. I have the app. I wouldn't send an email. I definitely won't call.
Anlerie	Why do you say that? Why won't you send an email and definitely not call?
Citizen 7	I'm not that dedicated I guess.
Anlerie	Is it also because as you say you don't expect them to respond because there government?
Citizen 7	Yes, exactly so I wouldn't want to frustrate myself.
Anlerie	Ja.
Citizen 7	Twitter is easy. I don't want to work myself up, you know, you got to choose your battles.
Anlerie	OK, well so then is it then safe to say that Twitter is your primary platform to communicate with the JRA?
Citizen 7	Yes, a hundred percent. Correct.
Anlerie	Ok, so when it comes to JRA via Twitter, have you ever encouraged friends or family or whoever to use this method of communication?
Citizen 7	I think I have maybe once to my boyfriend but he's not into...

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Anlerie	Is it? Hahaha.
Citizen 7	Ja.
Anlerie	Alright, so he didn't even want to go on Twitter let alone communicate with the JRA?
Citizen 7	No, he, no, no, he's got like no energy for Twitter. He's not the hundred and forty character kind of guy.
Anlerie	Oh ok, is he books and books kind of guy?
Citizen 7	Exactly, he's a Facebook long poster.
Anlerie	Alright, ok that makes sense. [Ja] OK well that's basically all the questions I have I don't know if you have perhaps any suggestions or for the JRA to improve with their Twitter use?
Citizen 7	I guess the one thing that you have already mentioned will probably be an update so, maybe let's say it's a robot situation, maybe it's as they say: this has been fixed, let us know if there is any... if you still have problems with the intersection. Maybe yeah I think that would be encouraging, you know, you kind of become, I guess, self-aware and you want to help, you know, I guess help the city, work around, you know, the roads and whatever the case may be. But I think other than that, I mean what else can they really do other than be aware of the problem and fix it? [Ja] Oh I guess they can do more awareness campaigns. To let people know that; Hey, we are on Twitter. It is actually a method to log problems. We do take Twitter queries seriously, I guess that is also something that they could do.
Anlerie	Oh ok. So do you say… suggest the whole awareness idea because you don't know many people who communicate with The JRA via Twitter?
Citizen 7	Sorry say again?
Anlerie	Are you suggesting the awareness campaign because you are not aware of many people that you know who do communicate with a JRA via Twitter?
Citizen 7	Ja, I would say that because I know a few people on Twitter and I don't think I ever heard them say they have raised, they have logged a complaint or they have logged a query on Twitter, but I think people just... people take it as social media... I think for me Twitter has always been a communication tool rather than anything else, I mean I search for the news on Twitter more than anywhere else, you know, if I hear something on the radio or somebody says something I go on Twitter because to search if it's true, you know. So I think I like it as a communication tool more than a social tool if that makes sense. There is a difference, right?
Anlerie	Yes, yes, yes. Alright, well, great, that's it.
Citizen 7	Does it help?

Anlerie	A lot, no it really helps a lot and I can tell you why if you're interested in hearing?
Citizen 7	I have because I did tick yes I would like to see the final research proposal.
Anlerie	yes, So basically when it comes to your specific answers and what you're saying, it is clear to me in your point of view that you are most of the time not bothered to report things because you don't think that is really going to be attended to or responded in the way that you'd like it be, so you don't seriously believe you know if you complain about this pothole that it's going to be fixed.
Citizen 7	Yes, like it is taking chances basically, if it gets fixed; yay, if it doesn't; whatever.
Anlerie	Ja, so it's like a gamble.
Citizen 7	Yeah, basically Yeah.