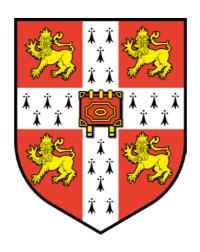# TOWARDS THE COLLABORATIVE MUSEUM?

Social Media, Participation, Disciplinary Experts and the Public in the Contemporary Museum

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SUMMARY

This thesis examines the use of social media by museums aiming to establish collaborative relationships with the public. Social media platforms have been widely espoused as transformative in allowing diverse, new or previously excluded audiences to enter into egalitarian, participatory relationships with museums. This thesis deconstructs the concepts of participation and collaboration and identifies the various factors that constrain the extent to which social media enables participatory relationships between previously unequal actors. These factors include the historical disciplinary aims and cultural authority of museums, persistent social inequalities, and the motivations of social media followers. It elucidates crucial questions such as, are various publics enabled to participate on an equal level with each other and with museums? Who benefits from collaborative projects in general and which parties benefit from the use of social media in particular? What are the factors that limit the establishment of collaborative practice? And, conversely, what are the factors that define truly collaborative practice?

This research examines museums' use of and discourses surrounding social media as well as social media followers' motivations for engaging with museums online. A large body of quantitative and qualitative data gained through in-depth web-based surveys is analysed, primarily using critical discourse analysis, and informed by other critical orientations including media archaeology and the sociology of expertise. The analysis indicates that museums consider social media to be a transformative, democratising technology. However, museums' acceptance of technologically determinist arguments significantly inhibits positive societal change and the extent to which collaborative relationships can be established with various publics.

This research contributes significantly to the existing archaeological and museum studies literature by providing a theoretically and empirically informed critical analysis of the prevailing positive discourses surrounding social media and participation. It has important practical implications for museums in arguing that targeted, critically informed and ethically aware projects are necessary to achieve situations resembling 'collaboration'. It provides a significant body of data that will inform the formulation and continuation of collaborative projects in museums. Furthermore, it informs broader archaeological debates on involving various publics in archaeological practice. This thesis also demonstrates the importance and effectiveness of critical discourse analysis and related critical approaches for analysing large bodies of qualitative data.

DECLARATION

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specified in the text.

It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University of similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

This dissertation does not exceed the prescribed word limit as stipulated by the Degree Committee of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology.

For Gary and Aderyn Walker

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Objectives

In recent years, museums have widely espoused social media as a tool that significantly enables the establishment of collaborative relationships with the public. Social media is seen to be transformative in allowing diverse, new and previously excluded audiences to enter into more egalitarian or participatory relationships with museums. This thesis critically analyses the concepts of participation and collaboration and identifies the various factors that constrain the extent to which social media can enable participatory relationships between the previously unequal actors of the museum and the public. In doing so, it also aims to provide significant insights into the enabling factors of more collaborative forms of participation in archaeology more broadly. Furthermore, this thesis elucidates a number of important questions. Firstly, do social media technologies enable various publics to participate on an equal level with museums and one another? Secondly, who benefits from collaborative projects in general and which parties benefit from the use of social media in particular? Thirdly, which factors limit or further the establishment of collaborative practice?

Although many have argued that social media is transformative for museums (AAM 2015; Cairns 2013; Davies et al. 2015; Kelly 2013; Phillips 2013; Russo et al. 2009), echoing the assertions of new media theorists about the broader social impact of social media (e.g. Bruns 2008; Jenkins 2006; Shirky 2008; Surowiecki 2005), a critically and empirically informed analysis of the actual impact of social media in museums has been lacking. The notions of participation and collaboration in archaeology more broadly defined also demand further critical analysis. This thesis contributes significantly to several disciplines, particularly museum studies and archaeology, by providing an in-depth critical analysis of the currently prevailing positive discourses and practices surrounding social media and participation, informed by a large body of qualitative and quantitative data. In doing so, this thesis offers important theoretical insights and has important practical implications for

museums, many of which have seemingly invested significant resources in social media and digital media more generally.

1.2. Collaborating with the Public: Participation in Museums and Archaeology

As archaeologists realised that their discipline was an inherently sociopolitical one (e.g. Leone et al. 1987; Gosden 2004; Meskell 1998; Shanks 2008; Shanks and Tilley 1987; Trigger 1984), and museums also recognised their role in upholding disciplinary roles (e.g. Hooper-Greenhill 1992, 2000; Janes and Conaty 2005; Sandell 2002, 2007; Vergo 1989), a concern to involve and benefit various publics emerged. This concern revolved around questions about what benefits disciplines like archaeology may offer the public, and whether or not disciplinary practice can help to instigate a more just and democratic society (e.g. Little 2002; McDavid 2004; Merriman 2004). Similar questions also formed the core of the new museology and more recent museum studies (e.g. Hooper-Greenhill 2002; Sandell 2002). The disciplinary debates identified participatory practices as a means to achieve the decentring of the authority around the interpretation of the past, as a way to share the benefits of archaeology and museums, and as a way to perform positive sociopolitical actions (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008b; McGuire 2008: 51–53; Museums Association 2013; Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Sabloff 2008: 17; Shackel 2004). Collaborative theory and practice holds archaeology to be a privileged discipline, drawing attention to the contingent nature of archaeological knowledge and its norms of good practice. Although these are now long-running debates, these critical questions form the basis of this thesis, which ultimately asks how well museums have involved and offered benefits to the public through social media as a technology presumed to enable truly participatory and collaborative relationships.

More recent and critical assertions about participation in archaeology have taken inspiration from science and technology studies, the sociology of expertise, critical pedagogy and indigenous studies. As such, ethical and epistemological concerns in archaeology and museums in general, and in participatory projects specifically, are coming to the fore for many scholars (e.g. Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008b; Janes 2011; Marstine 2011; Watkins 2015; Zimmerman 2012). Indeed, the

concept of participation has underlain all kinds of public involvement: including outreach and educational projects, consultation initiatives and the more extensive 'collaborative' partnerships. Some have highlighted participation as the core concept of a new programmatic debate within the discipline, driven by the impulse to explore the possibilities for putting archaeological tools of inquiry and insights to work in the context of collaborative ventures with extra-archaeological communities (Wylie 2008). In doing so, diverse methodologies as well as important ethical obligations to other communities become integral within disciplinary research and institutions (e.g. Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008a; Silliman 2008). In many respects, collaborative practice also involves turning the ethnographic eye back upon the discipline as it concerns understanding the production of knowledge and authority within the discipline of archaeology as well as comprehending the knowledge and concerns held by others. This is something critical museologists have particularly sought to address (e.g. Clifford 1986; Karp and Kratz 2000). This thesis aims to investigate how successfully museums have critically understood the disciplinary authority that they harbour, and the extent to which they have allowed the concerns of other groups or individuals to resonate, through their more recent online initiatives.

Amongst many museum scholars, participation and public involvement is a tool that justifies the existence of museums and other cultural institutions like science centres. Participation is also seen to enable socially aware and ethically engaged practice— that is, being more sensitive to other, extra-disciplinary communities—and allows for working against the simple appropriation of material and knowledge resources which traditionally characterises archaeological and museum practice (McNiven and Russell 2005: 181–210; also see Scarre and Coningham 2012). The concept of social relevancy, which goes far beyond the need simply to collect, preserve and educate, means museums are positioning themselves to become not only relevant but also essential to society, serving various economic, cultural, social and political needs. In some cases, the benefits may include political recognition or inclusion, financial gain and a range of educational benefits (Golding 2013; Holtorf 2011; Little 2002; McGuire 2008; Nightingale and Sandell 2012). Yet studies of expertise in the fields of science and technology studies and the sociology of expertise show the concept of participation to be fraught with the recurrence of the more exclusionary aspects of disciplinary practice. For instance, what is considered to be 'expert' knowledge is

usually a reflection of the social and material positions of those involved in a particular dispute, and is therefore a product of both politics and culture (Haraway 1989, 1991; Jasanoff 2003). Some groups and individuals, unless disciplinary histories are actively and critically challenged, may fail to become "full epistemic subjects" (Fricker 2007: 145). These groups will be prevented from benefiting from participation as their views are systematically excluded in long-term debates. Indeed, more critical museum studies and indigenous archaeologies have indicated that long-term collaborations, rather than one-off projects, are rare (Ames 1994; Boast 2011; Golding 2009: 59). Participation may therefore become a one-off event fraught with power asymmetries, and a positive discourse protecting the discipline from criticism whilst offering little to other communities. In the vein of sociologies of expertise (e.g. Haraway 1991; Jasanoff 2003; Law and Singleton 2013), this thesis deconstructs the often ignored or taken-for-granted practices and foundations of participation in museums, and points towards possible alternative, more democratic futures for disciplinary participatory practices. In so doing, this thesis contributes significantly to the growing body of work positing archaeology and its institutions as a tool that works against the simple appropriation of material and knowledge resources, redressing some of the previously pernicious impacts of disciplinary practice and helping to benefit society more broadly.

1.3. Social Media as the Panacea

"The internet and social media, coupled with mobile technologies, are fundamentally challenging the very nature of institutions" (Kelly 2013: 68)

"Suddenly, everybody can have access to information that previously was only available to the experts. Everybody can take part in the creative processes of institutions that once were not even in public view" (Clough 2013: 2)

Social media has been widely adopted by museums, and to a lesser extent by archaeologists, as a tool that promises greater equality and a flattening of hierarchies of authority. Museums have utilised social media to establish participatory relationships more often with a general online public rather than targeted

communities, considering the technology as inherently interactive and broadly able to establish democratic spaces. Moreover, this movement is positioned as commensurate with the tenets of the new museology and postprocessual archaeologies (see Cairns 2011, 2013; Kelly 2010, 2013; Russo 2012; Russo et al. 2009; Wong 2012). In some cases, social media adoption is also seen as an attempt to redress or transcend some of the failings of museums, even after the new museology. Examples include the persistent assimilation of alternative viewpoints rather than offering interpretive sovereignty to others (e.g. Cairns 2011, 2013; Phillips 2013), and the perception that some sections of the public are excluded from museums both physically and intellectually as they demand more appropriate ways to learn from museum collections (e.g. Mann et al. 2013: 16; Tallon and Froes 2011). The analysis of the intersecting discourses surrounding social media use in museums is essential in this thesis for identifying the underlying motivations of museums as well as the extent to which they allow others to be included effectively.

Proponents of social media have pointed particularly towards its potential for transforming the means of networking and communication. This has also occurred more generally within archaeology, where it is seen to challenge traditional disciplinary expertise as archaeologists engage with more diverse and active online publics (see Walker 2014b). It is also seen to provide educational benefits to various online publics, as well as for enabling specific marginalised communities to enter into a democratic and participatory public sphere. This echoes many social media scholars who have argued that the social web enables broader and more egalitarian participation in politics and culture (e.g. Castells 2007, 2009: 135–136; Jenkins 2006; Reynolds 2006; Shirky 2008). It is often characterised as a medium allowing for all audiences to be producers and listeners at the same time (e.g. Bruns 2006; Lievrouw 2006, 2010). Kelly (2010: 407–408) sums up this prevailing trend of discourse in her statement that "museums should be prepared to let go of their authority, acknowledge the self-correcting reality of collective knowledge, take risks, and be open to interpretation". Further, online participation is asserted to produce 'public goods' with wider benefits to society and personal benefits for participants (Dunn and Hedges 2012: 18–20; Holley 2010; Proctor 2013; Terras 2014). These lines of argument seemingly emerge from the assumption that the use of social media at once prompts museums to be more responsive to their audiences while also affording those

audiences interpretive authority over their resources and broader benefits for the online public. This thesis offers an important critical analysis of such practices, made particularly pressing by the fact that many museums have begun to use a variety of social media platforms, especially social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter. Empirical studies of social media have tended to focus upon the short-term impact of particular social media events on the 'visitor experience' rather than an analysis on the possible long-term impact of the museum as a discipline-based institution (e.g. Carnall et al. 2013; Villaespesa 2013). Owing to the rise of international academic and professional conferences in the use of the web by museums (e.g. Museums and Mobile, Museums and the Web, MuseumNext, UK Museums Computer Group) and the emergence of permanent digital and social media posts within museums, they are evidently allocating significant resources to the use of social media. This makes the suggestions for more effective use of social media for participatory practices presented in this thesis even more pertinent.

Positive discourses have tended to prevail at the expense of sustained critical and empirical analyses of the effective impact of social media on the discipline of archaeology, museums, and their various publics. Using the theoretical orientation of media archaeology, as well as the more critical arguments emerging from social media studies, archaeology, and museum studies, this thesis analyses critically the idea that the web enables the redress of various sociopolitical issues, and poses the question of whether social media may actually do more harm than the good espoused. A number of critical scholars have importantly challenged the ability of social media to provide positive change, for example in relation to online political protesting and counter movements and the decentring of sources of authority like traditional news media (e.g. Deuze 2008; Sandoval and Fuchs 2010; Srinivasan 2012, 2013; also see Morozov 2011, 2013). Instead, issues like coercion may prevail, especially in relation to the idea of 'digital labour' in crowdsourcing initiatives (Fuchs 2014b; Scholz 2013a; Terranova 2000, 2013; van Dijck and Nieborg 2009), a concept which prompts an important consideration of whether the effort and desires of participating online audiences are appropriately matched by the benefits of participation. As in the criticism addressed towards collaboration in 'offline' forms of participation in museums and archaeology, it is important to move beyond participation and technology making us "feel political" (Dean 2005: 70) in the sense that it seems to

allow for broader participation in cultural and disciplinary work. Indeed, critical analyses of how technology use relates to existing power asymmetries are still lacking in social media studies generally (Fuchs 2014b: 185–187) and are even more pressing in the context of museums. Significantly, this thesis contributes a critical analysis of museum and museum followers' use of social media in order to determine the success of the presumed collaborative relationships. Ultimately, it answers whether or not social media is really the panacea for the parallel issues raised by the new museology and collaborative archaeology.

1.4. Structure of Thesis

Chapters 2 and 3 introduce the theoretical concepts and background issues which underlie this thesis. **Chapter 2** identifies the emergence of 'participation' as a particular area of concern within recent debates in museology and archaeology. It is shown that archaeology and discipline-based cultural institutions like museums have become cognisant of the sociopolitical and historical contexts in which they are implicated, leading to a concern to involve various publics and offer them the benefits that emerge from disciplinary work. It is demonstrated that participation is considered as a concept that enables museums and archaeology to redress the exclusion of non-disciplinary groups and individuals, based upon a perceived imperative to become ethically engaged and epistemologically inclusive. In embracing participation, the discipline, alongside its institutions, is forged as one that benefits multiple communities and is positioned to solve a range of social ills. The assertions presented in this chapter pertain to the broad adoption of social media within museums: the discourses drawn from public archaeology as well as the new museology have been linked to those drawn from the tenets of the more utopian new and social media studies.

Chapter 3 introduces and assesses the various assertions made by scholars of new and social media studies as well as those adopted by museum scholars and professionals. It is shown that the utopian visions of technology-driven social and political change that surrounded writings about the internet in the 1990s persist in relation to the newer social media technologies. Utopian and technologically

determinist perspectives considered the internet to be the enabling factor for improving communication between people and, more fundamentally, people's quality of life, despite pre-existing cultural or sociodemographic determinants. The chapter also presents a thorough survey of the use of new media and internet technologies by museums and the reasons for their adoption. This chapter serves as an essential background to the critical analysis of social media usage in museums, indicating that the utopian assertions about social media have been coupled to the ideas and discourses of new museology and public archaeology to argue that 'radical trust' and inclusive, participatory relationships can be established between museums and their publics. Importantly, the chapter indicates that the large critical body of literature surrounding the internet and social media directly challenges the facile notion that democratic participation necessarily results from the adoption of social media. Instead, it is argued that critical approaches to museums and social media allow for a more accurate picture to be made of the impact of social media on people's ability to participate, and the ability of museums to challenge their historical disciplinary authority.

Chapters 4 and 5 present these essential critical perspectives on participation, and introduce the theoretical orientation taken within the empirical study of museums' use of social media. They also begin to provide answers for crucial, pertinent questions such as for whom do benefits accrue, and are truly participatory relationships enabled in social media spaces? They show the biases that continue to uphold the status quo. **Chapter 4** introduces the aspects of internet usage that prevent existing social and disciplinary structures being transformed. As a critical discussion it focuses on issues of power, drawing attention to the possibility that the authority of existing elites, like museums, may be reinforced whilst others remain marginalised or become newly marginalised. The chapter discusses the various barriers to equal participation, including both physical and intellectual access. It further highlights that many inequalities are the result of pre-existing cultural, political and social contexts. It also introduces the approach of media archaeology, which aims to identify the features and themes that recur across media (including the 'media' of museum exhibitions or collections, as well as platforms like social networking sites). This approach forms the core of the investigative methodology presented in Chapter 6 and aids in identifying museums as persistent spaces of exclusion.

Chapter 5 offers an analysis of the concept of participation within museums and archaeology by drawing upon critical and multidisciplinary bodies of literature, including collaborative, indigenous and activist archaeology, the sociology of expertise, media archaeology and critical pedagogy. It further extends the theoretical orientation of Chapter 4 by demonstrating that the disciplinary histories and expectations of museums structurally limit the extent to which other communities or individuals may be equally included. By drawing on the work of scholars and practitioners in multiple disciplines, the chapter importantly identifies the conditions necessary for equal participation and good practice in collaboration. It seeks to instil a new concern with 'ethical expertise', whereby the sociopolitical contexts in which museums act are paid particular attention, alongside a critical awareness of how discipline-based cultural authority may be reinforced. Furthermore, ethical expertise may involve working actively on others' behalf, rather than for the discipline.

Chapter 6 presents the methodological framework used to empirically assess the impact of museums' use of social media on their cultural authority and on the various publics which interact with museums on social media sites. Surveys distributed to museum social media managers and to followers of museums on two social networking sites gathered a large amount of qualitative as well as quantitative data about the extent of usage, and the nuances of social media interaction. The surveys aimed to elucidate the reasons why people follow museums on social media, and their expectations of museums in social media interactions. Coupled with quantitative data, the methods of critical discourse analysis allowed for the motivations of museums in their use of social media to be explained. The complimentary theoretical orientation of media archaeology and the critical theories of participation highlighted in previous chapters also contributed to this qualitative analysis. A major contribution of this study is not only in its findings and critical assessment but also its demonstration of the relevance and importance of the application of qualitative and critical discourse analyses to the study of both social media and museum studies.

In **Chapter 7** the results of the three surveys are detailed, with the data structured to particularly elucidate two critical issues: firstly, the extent of social media usage amongst museums, and; secondly, whether or not the arguments seen in the literature,

regarding the importance of social media for enabling participation, are actually evident in practice. It particularly draws attention to three major recurring themes within museums' discourse about social media—the ideas of 'expertise', 'inclusion', and 'innovation'—which structure the discussion in the following chapter. The actions and motivations of followers of museums on social media sites are discussed, as the assessment of all participants' motivations and benefits are essential to a thorough consideration of the success of any participatory project. Ultimately, the results serve to indicate whether or not the authority previously held by museums has fundamentally shifted. This chapter as a whole presents both a rich and broad body of information which will significantly inform museums' future, more ethical use of social media, as well as more broadly informing best practice in collaborative museum and archaeology projects.

The discussion presented in **Chapter 8** frames the results presented in Chapter 7 more firmly within the theoretical framework outlined in Chapters 4 and 5. The themes of expertise, inclusion and innovation introduced in Chapter 7 structure this discussion, which highlights the important steps museums should take to more effectively enter into targeted collaborative relationships with different communities. The idea of 'radical trust' posited by proponents of social media usage in museums is directly challenged by this discussion, which shows that museums offer little, and often temporary, authority to the public and that participatory relationships fail to be established. This is a seen to be a result of reliance upon recurring discourses, and, in addition, a lack of critical reflection upon the authority of the discipline. Of particular concern is the acceptance of technological determinism, wherein social media is seen to be the harbinger of democratising change. Instead, social media as it is currently used by museums is importantly presented as a tool that reproduces existing disciplinary authority. Moreover, the motivation of social media followers is seemingly geared towards interaction with their own friends and followers rather than the museum. Importantly, many followers are those with existing discipline-based interests in museums.

As highlighted further in the concluding **Chapter 9**, this thesis offers an original contribution in its in-depth analysis of the actual impact of social media usage. It significantly contributes to the ongoing disciplinary debates about the importance of

collaboration between disciplinary experts and other interested communities by identifying the factors that contribute to truly collaborative relationships. This has important practical application for museums and will inform the formulation of future collaborative projects.

CHAPTER 2

THE 'PUBLIC' IN ARCHAEOLOGY AND MUSEOLOGY

2.1. Introduction

Prior to the emergence of social media, only a few archaeologists experimented with the internet as a tool by which postprocessual tenets, such as multivocality and the contingency of interpretation, could be realised (e.g. Boast 1995; Hodder 1999; Holtorf 2003; McDavid 2004; Joyce and Tringham 2007). In many ways, their claims anticipated the assertion that social media can foster equal participation in society. Social media usage has not achieved ubiquity in archaeology but an ever increasing number of individual archaeologists, archaeological organisations and institutions are using various social media as tools for professional discussion and networking, research, public outreach and community archaeology (see Kansa et al. 2013; Kansa et al. 2011; Bonacchi 2012; Lake 2012; Walker 2014b). Proponents of social media have pointed particularly towards their potential for transforming the means of networking and communication in archaeology, and challenging traditional disciplinary expertise as archaeologists engage with more diverse and active online publics. All of these claims are consonant with those of the more utopian-thinking internet theorists. However, these positive discourses have tended to prevail at the expense of sustained critical and empirical analyses of the effective impact of social media on the discipline of archaeology and its various publics.

Within museums, participatory technologies have been embraced more broadly, likely as a result of many museums' already existing online communication and marketing strategies. Indeed, most museums, even the smallest ones, have websites at the least. This has been accompanied by a discourse espousing the potentials of the web, and specifically social media, to decentre the authority traditionally held by museums for the educational benefit of various online publics as well as for the specific benefit of marginalised communities who are seen as being brought into a democratic and participatory public sphere (e.g. Cairns 2013; Clough 2013: 53–60; Proctor 2010; Ridge 2013; also see Simon 2010: 26).

Despite the prevalence of discourses about social media reforming the ways in which archaeological and museum work is conducted, the permanent impact of the web on both the discipline of archaeology and its institutions like museums remains unclear. This is largely due to a lack of empirical studies that take into account more than one or two museums (see Carnall et al 2013; Fildes and Villaespesa 2015; Grey et al. 2013; Villaespesa 2013; also see papers presented at the Museums and the Web and MuseumsNext conferences),[1] coupled with a concurrent lack of engagement with the significant critical research that has emerged from new media studies and related fields (e.g. Carpentier 2011a, 2012; Fuchs 2014a, 2014b; Morozov 2011; Scholz 2013b). The critical discussion has remained seemingly confined to a small body of scholars who have examined the ethical and epistemological implications of using the web within collaborations with specific indigenous communities (e.g. Brown and Nicholas 2012; Christen 2011; Srinivasan et al. 2010). The lack of critical reflection seen in the field is also a function of an under-engagement with the critical literature on the notion of 'participation' in the new museology more generally, but which has seen especial criticism in collaborative and indigenous archaeology (e.g. Boast and Enote 2013; Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010; Zimmerman 2012). This being the case, the facile assumption of participation equalling democratisation cannot be made. In fact it may be just as easily assumed that pre-existing sociopolitical and demographic contexts, including exclusionary, colonial and disciplinary cultures, are reinforced and reproduced.

This chapter assesses the emergence of the idea of 'participation', and related terms like 'community involvement' and 'collaboration' in museum studies and archaeology. In the literature, it is rare that the two fields draw extensively from each other except in indigenous archaeology. This is likely due in part to the impact of the 1990 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in the US, which necessarily draws museums into the broader disciplinary debate about which disciplinary or extra-disciplinary communities archaeology should serve (see Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Nash 2010). The two fields have, however, shown paralleled thought in the emergence of 'participation' as a key focus of contemporary debate,

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[1] Museums and the Web website: http://www.museumsandtheweb.com. MuseumNext website: http://www.museumnext.com.

which involves a consideration of the nature of expertise, ethics and an awareness of sociopolitical contexts and longer disciplinary histories. Both areas of study have been impacted by internal theoretical shifts and influenced by various postmodern agendas. Internal disciplinary reflections have been joined by strong external pressures, including social movements against the representations of cultures, and government initiatives that encourage the demonstration of social relevance and impact (e.g. Merriman 2004; Sandell 2002).

The realisation that archaeology and museums are inherently sociopolitical endeavours and institutions respectively (see Hooper-Greenhill 2000: 19–22; Shanks 2008), has led to a concern to involve and benefit others. The resulting disciplinary debates identified participatory or collaborative practice as a means to achieve the decentring of authority and provide the grounding for more recent online initiatives (e.g. Simon 2010; Wong 2012). Museum scholars and professionals have particularly reconceptualised museums as more socially aware and ethically engaged. These new museums are sensitive and responsive to extra-disciplinary communities and work against the simple appropriation of material and knowledge resources, which traditionally characterise museum and archaeological practice (Kelly 2013; Russo et al. 2008). Museums have even been positioned to solve a wide range of social ills, including allowing communities to reclaim hidden or misrepresented histories, contributing to educational agendas, and helping to address other inequalities and controversial topics in society (see Black 2012; Cameron and Kelly 2010). This chapter forms a vital backdrop to the following chapters on the use of participatory web technologies (Chapters 3 and 4), the more in-depth critical analyses of online inequalities, disciplinary expertise, and participation (Chapter 5), placing the empirical study that follows in a theoretically sound framework.

2.2. Participation in Archaeology

In archaeology, postprocessual archaeologies have encouraged a better recognition of social, political, and personal biases and assumptions. They have drawn particular attention to the pernicious impact of silencing certain voices and offered recognition to the impact of archaeology on extra-archaeological communities (Colwell-

Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008b: 3). Fields of study like archaeological ethnographies have further questioned what it means to be an archaeologist and have challenged the delineation between those who are and who are not archaeologists (Hamilakis and Agnostopolous 2009; also see Mortensen and Hollowell 2009). Taking inspiration from science and technology studies as well as the impact of sub-fields like community or indigenous archaeology, ethical and epistemological concerns are coming to the fore for many scholars (see Scarre and Scarre 2006; Scarre and Coningham 2012; Zimmerman et al 2003). These concerns revolve around questions of how archaeology can serve the public, and perhaps strive towards a more democratic and just society, which are the same concerns that have run through the new museology. More recently, social media, promising greater equality and a flattening of hierarchies of authority, has been adopted by some as a vehicle to achieve these aims (see Walker 2014b).

2.2.1. Postprocessualism: A Grounding for Participation in Archaeology

Postprocessual archaeology is the given name for a variety of theoretical trends and sociopolitical influences that impacted archaeology from the 1970s onwards, questioning the idea that knowledge production and archaeological interpretations are objective. The wide range of academic trends that impacted the movement include: literary and cultural theory with its focus on the workings of language (see Shanks 2008); post-positivism; feminism; phenomenology; critical theory with its focus on ideology (e.g. Blakey 1997; Leone 1995; Leone et al. 1987); structuralism (see Johnson 2010: 103; Shanks 2008), and; awareness of the nationalist, colonial, imperialist, and other political consequences of archaeology (e.g. Diaz-Andreu 2007; Gosden 2004; Meskell 1998; Thomas 2004; Trigger 1984). These internal reflections joined the strong external pressures from indigenous groups especially in the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Together, they served to analyse critically the assumed objective nature of the processual archaeology that had previously dominated. Many argued that archaeology should as a result be defined as 'socio-political action in the present' (Tilley 1989), although postprocessualism is certainly not yet a 'normal' science in the sense of completely replacing processualism (Shanks 2008: 133). The largely polemical debate which pitted processualism against

postprocessualism was one that had faded by the turn of the millennium in any case—with many convergences between processual and postprocessual archaeology occurring: 'processual-plus', for example, utilises ideas such as agency and materiality (Hegmon 2003; Johnson 2010: 220), while agency is implicated as much in behavioural and complex systems archaeology as it is in postcolonial archaeology (Hodder 2012: 3–4). However, the important issues raised by indigenous archaeology, postcolonialism, Marxism and feminism are certainly not yet mainstream even though these can be considered essential for conducting good science (see Chapter 5).

Postprocessualism has importantly pointed towards archaeology not existing as an objective discipline that produces facts about the past. Archaeologists are implicated in sociopolitics, motivated by and located in specific disciplinary and political contexts (see Holtorf 2009; Wylie 2003). It is essential to consider contemporary values since they affect how archaeologists produce, rather than find, knowledge (e.g. Harrison 2011; Harrison and Schofield 2010: 13–14; also see Buchli and Lucas 2001; Gonzalez-Ruibal 2007, 2008; Graves-Brown 2000). This debate is not about archaeologists' right to talk about the past, but is a challenge to their sole authority and a recognition of the impact of archaeology beyond the discipline (see Lampeter Archaeology Workshop 1997). Thus, a positive stance emerges towards the idea that facts cannot be separated from values in the present. Following this, there should be an allowance for multivocality as a form of social action, that is, seeking alternative viewpoints from those with a stake in the interpretation of the past (see Hodder 1999, 2003). This is an ethical responsibility and has allowed public archaeologists to become social activists.

A more recent development in archaeological theory, cutting across processual and postprocessual archaeology is the study of materiality. Olsen and others (Olsen 2003, 2010, 2012; Shanks 2007; Webmoor and Witmore 2008) have called for a study of 'symmetrical' archaeology, in which the separation of 'non-humanity' (animals, things) from humanity is challenged as a false dichotomy (see Latour 1993: 13). Instead things and humans are seen to be constantly interacting. This implies that the 'things' interpreted by archaeologists do not have essential proprieties, nor are they simply social constructions, but are instead the necessary result of an interaction between people and things (Holtorf 2002; also see Edgeworth 2003, 2006). More

simply, it can be demonstrated that during an excavation, for example, existing knowledge is applied to make sense of material features emerging in the excavation, while that material evidence also reshapes existing knowledge (Yarrow 2003: 68–71). Yet, the act of excavation may help to define the archaeologist as much as the archaeological object. A discoloured area of ground may 'become' a posthole because of its relation with the reliable archaeologist who excavated it. At the same time, that archaeologist is forged as 'reliable' because she or he has articulated a posthole (see Van Reybrouck 2002). In this sense, they are mutual constructions, the posthole without the archaeologist to define it as such is just a discoloured area of ground, and the archaeologist without the posthole cannot make archaeological statements and thus cannot be easily defined as a (field) archaeologist (van Reybrouck and Jacobs 2006: 37). As a result symmetrical archaeology adds support to postprocessual archaeologists' argument against simple scientific rationalism.

An awareness of the ways in which knowledge is constructed seemingly allows for the opening of interpretation to others with a stake in the interpretation of the past—as long as their interpretations are consistent with material evidence (e.g. Echo-Hawk 2000). On the other hand the authority of archaeologists may be reinforced if they are positioned as the sole experts who understand the complex relationship between things and people. Indeed, these arguments and discourses are not very accessible to laypeople (McNiven and Russell 2005: 181; Smith 2004: 81–84; also see Joyce 2002). Olsen (2012: 223) has in fact argued that "we should be confident and satisfied with being archaeologists and not aspire to be something else (anthropologists, historians, philosophers, artists)". This demonstrates that archaeologists can establish themselves within a bounded disciplinarity, an argument against the expertise and needs of others, and for archaeology for its own sake. Thus, an ethical and sociopolitically engaged stance is required for participatory projects and work that is to be beneficial for those beyond the discipline. Yet, imbued with ethical and sociopolitical awareness, turning an ethnographic or sociological eye back upon the discipline can aid in the prevention of archaeology becoming reasserted as an exclusive endeavour (see Chapter 5).

2.2.2. Public Archaeology: From Community Consultation to Collaboration

The establishment of public archaeology as a delineated area of disciplinary concern occurred from the 1970s onwards. It was a more concerted effort to alter the relationship between archaeology and various publics, even though archaeology has always implicated publics beyond the discipline (e.g. excavations occurring in various communities, the appropriation of artefacts from communities). The term was originally a reference to developer-led archaeology and cultural resource management in the United States (McGimsey 1972), and where public involvement was essentially an attempt to co-opt the public to support the protection of archaeological sites. Thus it meant archaeologists managing archaeology on behalf of the public rather than referring to heterogeneous publics' active involvement in archaeology (Merriman 2004: 2–3). Ironically, this process of professionalisation, which was also paralleled in the United Kingdom, led to a decrease in public involvement in archaeology until the impact of postprocessualism and external sociopolitical pressures encouraged archaeology to explore new ways to engage with its publics (Merriman 2004: 3). Thus, public archaeology as currently understood involves not only cultural resource management, but educational outreach projects, and community-based or community-led archaeology projects (Ascherson 2000; Faulkner 2000; Merriman 2004; Okamura and Matsuda 2011) and is implicated in the regeneration of economies and civic society, sustainable development initiatives, entertainment industries, and even efforts towards conflict resolution (see Gould and Burtenshaw 2014; Holtorf 2013; Little 2002; Stottman 2010). All these speak to the discipline's accountability to the public and encourage a view that the discipline does not harbour intrinsic merit, but exists to serve various communities (including academic ones).

Several branches of public archaeology have become concerned specifically with the ethical or epistemological imperative of involving various communities in the planning of archaeological projects, the interpretation of archaeology and its subsequent management as heritage. Community archaeology is the most common manifestation of this in the UK, though community archaeology has also been discussed in various contexts across the world (see Lähdesmäki et al. 2013; Okamura and Matsuda 2011). Scholars discussing the public benefit of community archaeology

point towards the necessity of involving communities in all parts of the archaeological endeavour, from the establishment of research objects, to practice in the field, to analysis, to dissemination of findings, and to public presentation (Moser et al. 2002). This is an endeavour based on the idea that communities harbour their own legitimate sense of the past but also that archaeologists should not be the sole beneficiaries of another group's heritage (Moser et al. 2002; Shackel 2004).

Thus, community archaeology attempts to make archaeology more responsive to various perceived societal needs (see Dawdy 2009; Sabloff 2008). For instance, on a general and perhaps vague level, archaeology may be able to encourage insight among communities of what it means to be human (Holtorf 2013). This may lead to various reflections on human society, encouraging conversations across generations and communities, in turn helping to relieve social tensions (Holtorf 2007: 141–145; 2010; also see Franklin and Moe 2012; Little 2007). Community projects may aid in educational initiatives by teaching people how to analyse evidence and resolve conflicting viewpoints (Henson 2011; Little 2002). Other benefits may also be provided such as allowing a community to reclaim hidden histories, for example, those impacted by racism (LaRoche 2011; McDavid 2004, 2007; Matthews 2008; Mullins 2003, 2006; Zimmerman and Echo-Hawk 2006) or class relations (McGuire 2008; Saitta 2007; Summerby-Murray 2002).

It is evident that 'community archaeology' tends to refer to projects initiated by archaeologists, but seeking to create dialogues with or solicit input from relevant communities (Faulkner 2000; Simpson 2005). In addition, this often involves archaeologists working with people of their own culture (broadly defined) (Greer et al. 2002). This is more of a top-down approach than 'collaborative' or 'community-based', and may suffer the charge of tokenism if it does not see a community gain significant control over the aims of the archaeological project, and defining the benefits emerging from it. Public archaeology in this regard is more self-serving than helpful to others. Indeed, in many 'real-world' situations people are unlikely to turn to archaeologists and heritage professionals, except perhaps in certain economic and tourism development situations (Dawdy 2009; Holtorf 2011; Walker 2011b, 2014b). That being the case, community archaeology may be about bolstering support for archaeology (Dawdy 2009), as seen in the early cultural resource management

definition of public archaeology, rather than a commitment to shift the discipline towards serving society. In any case, archaeology probably is not the only, or most effective way, to serve many economic and sociopolitical needs.

2.2.3. Collaborative Archaeology

Recent literature on community involvement in archaeology in the UK has favoured the term 'community archaeology' (e.g. Isherwood 2013; Moshenka and Dhanjal 2012). However, in North America especially, 'collaborative archaeology' has emerged as a topic of growing interest. This is not just an alternative term to 'community archaeology' as it references a more explicit change in the locus of power between archaeologists and non-archaeologists. The term 'collaboration' focuses on the *process* of conducting community-based archaeology and interrogates power relations. It is concerned with diverse methodologies, new insights and ethics in collaborating with others (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008b: 20). Rather than simply adding more voices, collaboration affords greater centrality to different voices as well as communities' needs.

Collaborative archaeology further necessitates going beyond the regulatory and legal requirements of public involvement (i.e. 'consultation'), ensuring that power and research agendas are shared between archaeologists and stake-holding publics, usually indigenous communities (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008a; Kerber 2006; Knecht 2003; Malloy 2003: xi). NAPGRA (1990) is usually considered to be the main turning point for relationships between Native American and archaeologists (e.g. Downer 1997; Swidler et al. 1997).[2] The formal consultation guidelines mandated by NAPGRA forced dialogue between archaeologists and indigenous communities. These dialogues have led to a greater reflection within the discipline and to explorations of how archaeology may better come to terms with the various cultural, social, political, historical and personal contexts that impact the production

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[2] Amongst other points, NAGPRA dictates that federal agencies or institutions receiving federal funding must return cultural objects and human remains to culturally affiliated Native American tribes and Native Hawaiian organisations.

of archaeological knowledge (Silliman 2008: 2–3). In many respects, it encouraged a concern with ethnographic research, where the ethnographic eye was turned towards the discipline in order to understand the production of knowledge and authority, as well as the knowledge and concerns held by others.

Like community archaeology, collaboration involves engaging stakeholders using a variety of different practices in order to understand archaeological remains. A willingness to take epistemological and ontological diversity seriously and include it in the archaeological knowledge base is important (Wylie 2000). It recognises that a wider range of viewpoints can enhance our understanding of the past, since marginalised people are likely to hold epistemologically valuable knowledge (Fricker 2007; Petras and Porpora 1993; Wylie 2003). Indigenous knowledge in particular may provide particularly revealing insights. A critical multivocality is advocated, in which the maximum range of viewpoints are considered, but also from which erroneous assumptions are excluded (e.g. Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010). Exclusion, including of indigenous or archaeological knowledge, may be made on the basis of epistemologically unsound and inconsistent knowledge—and so this is not anti-scientific practice (see Echo-Hawk 1997, 2000; Lightfoot 2008; Whiteley 2002). Working together with other communities focuses upon the contingency of knowledge, mutual respect, and the recognition of archaeology's and the community's goals (Dowdall and Parrish 2003).

The approaches and ethics involved in projects vary enormously depending on contextual factors, and individual and community motivations and skills (Nicholas et al. 2008). Some projects labelled 'collaborative' may be more akin to outreach projects, in which the research is simply communicated to descendant communities (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008b 7–9). This is akin to a 'deficit' model of archaeology, in which the public is seen as lacking in understanding and requiring education (Merriman 2004: 5–6). True collaboration, however, involves a 'synergy' of community contributors and scholars, working with shared concerns, towards a jointly produced product, which could not have been otherwise achieved (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008b: 1). Power redistribution is essential to ensure that projects are mutually beneficial. Archaeologists gain important archaeological insights, and add to their career interests. On the other hand, communities may gain

benefits such as political recognition and the ability to add weight to sovereignty and land claims, as well as financial and educational benefits (Ferguson et al. 1997; Smith and Jackson 2008). Archaeology is positioned as such to serve others and redress the previously pernicious impacts of research. Thus, it becomes a more ethically-engaged endeavour, wherein the ethics involved are not ones of an unquestioned stewardship of archaeology for posterity, but to the consideration of the 'human' value of archaeology (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2011; see Chapter 5).

Collaborative archaeology can be considered as representative of an emerging programmatic debate since there are a growing number of examples and, moreover, in many respects they together challenge the methodological, ethical and epistemological foundations of archaeology (Wylie 2008). Collaborative archaeologists work towards diversifying methodology and making archaeology more "theoretically interesting, culturally sensitive, community responsive, ethically aware and socially just" (Silliman 2008: 4–5). Importantly, they work against the simple appropriation of material and knowledge resources, which characterise traditional archaeological practice. Instead, other communities are offered various benefits and a greater degree of authority over the interpretation of the past. However, it is certainly not yet central to disciplinary discourse due to various institutional and disciplinary expectations.

2.2.4. Activist Archaeology

Taking the idea that archaeology is always sociopolitical action in the present more literally, activist archaeology sees archaeology positioned as a tool of emancipation, to help solve problems in contemporary societies (see Little 2007; McGuire 2008; Sabloff 2008; Stottman 2010). This makes archaeology 'usable' in the sense that archaeological projects are conducted often with a sole, if not major aim, of building social capital within communities, encouraging active civic engagement and in some cases restoring social justice in contexts of inequality (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2007). More tangible contributions include providing useful insights to social ills like conflicts, rising populations, environmental threats, and diminishing food supplies (e.g. Rathje 2011; Sabloff 2008). Often it is argued that working with communities to

reveal the historical and archaeological precedents of current social situations, and subsequently encouraging critical thought about this, can impel communities to strive for social change in the future (LaRoche and Blakey 1997; McGuire 2008: 3–7). By particularly focusing attention on the contexts within which archaeologists work, activist archaeology implores its practitioners to aim intentionally for social solutions not as an aside to archaeological projects but as its main focus.

Praxis is one of the most important concepts underlying activist archaeology. This demands a comprehension of the situation at hand, critiquing it, and then taking action as a result (McGuire 2008: 51–97). Only when research is consciously and actively implicated with social concerns does it become meaningful. Without this consciousness, research may in fact result in various unanticipated consequences, including pernicious ones (McGuire 2008: 83). This demands that archaeologists consider their own social views and necessarily involves ethical considerations and reflections on the discipline's goal: why do we do archaeology, and more fundamentally, how do we want to live as a 'pluralistic' society (Saitta 2007: 269)? Failing to consider social context means we can become complicity involved in pernicious actions and blindly reproduce deep-seated biases (Enloe 2004: 7; Hamilakis 2005). Collaborative practice is central to activist archaeology in aiding the need to understand the social context within which we work and develop shared goals (McGuire 2008: 232–233). Yet for the discipline at large, activist archaeology is often given little or tokenistic attention—again, used by less 'activist' archaeologists as an example of how archaeology is in fact useful for society (Dawdy 2009). The idea of prevailing positive discourses is one considered more thoroughly in Chapters 5 and 9.

2.2.5. Indigenous Archaeology

Indigenous archaeology is a direct response to political developments and ethical thinking within and outside the discipline. It has been particularly influenced by the major critiques that highlighted the colonial and often pernicious nature of archaeology (e.g. Deloria 1995; Langford 1983; also see Fabian 1983; McGuire 1992; Smith 1999; Trigger 1980, 1990) and political legislation which forces archaeologists and indigenous people to work together as a matter of course (Dongoske et al. 2000;

Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Swidler et al. 1997). The association of archaeology with colonialism is well recognised, alongside the persistent cultural, economic and political consequences for various communities (see Atalay 2006; Diaz-Andreu 2007; Gosden 2004; McNiven and Russell 2005). In some communities this includes such fundamental issues as life expectancy, health care, and education (Lydon and Rizvi 2010: 17). Archaeology as a discipline also involves particular, authorised ways of acting and speaking, which marginalises alternative sources of evidence, and prevents funding or research priorities being geared towards non-traditional concerns (Lane 2011: 9). This being the case, the precedence of colonialism determines future possibilities. Indigenous archaeology is an active, sociopolitically informed and ethically aware stance against this.

Indigenous archaeology integrates indigenous values, knowledges and practices with collaborative or community-based archaeology projects. Through the inclusion of different perspectives, the archaeological record may be improved, compared to archaeology involving Western science alone (Nicholas 2008: 1666). Furthermore, archaeology aims to become directly responsible to indigenous communities, and respectful of their worldviews and histories. It aims to redress perceived or real inequalities in that archaeological products can aid indigenous communities in their political endeavours, cultural revitalisation and education initiatives (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010: 229–230). Indigenous archaeology is not necessarily 'collaborative archaeology' as a variety of approaches may be taken: it may be variously conducted with, for or by indigenous peoples (Nicholas and Andrews 1997). Methods have included the incorporation of oral histories into archaeological narratives, working towards repatriation goals, redressing particular historical and contemporary ills, developing historical preservation capacity in communities, and confronting social justice issues (Nicholas 2008; Silliman 2008, 2010). In all cases, a degree of sovereignty is offered to communities. The power enjoyed by the archaeological discipline is decentred by affording rights to determine the outcomes of projects, setting research questions, and controlling the dissemination of knowledge to indigenous communities (Nicholas and Bannister 2004; Watkins 2000: 172–173).

Indigenous archaeology is a vital critique of traditional archaeological practice, in many respects turning the ethnographic eye back onto the discipline. McNiven and Russell (2005), for example, have discussed the various techniques used by archaeology to establish the discipline as an authority. The colonial nature of archaeology permits the disassociation of heritage from indigenous communities, for instance by claiming that other races constructed the archaeological record, and subsequently appropriating it. Additionally, the use of an apparent objective, scientific discourse and method sets archaeology as the only authority about the past. It allows archaeology to make people and their cultures its subject, demoting other ways of knowing about the past to supplementary at best and irrelevant at worst. The complicated scientific language also prevents the degree to which laypeople can challenge interpretations.

Indigenous archaeology draws particular attention to the ethical basis of a need to involve other communities—though in some countries like the US this is also clearly a political need (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010). It is ethically sound to examine the long histories and disciplinary frameworks that result in oppression and inequality in the present, whether these are based upon race, gender, nationality, ethnicity, class, or otherwise (Lydon and Rizvi 2010: 13). This fundamental concern with contexts of inequality means that one does not necessarily have to be indigenous to practice indigenous archaeology (see Nicholas 2010; Watkins 2000: 177–178). Tenets of indigenous archaeology, such as ceding a large degree of control, an ethical and sociopolitical awareness of the contexts of work, and the valuation of alternative sources of knowledge, have certainly been applied in non-indigenous contexts (see Schofield 2014; Waterton 2005). In these cases the broader term 'collaborative' archaeology is probably more appropriate (cf. Atalay 2007). In any case, the importance of decentring and collaborative archaeologies lies in questioning the motives of research and the ways in which research matters (or not) for a community. Indeed, Conkey (2005) drew similarities between feminist and indigenous archaeology, pointing out the aim of both bringing divergent perspectives to bear on archaeological accounts of the past, and noting a particular mistrust of essentialism and totalisation.

When the experience of being an archaeologist is denaturalised and the contingent nature of knowledge is highlighted, a particular concern is raised: how can archaeology become more ethically and socially just? Where the discipline fails to consider the importance of involving other communities in research and the benefits that accrue from it, it remains centred, and in some cases colonial. The same themes have fed into the new museology, and have underlain the notion of participation in museums' use of social media.

2.3. Participation in Museums

The new museology emerged in earnest from the late 1980s, largely in response to dissatisfaction with the prevailing museological theory and museum practice. It was argued that museology had focused too simply on methods, rather than reflecting upon the reason for museums existing in the first place (Macdonald 2006, Mason 2006). The imperative not only came from internal reflection within the discipline, but from social movements and particular controversies, especially about repatriation and the ethics of museum collection, and how various groups have been represented or excluded in exhibitions. These had previously given rise to new kinds of museum, such as neighbourhood museums in the US and ecomuseums in France and other European countries, which emerged from the 1960s and 1970s often in direct response to social movements. These museums were embedded within communities and often strived for social change as their *raison d'être* (Davis 2011). The new museology, however, was an intellectual movement located more centrally within the discipline, which strived to bring theoretical rigour back to the interdisciplinary field of study, whilst connecting to social and political movements, politics and identity and educational systems (see Vergo 1989). Of great concern was the accessibility of museums for visitors, with many scholars arguing that many visitors were not equipped or motivated enough to interpret the museum experience as museums intended (Duncan 1995; Merriman 1989, Wright 1989). Thus museum studies developed a greater sensitivity to visitors as well as the sensitivity to the wider political frameworks that museums exist within, taking into account the needs and desires of local, descendent and source communities where appropriate.

A key idea that transferred from museology as an academic field of study to the museum sector more broadly was one of inclusion and participation in order to share decision-making power and enhance the social relevancy of museums (Hooper-Greenhill 2000; Sandell 2002). Beyond the need simply to collect and preserve artefacts, as well as to educate, museums are now self consciously positioning themselves to become relevant to society, serving various economic, cultural, social, and political needs (Anderson 2004: 1; Janes and Conaty 2005; Marstine 2005; O'Neill 2006; Sandell 2002). Indeed, the International Council of Museums (2007) defined a museum as: "a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment". Particularly influential is the idea that museums hold a generative cultural power, that is, they can influence thinking amongst society (Hooper-Greenhill 2000: 19–20). Therefore the new museology considers audience studies to be very important. Yet many museums continue to struggle with demonstrating their social relevance. There seem to be few published empirical visitor studies that *empirically* demonstrate museums' social impact (e.g. Kelly 2007; Sandell 2007). Indeed, rhetorical arguments about inclusivity and decentred authority do not simply lead to its realisation. As a result, there is seemingly a persistent need for scholars and professionals to justify the existence of museums and their importance in society (e.g. Black 2012; Museums Association 2013). Complicating this further, museum studies must continue to grapple with voices from major museums attempting to justify their irrelevance from sociopolitical concerns, believing that they contain an enlightened, universal kind of knowledge (Cuno 2004).

This section reviews three important areas of museological thinking in recent decades: 1) that of the contingent nature of disciplinary interpretation; 2) audience studies that highlight visitor agency and active learning processes; 3) the importance of collaborative museology. The need for decentring authority and the benefits of museums are again integral to all these. More democratic forms of participation emerge as a solution for the problems of exclusive discipline-based institutions. This chapter serves as an important backdrop for the following chapters on participatory

web technologies as the concept of democratic or equal participation has underlay museum professionals and scholars support for the web and social media.

2.3.1. The Relative Nature of Interpretation

The new museology promised to establish the relative nature of knowledge and reality. Indeed, as noted within indigenous studies, multiple ways of knowing exist and museum ontologies do not necessarily need to be commensurate with each other (e.g. Dei et al. 2000; Srinivasan et al. 2010; Turnbull 2009). Traditionally, material objects are thought to be stable and representative of the essence of the people who made them, and that knowledge can simply be extracted through 'reading' the material features of collections (Alpers 1991; Hooper-Greenhill 2000: 17–18). However, similar to the arguments of symmetrical archaeology, museums seemingly appropriate material culture and, through defining and displaying them, objects make disciplines as much as disciplines form objects.

Discipline-based expertise as manifest in museums may therefore be a kind of political performance, since the knowledge curated by the museum, and displayed in exhibitions, becomes a means of controlling the values and truths of society (see Duncan 1995; Duncan and Wallach 1980; Karp and Kratz 2000; Preziosi and Farago 2004). The authority to speak about the past is imbued in every exhibition, which may incorporate, especially in anthropological museums, 'ethnographic authority' (Clifford 1983). This comprises stylistic devices, such as the creation of subjects, the discourse of a knowing expert examining the unknowing other, and the use of analogy, to signal the discipline's expertise (also see Clifford 1986, 1988; Marcus and Fischer 1986). This is in addition to the use of design elements like the selection of particular objects, and the sequential order of exhibition elements (Kratz 2002), and more basic disciplinary actions like collecting, displaying, researching, documenting (Karp and Kratz 2000). Thus exhibitions make statements about how various peoples, cultures or histories should be considered, and a statement that academic disciplines should be considered as authoritative.

Museums traditionally constrain the possible interpretations that can be made, meaning knowledge and power are related (Hooper Greenhill 1992, 2000: 48; see Foucault 2002 [1970]). This is seen in the longer histories of museums. Bennett (1995), for instance, saw museums as key sites to improve visitors' moral, social and political behaviour through encouraging the performance of particular civic rituals. However, the influence of postmodernism, enforced by social movements and internal disciplinary contestations of representation in museums (Karp et al. 1992, Simpson 2001), encouraged museums to see material objects not as fixed and representative of 'facts', but as contingent, fluid and polysemic (Hooper-Greenhill 2000: 76; also see Tilley 2006). Yet the contested knowledge and disagreements end up being presented as incontestable knowledge with the exhibition (Macdonald 2002: 94; also see Bhatti 2012; Butler 2007).

As a result of such arguments, there has been some call to decentre the authority of museum curators, accepting that visitors may more or less freely interpret exhibitions, but also allowing for other expert communities to interpret collections. Thus, 'participation' becomes a means to raise awareness of marginalised histories and challenge previously exclusive disciplinary practices. Other voices have been more widely incorporated into exhibition texts with the recognition that there are other experts with valid perspectives to bring to the table (Herle 2000, 2008; Peers and Brown 2003), though these are more rarely permanently included in museum catalogues (e.g. Srinivasan et al. 2010). This does not necessarily question the generative nature of museums. Giroux (2000: 1–15) identified culture as an important place of contestation of suppressed or misrepresented histories: cultural sites can promote democracy by projecting images of more just social orders and diversity. Allowing for participation in museums is therefore a form of cultural politics rather than simply abstract theory since social or political action is a possibility (Hooper-Greenhill 2000: 138; also see Hutcheon 1989). Although culture has generative possibilities, the idea of the active audience also advances a contradiction. When the institution itself attempts to share its authority with other 'experts' it is also important to consider the general visitor, who may resist the just, plural society promoted by the institution pictured by new museum theorists. The motivations of all parties are essential to consider in participatory relationships (see Chapter 5.3.2.1).

2.3.2. Visitor Agency: The Active, Learning Audience

The new museology identified learning to be an active and social process, wherein knowledge is produced through an individual's interaction with exhibitions, while being situated within a community of learners. In museums, the development of these theories had a great influence from the early 1990s onwards (see Falk and Dierking 1992; Hein 2000; Karp and Lavine 1991). The traditional idea of learning as a product, wherein knowledge is transferred by curators, via didactic exhibitions, to a learner was largely replaced in museological thought (if not in practice) with the essential idea that learning occurs over time, and is influenced by prior experiences, knowledge and perceptions (Black 2005: 125–128). This had political imperatives, especially in the US and the UK. Since 1992, museums increasingly placed education at the centre of a role of public service (Black 2005: 123; see AAM 1992). In the UK, this was specifically related to New Labour's idea of inclusion and life-long learning (Anderson 1997) as well as emerging museological thinking about education and learning, which emphasised various learning styles in multiple audiences (Black 2005: 128–129). Museums were positioned to be beneficial to a wide range of audiences.

'Meaning making' has become an important concept in museum studies. This sees museum victors actively involved in 'making sense' of exhibition encounters (see Hooper-Greenhill 1992, 2000; Sandell 2007). Hall's (1989, 1997) encoding-decoding model has been particularly influential, which argues that audiences are able to construct meanings that differ from any curatorial intentions. What a communicative message means to the audience is given as much focus as what the message says. This sees reality being produced, maintained or transformed between the visitor and the curator (e.g. Hooper-Greenhill 1999b; Karp and Lavine 1991). An audience member's personal experience and social positioning is important to this process. Visitors bring a personal frame of reference, including their previous experiences and memories, as well as their broader sociopolitical backgrounds, to bear on the way objects are interpreted (Falk and Dierking 1992; Hein 1998; Matusov and Rogoff 1995). In this learning theory of 'constructivism' (Hooper-Greenhill 2000: 139; Hein 1998: 34–36, 2005) meaning is not static or absolute—it is variable and contingent, made between

the curator (in terms of the information they provide in an exhibition) and the visitor. By accepting and working with visitor agency, transformative experiences may occur, impacting upon a visitor's identity or sense of self (see Falk 2006; Kelly 2007; Rounds 2006). Thus, by negotiating with visitors, museums can recognise and support different ways of thinking and being, helping in the shift towards a more just society.

However, Duncan (1995: 130–133; also see Bourdieu et al. 1991) sees the reinforcement of existing power structures as a primary function of museums. They are ritual places, in which the middle classes especially are taught to perform a particular way of appreciating Western European culture, which simultaneously appears natural and legitimate. Contemporary museum learning theories challenge this idea, since Duncan's argument depends on a notion of a passive visitor. Many museums strive to provide various 'entry points' in their exhibitions allowing visitors to negotiate more easily the information provided by the museum (O'Neill 2006; N. Simon 2010: 35). There is a great concern to diversify access to the museum. What is often overlooked is the prevailing and persistent cultural authority held by museums and the continued inability of certain audiences to participate.

2.3.3. The Socially Relevant and Just Museum

The idea that museums are agents of social change is not a new one. Bennett (1995) points to the longer histories of museums in service of society, charting their development from cabinets of curiosities in which the keeper communicated their elite status, to an institution for the moral, social and political edification of audiences. In this way, museums were instruments to be enlisted by governments for tasks of social improvement and regulation, where civilised forms of behaviour were diffused amongst a broader public. This was about normalising the behaviour of audiences, learning particular ways of seeing the world and acting within it (Bennett 1995: 102). Some museum forms especially served particular communities. Ecomuseums in Europe, integrated museums in Latin America and neighbourhood museums in the US were embedded in particular communities and served their

particular needs (Davis 2011; also see Erikson 2002). For contemporary museums, the new museology instilled the idea more broadly that good museums should have something to say about social and economic relations (Chappell 1989: 265). Further, they cannot be impartial observers since they are complicit in these relationships; if they are not actively breaking down inequalities they are maintaining them (Karp 1992: 15; O'Neill 2002, 2006). In fact, Weil (2003) has argued that museums should be measured by the extent to which they benefit particular individuals, communities or society more broadly. In the more 'civically engaged' museum (Black 2010; Hirzy 2002), then, a theory of justice is borne in mind in addressing the perceived unequal distribution of the social benefits of museums.

Museums are attempting to serve society and create change through exhibition development and presentation, raising awareness amongst populations about controversial or pressing issues (e.g. Abram 2003; Cameron 2010; Cameron and Deslandes 2011; Kelly and Gordon 2002; Janes 2009; Sandell 2007) and delivering outreach and educational programmes (e.g. Golding 2013; Silverman 2010). Exhibitions may indeed be transformative for many visitors, wherein they can develop new attitudes or beliefs, and perhaps subsequently take action (Chakrabarty 2002; Lord 2006; Messham-Muir 2005; Rounds 2006; Soren 2009). They are also attempting to spread such benefits through the use of social media—as will be discussed in detail in the following chapters. Numerous case studies have demonstrated at least the short-term impact of museums in providing positive changes for individuals or groups (e.g. Sandell 2002, Scott 2002, 2006; Worts 2006). Many of these are in relation to government requirements to demonstrate impact. For instance, in the UK it is often required for museums to demonstrate their ability to contribute to positive learning outcomes (see Hooper-Greenhill 2007: 2). More recently, museums have been encouraged to demonstrate their relevance to society and meeting needs in society which may not be met through other government support. For instance, they may aid homeless or unemployed people, older people and children in care whilst continuing to tackle wider issues of social justice and human rights (MA 2013; Silverman 2010). This demonstrates museums continuing to exist as powerful places that establish the parameters of discussion about important issues in society.

However, we cannot afford to simply pay attention to the many case studies outlining successful projects. Some have argued that equality, diversity, social justice and human rights have been pushed "from the margins of museum thinking and practice to the core" (Nightingale and Sandell 2012: 1), which may be the case within the museum studies literature, but this needs to be demonstrated more effectively in practice. The problem of positive discourse discouraging critical analyses has also been witnessed within social media, as will be demonstrated in later chapters. As noted above, Duncan (1995) sees the reinforcement of existing power structures as a primary function of museums. Some scholars have particularly taken exception to museums advancing a view of universal heritage, that museums exist to preserve and present this heritage rather than being sites of social work or therapy (O'Neill 2002). Unfortunately, many of these views emanate from the worlds largest museums' directors (e.g. Cuno 2004; de Montebello 2004; also see Siedell 2004). The argument for universal heritage rejects the claims of particular communities without exception; the only rightful steward of heritage is the museum (Appiah 2006; Cuno 2008). These arguments fail to recognise the historical and colonial roots of museums and the disciplines that support them.

The prevailing cultural authority held by museums and the persistent inability of certain audiences to participate is underplayed (see Chapter 4). Moreover, there is a lack of empirical visitor evaluations that attest to the long-term influence of exhibitions and particular collaborative projects. It can at least be hoped that museums may be able to encourage more diverse thinking and that inchoate values and perceptions could be challenged by exhibitions, although entrenched inequalities and thinking may not (Sandell 2007: 173). In any case, evaluation tends to be confined to short-term exit interviews with an insight into visitors' perceptions of particular topics (Kelly 2001; Sandell 2007; also see Cameron and Kelly 2010) or personal, scholarly reflections of trained museologists (Lonetree 2006). Impact is certainly a concern in the UK, but this seems to be geared towards meeting government requirements rather than with the long-term impact on audiences or the discipline-based cultural authority of museums (see MA 2013). The studies that do exist demonstrate varying degrees of success in encouraging more diverse thinking through exhibitions (e.g. Kelly and Gordon 2002; Krmpotich and Anderson 2005). Beyond case studies of the social relevance of exhibitions, collaborative research methods have emerged within

museums as a means to enact the theoretical reflections of the new museology. These attempt to directly challenge the disciplinary foundations of museums.

2.4. Collaboration in Museums

Relationship building with particular communities has been seen by some museums as essential for meeting a mission for social change. This movement is intimately related to the new museology's aim of justifying their purpose, and includes particular aims such as decolonisation of museums and social justice especially for source or descendant communities in anthropology and archaeology museums. By at least the 1980s museums were inviting collaborations with indigenous groups to advise about exhibition and programme development (Ames 1992; Conaty 1989; Janes 1987; see Janes and Conaty 2005: 43–45). In many cases, relationships have been established due to political imperatives, including legislation such as NAPGRA in the US and the Canadian Task Force on First Peoples and Museums (Hill and Nicks 1992; Nicks 1992). Other major factors were social movements which encouraged museums to adopt more ethical and political stances (Phillips 2011: 24–26), and internal theoretical developments which questioned the authority of disciplines to speak about 'others' (see Ames 1999, 2002; Clifford 1988; Lonetree 2012; Marcus and Fischer 1986; Simpson 2001).

The aim of establishing partnerships is to produce mutual benefits for all parties, and in theory to share knowledge and authority over exhibitions, storage and other museum functions (Peers and Brown 2003: 2–3). Essentially, this involves allowing others to exert power and expand expertise. Collaborations vary in their goals and longevity, and individuals and groups within collaborations may vary in their commitment (Peers and Brown 2003: 3; Phillips 2003: 161). The products of collaborations include: exhibitions serving audiences who have previously been marginalised (e.g. indigenous or other minority groups), and presented according to culturally appropriate worldviews or values (e.g. on the basis of cultural rules); the presentation of alternative worldviews to wider museum audiences, and; culturally appropriate storage and care of artefacts (Lavine and Karp 1991; Lonetree and Cobb 2008; Peers and Brown 2003). The National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI)

was established as an institution with collaboration between museologists and indigenous communities in North and South America at its core (see Cobb 2005; Isaac 2007; Lonetree 2012; Lonetree and Cobb 2008). Through collaboration, it is not necessarily the heritage that is important but what it can do for the community (see Crooke 2008: 423), and in this way it begins to humanise the disciplines that underlie museums.

The greatest shift evidently has been between museums and indigenous communities in the US and Canada. However, collaborations with local communities have also occurred in the UK, often in the context of educational outreach or diversifying access (e.g. Exell 2013; Golding 2009; Modest 2013; Sandell 2003). Museums usually intend to provide positive outcome for communities through these. For instance, the Open Museum project administrated by the Glasgow Museums Service, allowed communities to create their own exhibitions in local venues for their own purposes, using reserve collections from the Glasgow Museums. It is claimed that communities develop confidence, independence and self-esteem by participating in the production of exhibitions (Dodd and Sandell 2001: 13). The Reciprocal Research Network, a multi-institutional project, involved the Musqueam Indian Band, the Stó:lō Tribal Council and the U'mista Cultural Society in the management of Northwest Coast material heritage data (Iverson et al. 2008; Rowley et al. 2010; see Chapter 3.9.1). Smaller museums have also developed relationships with overseas indigenous communities. For instance, the Marischal Museum in Aberdeen repatriated a headdress to the Horn Society of the Kainai First Nation of Southern Alberta, Canada, an act which led to an exhibition on indigenous rights and repatriation in Aberdeen (Curtis 2008, 2010). The University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Archaeology also established collaborations with indigenous communities and descendent communities to enable more diverse representations to surround collections (Herle 2008; Srinivasan et al. 2010). Following these initiatives, social media has been more recently identified as a tool by which to collaborate with online audiences more broadly, to not only meet a museums' perceived role as an educational institution but also to afford interpretative authority to a larger range of people (see Chapters 3 and 4).

2.4.1. The Decentred Museum

Hooper-Greenhill (2000: 142–148) argues for the emergence of the 'post-museum' instead of the modernist museum, which engages in a more politicised public sphere, and sees museum practice as being about relationships rather than objects and buildings. For many museologists the process of negotiation is as important as the products produced, such as exhibitions (Ames 2003; Clifford 1997). The concept of the post-museum also implies a rupture with the modernist museum, and contains implications about the authority of the museum. Thus, it is an important discursive technique. Especially over the last decade, museum studies scholars have variously focused on community involvement, audience studies, exhibition development, storage, outreach and education developments—all these are seen to challenge the traditional function and existence of museums as disciplinary institutions. Yet the extent to which museums have actually allowed for the dispersal of authority beyond disciplines like archaeology and anthropology is unclear, even if many individual projects have been variably successful at achieving particular aims.

As in archaeology, collaborative museology varies in its methodology. For instance, multivocal approaches may be adopted, wherein museum staff and community participants present multiple perspectives on a particular subject, such as conveying a sense of alienation about displaced objects from their original contexts of use, usually in relation to an exhibition. Such an approach often intends a visitor to consider their own historical positioning and create awareness of a tension between the disciplinary interpretation and other points of view (Phillips 2003: 160–162). Alternatively, a community-based approach more clearly decentres authority in that the community designs and organises a project, using the museum as a venue and staff as facilitators (Phillips 2003: 163–168). The former, multivocal approach, where more viewpoints are simply represented, is not enough to achieve forms of social justice or decentre the benefits of museum practice. It may be suitable in some contexts, but collaboration at all stages of a project, including planning, determining outcomes, delivering an exhibition and its associated programmes, are at least required for this to be claimed (see Bouquet 2001; Kahn 2000; Peers and Brown 2003). For a community, collaboration means recognition of their expertise and importance. They often enter a relationship with a museum with an expectation of tangible community benefits and a

long-term partnership (Ames 1994; Boast 2011; Clifford 1997). However, collaborations often appear to lack longevity, and it is not entirely clear who benefits the most from projects: the existing beneficiary (i.e. museum) or external communities.

It cannot be argued that museums have broadly adopted collaborative practice to an extent which impacts the entire institution, a few exceptions aside, such as the NMAI, the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, and the Bunjilaka Cultural Centre at the Melbourne Museum.[3] For collaboration to be effective at shifting authority and how benefits accrue, it needs to be sustained and comprehensive across the institution rather than being confined to a short-term project addressing a particular defined problem (Scott and Luby 2007). However, many projects do seem to be ephemeral, depending upon personal relationships, involving motivated individuals within a museum and in communities, rather than being codified in a museum's authorised mission or *raison d'être*. Furthermore, museums generally fail to serve the priorities of particular communities, above their own needs and the general visitors'; research and knowledge is the primary good in a collaboration, since the ultimate aim is to produce an exhibition and serve the institution's collection (Ames 1999). In this way it is difficult to say museums have generally moved beyond an approach akin to 'consultation' (see Boast 2011).

Many museologists have referred to the creation of 'contact zones'. Within museum spaces, physical or virtual, contact zones reference the interaction between at least two cultures. They are generally seen as a concept to think about the fruitful collaborations or discussions between the museum and other communities, around collections and particular issues (Boast 2011; Clifford 1997). Contact zones allow for marginalised communities to articulate their views, and to enlighten the dominant society centred within the museum. Furthermore, this creates a learning process for museum professionals, allowing them to see the political implications of their work (Peers and Brown 2003: 8). The concept is a problematic one, however. The idea of the contact zone as originally conceptualised was to draw attention to persistently

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[3] However, it is noted that all of these museums have been subject to critical analysis (see Lonetree 2006, 2012; McCarthy 2007; Simpson 2006).

unequal power relations (see Chapter 5.3.1.). It is a place where marginalised groups can speak in response to a powerful centre, participating on their terms, not jointly constructed ones or their own. As such, the relevance of a relationship is always defined in terms of the centre (Pratt 1992: 38). This means the museum, by bringing in new discussions around collections, may simply appropriate these as resources, for the benefit of the museum's permanent catalogue, and in turn reasserting the traditional colonial function of the museum: to appropriate (see Boast 2011).

Ames (1994) has also pointed out that pluralism or universalism in museums serves to support the centre. Indeed, a major criticism of the National Museum of the American Indian has been its reassertion of the traditional role of the museum: the collection and exhibition of Native culture (and one of the largest collections at that) for a largely non-Native audience (McMullen 2009). This continues to reflect the early-twentieth century mission of George Gustav Heye (on whose collection the NMAI is largely based) to "gather and to preserve for students everything useful in illustrating and elucidating the anthropology of the aborigines of the Western Hemisphere" (McMullen 2009: 77; also see Brady 2009; Lujan 2005). True collaboration, in which autonomy is given to others, means that the West and its institutions are seen as one of many cultures, rather than at the centre (Ames 1994; Todd 1992a, 1992b; also see Conaty and Carter 2005). Collaboration thus requires: "a decentering of those in control (ourselves) and of their (our) institutions, and therefore, in a real sense, a certain loss of power and privilege" (Ames 1994: 15). Thus, collaborative practices as currently conceptualised (even 21 years after Ames' quote) may serve to primarily benefit the centre; despite good intentions, museums continue to exist as appropriative institutions.

2.5. Conclusions

Participation has been considered a cure for the ills of discipline-based practices. This concept underlies the range of public involvement, from outreach and educational projects, to consultation, and to more genuinely collaborative ones. Collaboration is argued to decentre authority, bringing the perspectives and concerns from the margins to the centre, while simultaneously reducing the authority of the discipline and

producing various benefits for the collaborating communities. However, a major challenge is that all participatory and collaborative projects are short-term, even ephemeral projects, dependent upon the personal motivation and commitment of individuals within the various collaborative communities (including the disciplinary community). Thorough assessment of the long-term impact of projects has been eschewed, alongside an analysis of where most benefit actually accrues—within the central institution or the collaborating community.

Given the many polemics and case studies about the social relevancy of museums, there exists an institutional uncertainty and insecurity about the roles and functions of the contemporary museum. This is surely related not only to the external sociopolitical movements that have impacted museums, as well as postmodern disciplinary reflections, but also to government and wider social demands for publicly funded institutions to demonstrate their value and impact. The most recent way museums have attempted to position themselves as more broadly beneficial is through the adoption of the web, and social media more recently still. The idea of participation is also inherent to this movement, reinforced by an apparent acceptance that the technology itself is inherently conducive to participation and more democratic involvement. The next chapter assesses the reasons for the adoption of the web within museums and demonstrates the existence of a positive discourse surrounding the presumed 'new' nature of the medium, matching the positive discourse of participation emerging from the new museology. Three points of primary concern are subsequently raised: 1) The factors that prevent equitable access to and use of the internet; 2) The transference of pre-existing structures of authority and expertise to online spaces, and; 3) The disparity in the accrual of resources between the public and disciplinary centres like museums.

CHAPTER 3

MUSEUMS AND THE WEB:

UTOPIAN THEORIES

3.1. Introduction

"While internet use may hold out the possibility of emancipation, we must at the same time be aware of how it might create new mechanisms of suppression" (Slevin 2000: 109)

Throughout the 1980s and most of the 1990s, visions of technology-driven social and political change prevailed in writings about the internet. To a great extent, they persist in polemics about the social web. On the one hand, dystopian viewpoints held that a situation of extreme discord, chaos and greed would prevail, with benefits only accruing for those who could afford the technology (see Nye 2004). On the other hand, utopian interpretations of the impact of technology upon society generally prevailed. Utopians often envisage a dramatic democratisation of participation in society which challenges the monopoly of existing sociopolitical elites over communications media. Furthermore, more egalitarian, or heterarchical, social and political spheres are forged through the broadened access to educational (e.g. libraries) and economic resources (e.g. job training) (e.g. Barlow 1996; Rash 1997; Rheingold 1994; also see Ess 2002; Thurburn and Jenkins 2003: 12). A utopian perspective considers the potential for internet technologies to improve not only communications between people but also many people's quality of life, regardless of pre-existing cultural or sociodemographic determinants such as age, class or race (Gunkel 2003; van Dijk 2012: 3). However, media theorists have asserted that utopian and dystopian views are in fact prominent throughout media history, and are not unique to discourse about the internet (Griffiths 2007; Morozov 2011: xiii–xvii; Thurburn and Jenkins 2003).

Media theorists now tend to assert a more syntopic view of the interaction between technology and society, with technological determinism and essentialism both being challenged. Instead of seeing technology imbued with its own agency, it is now

considered to be largely a social construction, dependent upon existing social values and structures (e.g. Feenberg 1999: 101–105; Katz and Rice 2002). Therefore, the adoption of web technologies cannot be accompanied by the facile assumption that democratisation will lead from this. Despite these theoretical developments, however, it is recognised that the development of social media technologies prompted a reinforcement of strong utopian, and often deterministic, thinking amongst some media scholars. Such thinking has also been renewed within museum studies, matching well with the movement towards public participation espoused by the new museology.

The term 'Web 2.0' was first coined in 1999 (DiNucci 1999) but came to prominence in 2004 when its main principles were described by O'Reilly (2005). Web 2.0 platforms are considered to be fundamentally different from Web 1.0 technologies in that the former elicit the participation, collaboration and contribution of information by individual internet users whereas the latter afford only the ability for individuals to be recipients of information with little power to produce or disseminate their own content (Jenkins 2006: 3). In this sense, Web 2.0 has resulted in a situation, or, for some, a paradigm shift, wherein users become engaged 'citizens', who can both produce and consume unlike in previous 'technological revolutions' like radio and television (see Atton 2004; Bruns 2005, 2006, 2008; Papacharissi 2010; Shirky 2008). In Web 2.0 platforms, the contributions of individual users are further consumed, altered, extended or manipulated by other users. A salient feature espoused by proponents of Web 2.0 is the increased opportunities available to interact and collaborate with other internet users, rather than all consumers being considered an anonymous and passive mass audience. As such, the various social platforms based upon Web 2.0 technologies are now usually referred to as 'social media'.

It is important to note, however, that some practices enabled by social media, such as crowdsourcing, are often framed in terms of their benefits for business practices. Thus, social media 'crowds' were referred to in an early definition of crowdsourcing as a "large network of potential laborers" (Howe 2006) while others saw the crowd as producing profitable solutions for businesses (such as a new product design) at a relatively low cost (Tapscott and Williams 2008). Despite the business-roots of aspects of the social web, commentators have argued that the social web also

empowers individuals, many of whom may be marginalised in some way, to participate in politics and culture on a more equal platform (e.g. Castells 2007, 2009; Jenkins 2006; Kahn and Kellner 2004; Reynolds 2006; Shirky 2008). Most influential is that the web affords the ability for large groups of people with shared interests to easily come together for a particular social objective.

This has been most strongly challenged by Morozov (2011: 179–204; also see Morozov 2013) who, in relation to online political protesting, argues that it is overly idealistic to see the web as being considerably different to past technologies in its ability to enable people to challenge authoritarian governments. The web cannot be treated as a 'quick fix' for various sociopolitical issues, and putting faith in technology for doing so may actually cause particular harm to the possibility of future aspirations and inspirations (Morozov 2013: 5; Fuchs 2014b: 253– 256). Despite such arguments within the wider new media studies literature, museum studies scholars, museum and heritage professionals, as well as archaeologists, have broadly embraced social media as a tool to meet a number of laudable aims.

Many of these have been similar to the key outcomes of the 'offline' work advanced by museologists over the past few decades. This includes attempts to be more responsive to local, descendant and source communities; conducting more general or targeted outreach projects; repatriation efforts, and; related issues such as addressing histories of social and political marginalisation, and the appropriative and colonial nature of museum collecting and interpretation. Within museum studies, it is evident that a high degree of utopian thinking has generally prevailed (e.g. Clough 2013: 2; Kelly 2013: 68). What remains particularly lacking is a critical analysis of how technology use relates to existing power asymmetries. Indeed, it is not enough to assume that technology will act for us and make us "feel political" (Dean 2005: 70). Not taking this on board means we actually fail to become political and to effect change. This is intimately related to the problems faced by the asserted shift towards participatory theory and practice in new museology and the more collaborative forms of public archaeology. As such, this chapter offers a critical assessment of the assertions of museum scholars and professionals, informed by the more critical and theoretical arguments that have emerged within new media and internet studies, as well as the relevant issues, theories and practices emerging from various public

archaeologies highlighted in the previous chapter. This will inform an empirical study of the impact of social media participation on museums and their online audiences. The ultimate aim is to provide theoretically and empirically informed conclusions about the impact of participation, and offer fruitful avenues for more effective work.

3.2. The Challenges of Social Media for Museums

Social media poses several fundamental challenges to museums as traditional cultural authorities. Due to the assumption that the social web creates an egalitarian platform for authorship, wherein users are both consumers and producers (e.g. Bruns 2005, 2006), many scholars have posited that museums' adoption of the social web will aid in the subversion and decentring of traditional structures of authority and disciplinary regimes of expertise. Ellis and Kelly (2007), for instance, claimed that "Web 2.0 puts users and not the organization at the centre of the equation". Similarly, Clough (2013: 2) more recently argued that "coupled with social media's powers of connection, digital technology exponentially increases the capacity of individuals to engage with our [museums'] collections and upload their own stories". Kelly (2010: 407–408) sums up the prevailing trend of discourse in her statement that "museums should be prepared to let go of their authority, acknowledge the self-correcting reality of collective knowledge, take risks, and be open to interpretation" (also see Adair et al. 2011; Kelly 2013; Mann et al. 2013; Wong 2012). These lines of argument indicate the assumption that the use of social media at once prompts museums to be more responsive to their audiences while also affording those audiences interpretive authority over their resources.

By decentring the museum (literally in terms of the dispersed geographical locations from which online museums can be accessed, as well in terms of interpretive authority) in this way, a number of key, inter-related arguments have been advanced: 1) That museum content will become more accessible to existing museum-visiting audiences by allowing access to online information before, during, after or independent to a physical visit to a museum. Moreover, museums may engage new audiences, either those previously disinterested in museums, or those marginalised or excluded from museums for other reasons; 2) Museums can more effectively achieve

educational missions because the web is a medium conducive to experimenting with currently prevailing theories of learning in museums, especially those concerned with constructivism, identity and meaning-making; 3) Museums are improving their collections information through affording online users the authority to interpret their collections. For instance, contextual information or experienced-based information may be added to the information surrounding objects or collections, and; 4) Museums can aid in a broader shift towards a more egalitarian society and redress the existence of museums as appropriative and colonial collecting institutions. Instead, within the new (online/offline) museum everyone has the opportunity to engage with cultural heritage collections and the issues that surround them, and thus museums can become a hub for participation among a diversity of individuals on an equal platform.

However, the prevailing positive and utopian discourses have seemingly discouraged more balanced and critical analyses on the impact of the social web, particularly its long-term impact on the museum as an institution that is embedded both in online networks and offline sociopolitical contexts. A growing body of research within internet and new media studies has pointed to the ways in which the internet may in fact reinforce multiple and pre-existing kinds of inequality and the marginalisation of certain groups in society. The approach of media archaeologists particularly informs this chapter (e.g. Bolter and Grusin 1999; Huhtamo 1996, 2011). It allows for an identification of the extent to which themes evident in the older medium of the discipline-based physical museum (e.g. appropriation, colonialism, disciplinary authority and expertise), continue to be maintained or are transcended or transformed by the use of newer media (e.g. 'Web 1.0' and social media technologies) and the associated themes of heterarchy, decentred authority and the equitable accrual of benefits amongst different communities.

In the rest of this chapter, an analysis is offered of the main impacts of the internet, and social media more specifically, that have been discussed within the interdisciplinary field of new media and internet studies. The kinds of web platforms that museums have adopted are then discussed in more detail. It is possible to group these discussions into two primary areas: firstly, the impact of the internet on inter-personal relationships, and, secondly, the nature of the internet as a platform for participation in cultural and political spheres.

3.3. Web 2.0 and Interpersonal Relationships

Early psychological approaches to the analysis of computer-mediated communications often emphasised the limitations of digital media compared to face-to-face communications, with many scholars subscribing to the 'cues-filtered out' approach (e.g. Culnan and Markus 1987; Handy 1995; Kiesler and Sproull 1992). This posits that internet communications diminish non-verbal cues (like facial expressions), immediate conversational feedback, and contextual information about the status and position of individuals. Proponents of the cues-filtered out approach therefore emphasise the anonymising and deindividualising impacts of digital media on communications (Baym 2002). Following this, some have argued that individuals spending large amounts of time on the internet will become alienated from society and politics, therefore disenabling them from effective participation and communication with others (e.g. Baym 1998; Kroker and Weinstein 1994; Nie 2001), and breaking their ties with local (i.e. offline) environments (Bugeja 2005). The implications of digital communications have tended to be more balanced since the late 1980s, with a wealth of literature emerging during the 1990s. For example, Walther (1992) demonstrated that digital communication methods like email are actually conducive to social and emotional communications in many situations. Furthermore, online social groups may offer a strong sense of belonging for individuals (Baym 2002; Turkle 1996), with the potential for 'strong ties' (i.e. relationships with frequent, friendly and long-term interaction) to develop between individuals (Wellman and Gulia 1999: 176).

However, some have argued that social media communications contribute to a broad-scale 'flattening' of communication quality, resulting in a reduced complexity of dialogue and information exchange, and an increased level of ephemeral communications (e.g. Wittel 2001). The notion of 'phatic' communication can characterise many online interactions. Phatic communications simply aim to establish a 'mood' of sociability as a means of maintaining social connections, rather than being a method by which to exchange meaningful information (Miller 2008; Vetere et al. 2005; also see Licoppe and Smoreda 2005; Okabe 2004). For instance, phatic talk may take the form of simple comments about the weather or an off-hand comment

about an event. Following Huyssen's (2000: 25) notion of a "society of experience", Murthy (2012: 33–35) also points out that communications increasingly reflect transient or superficial reflections upon events and experiences. An important aim of this type of communication is to test the status of a relationship with another user in the communication channel, for example by confirming a particular user is still attending to utterances (Vetere et al. 2005). Recipients of a message may in turn choose not to directly participate in a conversation although they may 'feel' like they are participating by reading messages (Boyd 2009; Boyd et al. 2010).

Complicating this characterisation somewhat, much communication involves non-textual information. For instance, Snapchat, a more recently popular smartphone application ('app'), allows users to send images to each other with manipulations like annotations. Other mobile and web applications like Whatsapp, Instagram and Tumblr, further offer alternatives to the social media platforms many internet scholars focus on. These apps are evidently growing in popularity while Facebook especially is falling in popularity amongst teenagers (Miller 2013; Watson 2013). The apparent superficiality or 'phatic' nature of many social media communications could be considered an active retreat from surveillance, especially parents and friends. Phatic communication is further more complex, especially on social networking sites, such as Twitter, perhaps a partial result of a collapse of the boundaries between public and private information, of which users are often well aware (Boyd et al. 2010; Papacharissi 2012: 1992). Thus, communication on social networking sites may be an attempt to maintain communication channels with a broader network composed variously of acquaintances, colleagues, family, friends and strangers. Indeed, a number of scholars argue that performances on social networks are complex and polysemic, in order to be relevant to a user's different audiences (Boyd 2010, 2014: 47 –50; Marwick and Boyd 2011; Papacharissi 2010, 2012).

Content provided by individual users or institutions are also acted upon by others. Thus, we see authorial interventions in the form of comments on Facebook posts or 'retweets' (i.e. sharing another author's tweet on one's own Twitter page), which in turn have the potential to shift the meaning of the content. For example, on Twitter, the action of retweeting can serve a number of functions (Boyd et al. 2010): as a curatorial act to inform or entertain an audience; for personal curation (e.g.

bookmarking) purposes; to mark a recognition of the value of a tweet; to indicate agreement with somebody else's opinion; to initiate a conversation; as an act of friendship or support; to draw attention to content that is perceived as valuable but less visible; or for self-promotion (e.g. an attempt to gain the attention of participants in a conversation, as other users can see which users have retweeted a particular tweet). Just as content production serves several communication channels, retweets are also involved in several conversational contexts (by implicating new audiences, for example) and may lose reference to the original meaning(s) intended by the author of the tweet (see Marwick and Boyd 2011). Boyd et al. (2010) used a hypothetical tweet ("I like piña coladas") to demonstrate this. Here, it would be unclear whether a retweet means the user agrees with the original author and also likes piña coladas or whether the sentiment is simply being relayed (Boyd et al. 2010). Although a humorous example, it points to a key issue in the ubiquity of social networking sites and participatory web platforms: that authorship appears as multiple and tentative since other users can intervene in the meaning of a message and appropriate that message in various ways. It follows that it is essential to consider the nuances of interaction in museums' engagement with their social media followers; it is not only museums' practices that require attention in order to see the impact of social media participation, but also their audiences.

As interpersonal relations are impacted in various ways by digital communication technologies, several pertinent questions arise for museums. Firstly, in what ways are museums' authorship challenged on social networking sites, and what audiences do they address? Secondly, are museums addressing the various contexts of use that determine the ways in which individuals communicate online? This necessitates an empirical study of the actual usage of social networking sites, alongside a theoretical and critical consideration of the various ways in which digital communication technologies may be exclusive and a barrier to democratic communication, and in which situations they may be more effectively democratising and equitable.

3.4. Social Media and Participation

Computer-mediated communication and other digital technologies are variously considered as conducive to enhancing participation within democracies, or as causing or exacerbating trends towards non-participation. This debate is particularly relevant for museums, which are increasingly concerned with eliciting participation within society (see Black 2012; Cameron and Kelly 2010; Janes 2009; Sandell 2002). For instance, Putnam (1995, 2000) documented a decline in civic engagement in the US from the 1960s and argued that the impact of digital technologies on individuals' free time was a major cause of this trend. He asserted that the decline of civic participation may be related to the monopolisation of leisure time by technologies such as television and later the internet (Sander and Putnam 2010).

Although the argument for a decline in civic participation has been challenged by a number of political scholars (e.g. Andersen et al. 2006) the assertions that digital technologies negatively impact participation in political and social spheres of life have been paralleled more broadly by internet and new media theorists. In large part these assertions are informed by research indicating that computers flatten interpersonal cues, diminish social skills, and cause a withdrawal from face-to-face communications (e.g. Kraut et al. 1998; Kroker and Weinstein 1994; Nie 2001). Conversely, another line of thinking maintained that the internet could help to revitalise the public sphere (see Rheingold 1994; Schwartz 1995). Much of this thinking was based on McLuhan's (1994 [1964]; also see Ess 2002) idea of the 'global village', involving a collapse of both the physical distance and time needed to communicate information and to connect with others around a topic of conversation. Additionally, it has been argued that the existing political elite's control over media channels could be over-turned and democracy could be revitalised as every citizen is able to broadcast openly and equally with every other citizen (see Rheingold 1994). The internet may thus help to encourage collaborative relationships between different groups of people (rather than just a mass of individuals), instead of authority being organised in a hierarchical manner; it is these networks that help to resist and subvert traditional elite dominances.

This discourse persists in various polemics about the potentials of the social web. Social media is generally considered to represent a fundamental shift in how information is produced and disseminated on the internet; it is often characterised as a medium allowing for all audiences to be producers and listeners at the same time (see Bruns 2006; Jenkins 2006; Lievrouw 2006, 2010; Shirky 2008). Much popular discourse has focused on whether social networking sites may aid people to become more informed about issues and encourage participation in social and political spheres, especially during election periods (e.g. Dickinson 2008; also see Bennett et al. 2011). For example, in a study of the US 2010 mid-term elections, it was found that internet users were over twice as likely to attend a political meeting than non-internet users. They were also over 50% more likely to have voted or intended to have voted. In addition, 78% of internet-users attempted to influence the votes of others (Hampton et al. 2011). In other cases, citizens have been afforded the ability to set government agendas or influence topics of debate (Brabham 2012; van Dijk 2012). For instance, in the United Kingdom, the topics of online petitions receiving over 100,000 signatures are considered for debate in Parliament (HM Government 2013). Twitter has been associated with large-scale social and political activism, most notably the anti-government movements which occurred in the Middle East and North Africa in 2010 and 2011 (the 'Arab Spring'). Many called these protests 'Twitter revolutions' (Beaumont 2011). News tended to emerge on Twitter before the mainstream media outlets, meaning it was a useful resource for journalists. However, it is recognised that the actual reach of tweets within the countries affected may have been minimal owing to the small percentage of the population using the platform, although Twitter served to greatly enhance recognition of on-going events amongst a more global audience (Murthy 2013: 92–114; also see Morozov 2009; Rosen 2011).

As with research on the influence of the internet on inter-personal relationships, studies on the democratising potentials of the internet have more recently moved away from technological determinist arguments, instead emphasising the importance of situational factors (e.g. Gil de Zúñiga 2009; Prior 2007). A number of studies have indicated that the demographic range of people who participate in politics has not been expanded through internet initiatives (Brundidge and Rice 2009; van Dijk 2012). Furthermore, the supposedly more participatory social media platforms have not replaced the previous Web 1.0 platforms. Both continue to exist and indeed, 'Web

2.0' platforms may be used in decidedly 'Web 1.0 ways', that is, in non-participatory, authoritative and exclusive ways (see Barassi and Treré 2012; Fuchs et al. 2010). This being the case it is essential to consider in more detail the various barriers to access and effective participation (see Chapter 4.3).

Inequality of participation is not only a matter of unequal access to technology but is also influenced by how traditional elites control platforms of participation. This has been a particularly under-studied area, but it can be observed that pre-existing elites have appropriated supposedly heterarchical internet platforms such as blogs (e.g. Cammaerts and Carpentier 2009; Meraz 2009) as well as a broad commercialisation and corporatisation of Web 2.0 platforms, such as the purchase of MySpace by News Corporation (2005), Blogspot (2003) and YouTube (2006) by Google, and Flickr (2005) and Tumblr (2013) by Yahoo!. Indeed, Web 2.0 was originally a business-oriented concept (Howe 2006; O'Reilly 2005; Tapscott and Williams 2008) and this has been realised in debates about the ethics of the commercial value of user-generated content (Everitt and Mills 2009; Sandoval and Fuchs 2010; van Dijck and Nieborg 2009). Moreover, there are many less obvious ways in which participation by broad online publics may be limited, especially in the extent to which they may impact institutions and cultural authorities like museums. This includes the ways in which non-discipline-based content is prevented from having permanent impacts on cultural archives and databases, and the maintenance of appeals to pre-existing structures of authorised expertise (see Chapter 5).

This debate indicates the importance in this thesis of considering the intersections of online and offline spaces. Online engagement may be impacted by a number of pre-existing sociodemographic predictors as well as by individual and situational factors such as motivation and skill (see Chapter 4). It is vital to question the extent to which museums are considering these factors as they determine how effectively they are achieving the aims of becoming more responsive and inclusive to a wider demographic than seen in the visitor statistics of offline museums. Moreover, it should be considered how internet technologies may be co-opted by museums, and whether pre-existing practices of knowledge production and information dissemination (resembling hierarchical structures of power) are maintained or subverted. This particularly requires a consideration of the extent to which museums

invite participation on an equal basis and how groups may be prevented from equal participation.

3.5. A History of the Internet in Museums

Individuals working within the museum sector began to be more aware of what internet technologies might be able to achieve during the 1980s and early 1990s. Newsgroups and listservs were being used to some extent, but legislation passed by the US Congress in 1991 served to encourage wider thinking (in the US, at least) about the adoption of internet technologies. This was encouraged especially by the Museum Computer Network which served as an advisory organisation to the American Association of Museums (Jones 2007; see Guralnick 1995a, 1995b; Hermann 1995; Johnston and Jones-Garmil 1995). Many museums started offering content on the internet from the mid-1990s, at which point the International Council of Museums had also started to highlight how the web could be used to further museums' service in society by distributing information about their collections and programmes online, and international conferences such as 'Museums and the Web' were also established (Parry 2007: 93).

The early use of the web during the mid-1990s depended on a number of pioneers, such as the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography and the University of California Berkeley Museum of Paleontology, which created two of the earliest museum websites (Jones 2007: 21). Although the former provided only very basic information about the museum, the latter offered an online exhibition (Gill 1996). Similar museum websites rapidly followed these, with particular focuses on the provision of high-resolution images and connection to collection databases, such as the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's archival and photographic database and the Fine Art Museums of San Francisco's online image database (Jones 2007: 22). Internet usage was more mainstream by 1999, with a number of museums beginning to develop large amounts of online content.

Museums, as discussed in the previous chapter, have been established as cultural authorities in the interpretation of cultural heritage. However, a prevailing view is that

digital technologies can subvert this authority (Witcomb 2007: 46–47). For over two decades, commentators have highlighted the various educational benefits of utilising web technologies, especially the ability to reach out to and respond to the demographics who tend not to visit museums, and younger audiences, who want to use the information harboured by museums in 'new ways' (Cannell 2015; Lydecker 1993; Russo et al. 2009; Sumption 2001; Thomas and Friedlander 1995). Walsh (1997) argued that museums traditionally adopt an 'unassailable voice', an authoritative discourse that serves to exclude alternative interpretations or a lack of consensus in interpreting collections. He further argued that the internet does not easily translate this authority. Instead, the web is posited as an interactive, communicative medium which demands dynamic or dissonant interpretations around objects. In addition, the use of digital technologies, either on the web, or integrated into physical exhibition spaces, was thought to enhance access to information as visitors were afforded the authority to create non-linear pathways between aspects of a collection, which in turn had educational advantages (Gill 1996). Such discourses see the old medium of the museum exhibition being pitted against new media, with inherent transformative properties.

The argument that the internet can enable museums to more effectively (or at least efficiently) achieve museum educational goals, and particularly reach new audiences, still prevails, informed by more recent theories on the nature of museum learning. For example, Kelly and Russo (2010; also see Blasco 2013; Mann et al. 2013) argue that the web can support social learning, allowing people to engage in joint problem solving and engage audiences in all aspects of the museum process. The internet may even serve to decentralise the act of museum visitation, as content from the museum can be accessed from various contexts in diverse geographical locations, as opposed to the previous situation of the museum disseminating information to audiences in central, on-site museum contexts (Parry 2007: 94–95). However, the increasing ubiquity of the use of digital technologies in museums, and especially the widespread adoption of social media technologies, has been considered to pose a fundamental challenge to the traditional authority of museums. Many have argued that online audiences become co-creators of knowledge with the museum since they are afforded the ability to aid in the interpretation of collections (e.g. through sharing knowledge) (e.g. Trant 2008; also see Clough 2013). In some cases this may aid broader efforts of

the museum to be more responsive to other communities, thus extending museum space into more democratic realms (Witcomb 2007: 35), and possibly serving goals such as decolonisation.

Although many scholars posit that social media technologies can bring a subversion of museums' authority, few reflect upon the observation that change depends upon the contexts of use (Parry 2007: 4–5). For example, museums attempted to further educational aims and 'outreached' to traditionally non-visiting communities beyond the museum decades before the adoption of the internet, such as through loan box schemes, enquiry services, handling sessions, multi-sited museums, eco-museum practices and numerous popular publications (Parry 2007: 96–97). Similarly, Parry (2007: 107–109) argues that visitors have been afforded a degree of interpretive authority through on-site museum features such as visitor books, comment boards, community galleries, and participation in focus groups and visitor evaluations. However, the ubiquity of social media technologies has appeared to set them aside as a means through which to achieve more effectively a mission of decentring the authority of museums and the benefits that accrue from engagement with cultural heritage. The following sections thus seek to critically analyse this situation by referring to the offline and online contexts of use that may undermine the more laudable aspirations of contemporary museums. The next section introduces the various internet platforms that have been adopted by museums and the kinds of participation that these enable.

3.6. Museums and the Web

Museums began to establish websites on a broad basis from the mid-1990s, and they were certainly mainstream by the end of the 1990s (Dietz 1998; Jones 2007: 22–24). Many early websites most commonly resembled an electronic brochure, comprising basic information about the museum (Jones 2007: 22–24; Sumption 2006). McKensie (1997) noted a divide between this kind of marketing website, which was essentially an attempt to increase visitor numbers in the physical museum by promoting the museum's collection and special events, and websites geared towards learning. Websites that encouraged learning tended to offer a greater amount of content, and

provided some degree of exploration of the collection. Often museums offered (for then) high-resolution images and some degree of access to collection databases and others developed online tours, which were often graphical representations of a physical museum gallery (Gill 1996). Many museums also supplemented the offline museum with information available on their websites. An early example of this is 'The White House Collection of American Crafts' developed by the National Museum of American Art. This contained audio-visual commentaries of the exhibition's curator talking about particular objects (Dietz 1998).

The information and marketing role for museum websites still persists, with most offering visiting information (such as opening hours and contact details) and advertisements of new exhibitions (including online shopping and ticket purchasing functions). However, it is the various experimental integration of web technologies, especially social media technologies, that have been argued to impact museums as cultural authorities and to aid educational missions. For instance, from an early stage, one popular feature was the self-curation of museum content enabled by personal digital collections (or bookmarking) systems. Bookmarking features have been adopted by numerous museums, and are still being introduced, with a recent example being the Rijksmuseum's (2013) 'Rijkstudio' application. The idea of the personalised digital collection was first developed in the mid-1990s and explored the notion of visitors constructing their own exhibitions and commenting upon it (Beardon and Worden 1995). One of the first major interfaces was associated with the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art's 'Points of Departure' exhibition, offering users the ability to create an online collection and make it publicly available for others to view online (Bowen and Fillippini Fantoni 2004; also see Marty et al. 2011). This allowed visitors to navigate a delineated collection of objects (variously a selection from a particular exhibit or the entire digitised collection of a museum) and bookmark objects from that collection.

The impact of the web arguably goes beyond those internet users who utilise museum resources through a web browser on their personal computers because in-gallery digital technologies now often incorporate web functionality. Many museums offer kiosks, which allow visitors to email e-cards or other exhibition content to themselves or someone they know, possibly with comments and annotations, as well as the ability

to access bookmarked content post-visit (Filippini Fantoni and Bowen 2007). For example, the National Maritime Museum's 'Compass Card' allows visitors to explore the collections information beyond the in-gallery provision by offering audio-visual content, which is intended to help visitors draw connections between objects (Romeo and Chiles 2012). By inserting the cards into 'pods' around the museum, visitors collect a set of stories which can then be viewed in a digital technology lounge in the museum, or post-visit through their own computers. They are also emailed a personalised e-book, the content of which is determined by the collected object stories. Other museums have installed stations through which to access social media platforms. The UCL Grant Museum of Zoology, for instance, installed iPads within the physical gallery for museum visitors to comment upon objects and engage in topics of discussion (Carnall et al. 2013; Gray et al. 2012).

It is often unclear how successful these platforms have been for achieving intended purposes despite general educational benefit being posited. Indeed, Filippini Fantoni and Bowen (2007, 2008) noted a lack of qualitative research of audiences, which would help to determine what impacts these features have for audiences. A number of commentators have argued that bookmarking is only successful for meeting specific educational needs, such as school visits (Filippini Fantoni and Bowen 2007; Marty et al. 2011: 212–213). One study indicated that most website visitors tend not to use the bookmarking features (<1%), and if they do create a profile or a personal collection they rarely return to view it again (Filippini Fantoni and Bowen 2007). This suggests that many visitors may have little expectation or need to curate museum collections for themselves. A number of museums have discontinued the personal collection systems they developed, with some while others have decided to target specific audiences like teachers with more defined educational outcomes in mind (Marty 2011: 216). A more recent example, the Tate's 'Albums' feature, allows the museum's website users to build collections from its artworks and archives and to share these with others. However, this has seen limited usage, largely amongst researchers, and the vast majority of users have not shared their albums (Fildes and Villaespesa 2015).

Very few studies have analysed the motivations behind visits to museum websites more generally. Filippini Fantoni et al. (2012), through a survey conducted on the

Indianapolis Museum of Art website, determined that there are five main reasons for visiting a museum website: 1) to plan a visit (50% of visitors); 2) to find out information to fulfil some personal interest (21% of visitors); 3) to find specific information, for either research or other professional purposes (16% of visitors); 4) to browse (10% of visitors), and; 5) to make a purchase, such as on the online museum store (2.6% of visitors). When the website was accessed on a mobile phone, visitors were even more likely to be planning a visit to the physical museum. Moreover, most of the visitors were likely to be locals or, if not, nationals. Although this study was limited as it considered only one museum, it points towards the necessity of considering the contexts of online usage. Otherwise, the assertions of museum commentators will remain polemics, lacking in evidence of actual visitor motivation to participate in online spaces.

3.6.1. Blogs

Many museums have adopted blogs, often hosting them on their own website on a section entitled 'community', or within a section highlighting staff profiles or the activities of research projects (e.g. British Museum 2015; Brooklyn Museum 2015;[1] Manchester Museum 2015; Tate 2015). Less often they are hosted externally on blog platforms such as Blogspot or Wordpress (e.g. Bowes Museum 2015; Burke Museum 2015; Cambridge University Museums 2015; National Media Museum 2015). An example of a blog hosted off-site is Dulwich OnView, which is run by volunteers of the Friends of the Dulwich Picture Gallery and the local community and comprises posts from both groups (Liu et al. 2010). It is technically independent from the museum, but receives institutional support and recognition. The blog posts are often on the subject of local events and the artistic work of local people. It is noted that the contributors to the blog are actually drawn from a wider demographic than the on-site visitors of the Dulwich Picture Gallery (Liu et al. 2010), which may hint towards the potentials of the web affording the opportunity for cultural institutions to benefit broader demographics than they would solely through offline activities. Since its

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[1] The Brooklyn Museum has not seen broad audiences visit its blog, so rebranded it as a blog targeted towards a professional museum technology community (Bernstein 2014).

establishment, the blog has received contributions from more senior staff members, and has been increasingly linked to from the main Dulwich Picture Gallery website (Liu et al. 2010).

An example of a museum staff blog is the Powerhouse Museum's curatorial blog. An 'object of the week' section has been produced since 2009, which is intended to engage online audiences in conversations about aspects of the collection and to highlight some of the stories that curators discover about objects (Dicker 2010). Contributions usually take the form of object profiles, personal stories about objects, and the provision of supplementary contextual information about objects, such as photographs and biographies. Through the commenting function, a number of cases have arisen in which the factuality of content has been debated between the museum and the audience (Dicker 2010). It is posited that blogs allow museums, and especially curators and senior staff, to engage in two-way communication channels with online users. Furthermore, it is asserted that blogs allow museums to highlight authorial voice, which in turn reveals the institution's 'human side' (Bernstein 2008; Dicker 2010).

3.6.2. Open Content and Wikis

Open content is an emerging topic of concern throughout the GLAM (Galleries, Libraries, Archives and Museums) sector, and the ways in which collections information can be shared and re-used on the internet is particularly debated. A number of issues regarding intellectual property and copyright are posed to museums wishing to make their content open. However, one of the primary advantages of this is the new knowledge about collections that may return to museums: it may serve to improve both the quality and quantity of resources around museum collections (AAM 2015: 9-17; NMC 2012: 24–26). In addition, many museums wish to make their content more accessible to meet goals such as widening the opportunities for participation with and learning from the collections of the cultural institution (see Russo et al. 2009).

A number of small-scale wiki projects have emerged, based upon making content open for revision and reuse.[2] For example, one intended outcome of the British Postal Museum and Archive Wiki project was that the collections of the British Postal Museum would be enhanced by online audiences sharing their knowledge about the museum's collection (Looseley and Roberto 2009). Some pages on the wiki were established to elicit responses from amateurs with very specific knowledge of topics such as philately (stamp and postal history) whilst others were intended to encourage a more general audience to contribute knowledge, such as pages on 'wartime letters'. In a similar project, a wiki was established to accompany the London Science Museum's 'Dan Dare and the Birth of Hi-Tech Britain' exhibition (Looseley and Roberto 2009). Within this wiki, a page was created for each object displayed in the exhibition. An introductory paragraph was re-used from the labels in the exhibition along with calls for participation enacted through text on the page such as "do you remember [this object]?", which were intended to offer a degree of scaffolding through which contributors could start to add their knowledge to the wiki. However, it was noted in both of these projects that participation was minimal and tended to spike during the opening period of the exhibition, and failed to encourage return visits. Contributors to the British Postal Museum wiki tended to be very interested amateur audiences, whereas the Science Museum wiki drew a more general audience. This difference may have been due to the way in which participation was elicited on the Science Museum wiki (Looseley and Roberto 2009).

In a larger-scale project, The Children's Museum of Indianapolis, and later the Derby Museum and Art Gallery in the UK, linked QR (quick response) codes displayed next to objects in its galleries to articles on those objects on Wikipedia.[3] It was argued that this enabled information to be shared with 'the world' while enabling in-gallery visitors to access further information on their smartphones (GLAM Wiki 2013). The Children's Museum also organised 'edit-a-thons', a joint effort between museum

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[2] Wikis, comprising numerous editable pages linked by hypertext, allow individuals with the appropriate permissions to edit individual pages. An editing tool is usually easily accessible on each page of the wiki, which may enable users to add, delete or modify page contents. Wikipedia, an encyclopaedia wiki, is undoubtedly the most well-known example of a wiki.

[3] QR codes resemble a barcode, and can be scanned using a smartphone. They usually open a link in the smartphone user's web browser.

curators and Wikipedia editors to improve or create articles related to particular topics. A number of museums have further hosted 'Wikipedians in Residence' as either volunteers or employees to improve the museum's offerings on Wikipedia (GLAM Wiki 2013).

In 2013, the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam opened its content to a degree not seen in other large museums to date: it made 125,000 copyright-free images of artworks available for online audiences to use as they wish. Through the museum's 'Rijkstudio' application, audiences can creatively manipulate or share the digital images, or use the images to purchase customised physical items, such as iPad covers or wallpapers (Gorgels 2013). Its collection is also available through an API (application programming interface) for developers. The Smithsonian Cooper-Hewitt Museum has also made a large step in this direction by releasing all of its collection data into the public domain with a Creative Commons Zero licence (which permits all forms of reuse) on the Github database repository (AAM 2015: 13). The database can be searched, and the raw data is also available for download in order to allow researchers to find connections within the collection or to develop application interfaces (NMC 2012: 25). In another example, the Google Art Project (Google Cultural Institute 2015) has aggregated open content from a number of partner museums, allowing users to interact with various content in one place (e.g. create a virtual museum). This project is suggestive of the kinds of multi-institutional collaborations that may be anticipated in the future. However, it is notable that all such projects assume interest amongst the public in curating or using museum collections. Such an assumption has also been carried through to museums' perceptions of social media users (see Chapter 8.3).

Broad initiatives such as the OpenGLAM project, run by the Open Knowledge Foundation have begun to emerge. This project encourages cultural institutions to make their content and data open. It is argued that the greatest advantage of this is to enhance public awareness of museum collections, accessible through the Wikimedia Commons and via search engines. Furthermore, open content is thought to enable online audiences to "participate in the curation and enrichment of their collections … enabling citizens across the world to enjoy… material, understand their cultural heritage and re-use this material to produce new works of art" (OpenGLAM n.d.).

The Getty Open Content program shares this belief, arguing that sharing and understanding art "makes the world a better place" (Cuno 2013; also see Stack 2013). As discussed, this belief is evidently widely held amongst museum studies scholars and professionals. Moreover, the use of open content has been considered a way of decentring authority, and facilitating and validating user-generated content around collections in order to improve collections information (see Davies et al. 2015; Phillips 2013).

The assertions about decentred authority have not been assessed critically. Yet a number of issues arise in relation to open content. Firstly, it is unclear whether the use of Wikipedia is suitable for objects other than particularly interesting or contentious artefacts; most objects would be unlikely to receive their own page because of Wikipedia's notability criteria (Wikipedia 2015). As an alternative, it may be possible to release content under Creative Commons re-use licences, allowing Wikipedia users to incorporate museum content on various pages (Looseley and Roberto 2009). Secondly, many museums, especially art museums containing works of modern art, are limited by copyright and licensing agreements with artists, especially for more recently produced objects (NMC 2012: 24–26). Finally, and perhaps with the most important implications, issues of intellectual property arise with sharing images of the cultural materials held by museums which were appropriated from socially and politically marginalised communities (e.g. Nicholas and Bannister 2004). This raises questions such as who benefits from open content: the museum, supported by its discourses of social relevance and democratisation, or particular communities and individuals who have previously been marginalised from the museum?

3.6.3. Social Networking Sites

There is a surprising dearth of academic literature about museums' use of social networking sites, such as Facebook, Twitter, and the more visual based social media sites, including Pinterest, YouTube, Instagram, and Tumblr. A number of commentaries (often short blog posts) have suggested the various ways social networking site accounts may be used effectively to ensure a stream of visitors and interaction, with many of these based on personal experiences and data from

particular museums (e.g. Bernstein 2008; Chan 2008a, 2008b; also see Holdegaard 2012). However, most of the literature relates to other uses of social media by museums, such as crowdsourcing and tagging projects, and a much smaller body of literature on other projects like interactive databases. Due to a lack of broad overviews of social media usage, as well as critical reflection on the broader contexts of internet usage, the motivations and outcomes of individuals using social networking sites is unclear. Elucidation is required for what prevailing strategies exist in museums' social media provisions, how these vary between different social networking platforms (Russo and Peacock 2009), and, further, whether these are commensurate with broader museum missions.

However, a number of reasons for museums' broad adoption of social networking sites may be identified, which are consonant with the claims of the impact of social media and internet posited within new media and internet studies. For example, social media is held as an egalitarian space for conversations between museums and other internet users, as well as between users, based around interesting content provided by museums. Conversations may be around particular objects or the wider issues that surround collections. It also claimed to serve as a way for museums to collect information about collections, such as supplementary media or corrective information provided from users (NMC 2010: 13–15). In addition to facilitating participatory communication channels, social networking sites may broaden access to the museum by engaging non-visiting audiences, many of which may not be able to physically travel to a museum (NMC 2011: 5). The value of social media for marketing purposes is also one that is often downplayed by commentators in the field of museum studies but actually seems to be one of the primary identified benefits of social media usage, allowing museums to reach large potential audiences. For example, in 2011 the American Museum of Natural History organised a series of private tours for their Twitter followers. The museum offered tickets for a private after-hours tour of 'The Brain: The Inside Story' exhibition on the condition that attendees tweeted and shared photographs from the visit. The 318 posts from the 92 people tweeting during the visit were calculated to have a combined potential reach of 200,000 people (i.e. through the tweets being read by the followers of those attending the event) (Preston 2011). This means the museum was promoting itself to a significantly large audience at very little cost. Through such practices, many commentators maintain that museums'

authority is challenged: through affording the ability of users to interpret and use collections information in myriad ways, but also through museums revealing the voices behind the decision making processes, and questioning their own authority and privileged position (e.g. Dixon 2013a; Kelly 2013; Russo et al. 2008; Wong 2011, 2012).

A few museums have also integrated social media technologies into the physical museum by displaying Twitter feeds, for example. This finds precedence in comment boards, which allow visitors to 'talk back' to a museum as well as enabling conversations between visitors around collections (Parry 2007: 107–109; Simon 2010: 107–110). For example, the UCL Grant Museum of Zoology integrated social media into the physical gallery by installing a series of iPads around the gallery in a project called QRator (Carnall et al. 2013; Gray et al. 2012). Each iPad displayed a question which elicited visitor responses, such as "is domestication ethical?", which could also be commented upon remotely using off-site personal computers, so that in theory an asynchronous conversation around an issue pertinent to the Grant Museum's collections could be held between on-site and remote visitors. During an eight-month period approximately 2800 visitor comments were produced. However, it was claimed that many visitors (59%) did not directly respond to the question at hand and were considered to be contributing interpretations about the museum as a whole. 41% of comments were characterised as 'on topic', 42% were 'about the museum' and 17% were 'noise' (i.e. irrelevant comments) (Gray et al. 2012). It was argued that the QRator project could, "empower visitors to scrutinise information in scientific museums, to highlight that there are areas of science without a clear, correct or incorrect interpretation, to politicise the museum, to give visitors a voice equivalent in status with that of the Museum", thus resulting in "co-constructed multiple public interpretations of museum objects" (Carnall et al. 2013: 59, 64). However, the above observations can actually be interpreted as showing that most visitors were not contributing to discussions in a meaningful way, and may serve to question the value of visitor contributions for museums as collecting institutions, as well as the extent to which social media platforms can maintain fruitful conversations between visitors. In the two papers discussed (Carnall et al. 2013; Gray et al. 2012) there are no records of actual visitor behaviour, and most importantly there is no record of the actual number of visitors who used the iPads; presumably, many would *not* have used them, further

questioning the assertions of this project. The impact of these in-gallery installations on the overall experience of visitors (e.g. their enjoyment or learning experience) to the physical gallery is unclear. Qualitative visitor research is required to determine the effect on visitor learning as well as the kind of motivations involved in participating by contributing comments.

Several multi-institution social media campaigns have been executed, which have attempted explicitly to engage a wider audience. Most visible has been the 'Ask a Curator' campaign, which was established in 2010 and which has been since held annually, using the Twitter hashtag '#askacurator'. It encourages members of the public to ask questions of museum curators during the day, who either commandeer the museum's social media feed for the day, or are relayed questions via social media managers. Similar campaigns have been run through the 'Culture Themes' network of professionals on Twitter, which occasionally promotes a particular hashtag, such as '#musmem' (to encourage the public to post tweets about their favourite 'museum memories') or '#museumselfie' (to encourage the public to post 'selfies' from museums). All of these are aimed to engage in "meaningful conversations" with online audiences (Blasco 2013) while the Ask a Curator campaign especially strives to "demystif[y] the profession of curatorship" (Dixon 2013a). There remains little qualitative or quantitative research on these campaigns, despite databases of tweets being made available (see Dixon 2013b). Therefore, arguments about decentring authority remain assumptions.

It seems that much discussion is internal to the profession, with museum professionals and those already engaged with museums on social media platforms using the hashtag, while 'new' audiences fail to be engaged. In fact, the claim has been advanced that social media campaigns such as Ask a Curator 'remind' the public that museums harbour expertise, and as such they are "one of a kind institutions" (Dilenschneider 2013). This is directly contradictory to the claim that they also allow for open, participatory kinds of authority. The assumed 'openness' of museums participating in such campaigns is certainly challenged by the ways in which some museums have ignored more challenging questions about repatriation or illegal antiquities posed to them through social media (Rocks-Macqueen 2013). Such instances indicate that offline disciplinary structures may well be replicated in digital

environments, and cannot be transcended simply by using social media with an assumption of its inherent democratising nature.

3.6.4. User-Generated Content

The adoption of the web has afforded new opportunities for encouraging the development of two-way communication channels between museums and their publics, as well as amongst publics. One simple way this has been achieved is through the inclusion of web forms on museum websites, and requests by the museum for the public to contribute content which has relevance for their collections (Gaia 2001). Numerous projects that arguably challenge the traditional role of the curator in interpreting collections were also developed during the earlier years of the internet. A joint exhibition between the National Museum of Scotland and the Exploratorium in San Francisco demonstrated the potentials of digital technologies for enabling interaction between different publics (Thomas and Friedlander 1995). This exhibition was not solely dependent upon the web, but it predicted some of the kinds of interactions that have been more broadly enabled by the adoption of the web. Visitors were encouraged to participate in the exhibit which explored the emotional and cultural impacts of traumatic events. The Exploratorium exhibited digitised photographs of Nagasaki, which were taken the day following the explosion of the atomic bomb, and which were hosted on the web, and encouraged the in-gallery audiences to record comments and reactions with a computer. The exhibit, comprising both the photographs and the content generated by the visitors was transferred to the National Museum of Scotland, where visitors could view both the photographs and the comments, as well as adding their own opinions. Early web-based projects such as this, along with analogue platforms that encouraged visitor participation, like 'talk-back' or 'Post-it' boards, are precedents for experiments that have followed the adoption of social media.

Social media platforms elicit user-generated content from online publics, often responding to some form of content provided by the museum. User-generated content tends to refer to a more general form of user participation, whereas crowdsourcing is a more directed form of user-generated content production. Many museums elicit user-

generated content through social networking sites in the form of an immediate response to a post on a museum's Facebook or Twitter page. It is unclear whether user-generated content is valued in the long-term through archiving and curation—a question which is addressed in the empirical study presented in later chapters of this thesis. However, other museums may actively seek richer and creative contributions to supplement collections information (e.g. Romeo and Chiles 2012).

One of the most discussed forms of eliciting user-generated content is the installation of tagging systems on websites. The primary reason that many museums have, since around 2005, enabled tagging systems on their websites is to collect supplementary information about their collections in a cost-effective, affordable way (Cairns 2013: 109; Trant 2009). Tagging systems provide the opportunity for online users to tag pages or object descriptions with keywords. The metadata produced is considered to be more accessible and searchable than the more esoteric language usually employed in museum databases (Chan 2007; Trant and Wyman 2006). Furthermore, database information is often lacking in cultural or other contextual information about an object, another issue tagging systems may address (Trant 2009). The 'folksonomy' (i.e. the assemblage of tags; Quinaterelli 2005; Quinaterelli et al. 2007; Saab 2010; Weinberger 2005), as opposed to a traditional taxonomy, that emerges from enabling tagging systems is arguably more representative of the range of views that exist around an object, and may produce new meanings for objects or collections (Chan 2007; Marlow et al. 2006). As such, it has been argued that user-generated content can contribute to a process of co-constructed knowledge between museums and online audiences

The 'Steve.museum' partnership was established to research the degree to which user-generated content, in the form of tags, made online collections more accessible. The partner museums aided in the assembly of a collection of works which over 2000 recruited online users tagged, and almost 37,000 tags resulted from this project (Trant 2009). However, two important observations were made. Firstly, only a small percentage of users contributed most of the tags, which coincided with the findings of another project at the Library of Congress (Springer et al. 2008; Trant 2009). Secondly, 86% of the tags were not found in museum documentation as either a full or a partial match (Trant 2009). Thus, tagging platforms may be considered a means

by which curatorial interpretations can be subverted by making collections information more accessible to a wider range of people who are not familiar with museum vocabulary, as well as allowing for an expansion of the range of values and knowledges that surround objects (Cairns 2011, 2013). However, contribution statistics tend to overlook the various factors that may exclude individuals from participating with such online systems. This includes not only physical access to the internet, and motivation and skill factors, but also the bias towards majority, discipline-based and Western ways of thinking (see Chapter 4). Furthermore, many have failed to consider how the solicitation of user-generated content could reinforce the traditional authority of the museum as a collecting, appropriative institution. Crowdsourcing practices further bring these points into focus. Again, such projects cannot be considered apart from longer histories of extra-museum community participation in interpreting cultural heritage, such as through community-based and collaborative exhibits.

3.6.5. Crowdsourcing

Crowdsourcing is a more directed form of user-generated content production, whereby publics are specifically requested to participate in a project with delineated ways of participating and with defined research questions or intended outcomes. A number of crowdsourcing projects managed by museums and other cultural institutions may be alternatively known as 'citizen science', where the involvement of amateur scientists is primarily solicited (Hand 2010). In the humanities or cultural institutions, crowdsourcing projects necessarily have a definable task and a replicable way of breaking a project down into smaller tasks (Dunn and Hedges 2012). Many crowdsourcing projects are based upon the idea of small contributions from many individuals being aggregated to produce expert interpretations, new knowledge or insights, or in some other way adding value to the material held by a cultural institution. A number of primary means of participation in crowdsourcing projects run by cultural institutions can be identified, which may be loosely grouped into six (not necessarily exclusive) main categories (Dunn and Hedges 2012; Oomen and Arroyo 2011; Ridge 2012, 2013): correction and review; rich qualitative

contributions; categorising, classifying and voting; providing supplementary and contextual information; transcription, and; crowdfunding.

1) *Correction and review.* Users aid in the recognition of errors and may be able to correct this content. This is often achieved in relation to digitised media, such as scanned text processed with an optical character recognition (OCR) system, which tends to produce many errors that can only be corrected by human interpretation.

Examples:

- The correction of text errors in OCR-scanned newspapers in the Australian Newspapers Digitisation Program (Holley 2009).
- The Victoria and Albert Museum's 'Search the Collections' project requested users to improve the quality of digital images on the digital catalogue by 'cropping' digital images (Victoria and Albert Museum 2013).

2) *Rich qualitative contributions.* Some crowdsourcing projects elicit rich creative, critical and/or narrative content from users, for example, an oral history recording or an artistic response to a particular topic. In some cases, this may result in a co-created product comprising media from a cultural institution as well as from users.

Examples:

- The Museum of Modern Art established an open-call for one-minute videos on the subject of abstract form. The videos submitted were projected in the museum in association with two recent exhibitions on abstract art (Museum of Modern Art 2013).
- The 9/11 Memorial Museum 'Make History' project solicited users' personal stories of September 11 2001, as well as personal effects and other media such as photographs, videos and voice messages (9/11 Memorial Museum 2013).

3) *Categorising, classifying and voting.* These tasks involve users sorting content provided by the project owner, usually into pre-defined categories. Although offered as a separate category (discussed below) crowdfunding could be included in this

category since it is a monetary expression of preference or support for a particular project.

Examples:

- The Brooklyn museum in 'Click! A Crowd-Curated Exhibition' tested Surowiecki's (2005) idea of the 'wisdom of crowds' by asking experts and non-experts to rate images. Both groups generated the same 'top 10' images (Bernstein 2011b).

- Galaxy Zoo, run by the Adler Planetarium in Chicago, invited amateur astronomers to identify different types of galaxies in images collected from the Sloan Digital Sky Survey (Raddick et al. 2010). It was estimated that the short time this work took 20–30,000 people to complete would take one graduate student working every day for up to five years to replicate (Pinkowski 2010).

- The Boston Museum of Fine Arts allowed online visitors to vote for works to be included in an Impressionist exhibition, 'Boston Loves Impressionism', displayed from 14 February to 16 May 2014. Visitors could choose from 50 paintings, of which 30 were included in the exhibition (Boston Museum of Fine Arts 2014).

4) *Providing supplementary and contextual information.* Crowdsourcing projects seeking supplementary or contextual information about particular assets essentially involve the production of metadata by users. This may take the form of tagging, wherein users tag media with keywords, either using a defined vocabulary or through free-text entry. Georeferencing has also been a focus of crowdsourcing projects, in which geographical information is referenced in terms of modern, real-world reference points (e.g. latitude or longitude).

Examples:

- The British Library 'Georeferencer' project sought to assign spatial co-ordinates to digitised maps. The digitised maps then became searchable using latitudinal and longitudinal coordinates included in the metadata (British Library 2013).

- The BBC 'Your Paintings' project, run in collaboration with the Public Catalogue Foundation, seeks the application of tags to oil paintings in British publicly owned collections (BBC 2013a).

5) *Transcription*. Many crowdsourcing projects require users to transcribe scanned text, with which OCR systems have produced inaccurate results.

Examples:

- The 'Old Weather' project run by a collaboration of several institutions (including the National Archives and Records Administration, the National Archives, the Met Office, Oxford University and the National Maritime Museum) aims to digitise weather observations from the logs of British Royal Navy ships, which computers would not be able to achieve. The partnership aims to enable this data for use by scientists, geographers, historians and "the public around the world" to identifying changes in the Earth's climate (Old Weather 2013).

- The Australian Newspapers Digitisation Program facilitates access to digitised newspaper content for the general public. Numerous errors occur through OCR which limits its searchability. The participants therefore correct errors in the scanned texts (Holley 2009).

- The Smithsonian established their Transcription Center to aid in the transcription of historic documents and collection records, aiming to facilitate learning amongst a broad public. To date this has included the transcription of nineteenth-century field notebooks, diaries, and a handwritten collection of botany labels (Smithsonian 2015).

6) *Crowdfunding*. Crowdfunding involves the accumulation of financial donations by an institution or an individual, gathered from individuals on the internet. This is usually intended to fund a particular initiative. Crowdfunding is not strictly crowdsourcing, rather than "distributed financing or group investing" (Brabham 2013: 39): it lacks the top-down management and bottom-up participation required of the crowdsourcing model. However, it is included here as a number of museums have nevertheless referred to the 'crowd's' support of initiatives, and have used a discourse of democratisation in the literature surrounding the concept.

Examples:

- In 2010, the Louvre raised about €1.26 million from online donors to help in its efforts to buy a Renaissance painting by Lucas Cranach (Rojas 2013). Contributions ranged from €1 to €40,000. It also managed to raise about €800,000 to aid the acquisition of a pair of medieval ivory statues. It launched this latter campaign under a project entitled "*Tous Mécènes!*" ("Everyone's a Patron!").

- The Smithsonian raised $170,000 in a 34-day campaign entitled "Together We're One" to support an exhibition on yogic art (Smithsonian 2013). However, the funds did not contribute towards the 'behind-the-scenes' aspects of the exhibition, such as the shipping of the artworks, public lectures, concerts, workshops and other events.

Advocates have argued that crowdsourcing offer a number of benefits to museums. Museums may obtain new or supplementary knowledge or metadata about existing collections or datasets, in a more efficient manner than the museum would be able to achieve alone (Causer and Wallace 2012; Holley 2010; also see Gura 2013; Thompson 2012). Collections data may also become more accessible for a wider audience, enabled, for instance, through the addition of folksonomies to the formal classifications applied to collections data (Cairns 2013 109–113; Dunn and Hedges 2012: 37–40; Oomen and Arroyo 2011; Ridge 2013: 438; Trant 2009). Moreover, crowdsourcing is considered to enable the co-construction of knowledge between the 'crowd' and the museum, seemingly resulting in the decentring of the authority to talk about collections (Cairns 2013: 109; Terras 2014; Trant 2009). However, despite arguments that benefits are provided to individual participants (usually in the form of the satisfaction of completing a task or a form of social recognition) or the general public, it can be argued that compared to online publics, museums accrue benefits to a disproportionate degree (see Chapter 5.3.1). Although some projects are geared towards making collections more broadly accessible, many seem to target individuals who are already interested in the subject matter and therefore already motivated to participate (Owens 2013: 121; Ridge 2013: 438–439). Furthermore, and more significantly, all crowdsourcing projects accrue resources for the museum, and the products can potentially be kept for posterity, long after a project concludes. Thus, it should be ascertained to what extent the benefit of the resources obtained by the museum, such as providing research material for institution-based researchers,

outweighs the benefit obtained by participants, such as their development of skills or meeting the goals they expected when they agreed to participate in a project.

3.7. Access and Motivation

From an early stage of web adoption, museums argued that the web would allow new audiences to be reached and engaged, especially younger audiences (e.g. Thomas and Friedlander 1995). This discourse has been maintained, with many arguing that social media platforms and mobile technologies offer learning opportunities for broader audiences (e.g. Gray et al. 2012; Russo et al. 2009; Russo et al. 2008; Stewart 2012), in addition to engaging audiences in decentring interpretive authority through creating their own meanings around objects and collections (e.g. Cairns 2013; Trant 2009). However, this discourse has not been matched by a sustained critical consideration of the various inequalities that may prevent physical and intellectual access. Empirical evidence for the impact of digital technologies on the ability and motivation of individuals to engage with museums online is lacking, perhaps indicating that many museums are passive about the inherent abilities of technology to foster social change.

A few studies have pointed towards some of the motivations for participating with museums, but tend not to consider inequalities or why people do not or cannot contribute. Nina Simon (2007, 2010: 26), for example, has posited a 'hierarchy of social participation', which sees a progression from a passive reception of museum content to a more sustained social interaction with content and other users. Kelly and Russo (2008) further categorised kinds of online participation, determining users to be: creators (e.g. those who publish or create videos); critics (e.g. commenting on blogs, posting reviews, providing ratings); collectors (e.g. tagging web pages, possibly for personal bookmarking purposes); joiners (e.g. using social networking sites); spectators (e.g. reading blogs, listening/reading/watching user-generated content), or; inactive. They concluded that only 15% of individuals in a sample of Australians were creators (as opposed to 13% of a comparable sample of Americans; Li 2006); 21% were critics (19% of Americans); 9% were collectors (15% of Americans); 12% were joiners (19% of Americans); 43% were spectators (33% of

Americans); and 26% were inactive (52% of Americans). Russo and Peacock (2009) argue that it is misleading to arrange different kinds of participation into a hierarchy as this serves to hide the complexity of behaviour behind an act. A hierarchy of participation incorrectly assigns greater value to more observable forms of behaviour than others. Indeed, deliberate participation may include obvious effects such as the contribution of content (e.g. comments or ratings) but may also include a deliberate choice to lurk.

Trant (2009: 37) pointed towards an altruistic motive for many participants in tagging systems, in that users may simply want to 'help out' museums, which in fact goes against the finding within tagging systems more generally in which users tend to tag for personal reasons (e.g. for later retrieval) above others (Vander Wal 2005). This suggests that those interacting with online museums may be more inclined to participate for reasons to do with pre-existing motivations. Indeed, one study has determined that those who visit museums were also more likely to engage in two-way participatory activities online (Kelly and Russo 2008). Research about motivation for participating in crowdsourcing projects has been minimal but a few studies have identified pre-existing interest in the subject matter as an important predictor for participation (see Dunn and Hedges 2012; Estellés-Arolas and Ladrón-de-Guevara 2012; Owens 2013; Raddick 2009; Raddick et al. 2013). In this way, crowdsourcing may not be about crowds at all, but about the participation of a pre-existing interest group. Crowdsourcing may be more demanding on an individual participant than the general sourcing of user-generated content owing to some projects necessitating specific skill sets. For example, some projects require active and lengthy processes of searching for information, whilst others demand specific analytical, numerical or scientific skills (see Dunn and Hedges 2012: 35–37). This makes many crowdsourcing projects particularly exclusive and accessible only to those with those pre-existing skill-sets. Thus, if wider audiences are not necessarily being reached or engaged it is necessary to question the extent to which the benefits accruing from web projects are equitably shared between the museum and other communities, and moreover, to what extent expertise is actually decentred from the central institution.

Social media in general is argued to produce broad educational benefits, as well as expanding the range of knowledge that surrounds museum collections.

Crowdsourcing is especially highlighted for producing expert knowledge which offers wider benefits to society (e.g. a new body of knowledge made available for public benefit; Causer and Wallace 2012). In addition, crowdsourcing may offer satisfying participatory experiences for online audiences, especially when a sense of community is established as individuals are encouraged to work as part of a collaborative team (Holley 2009; Oomen and Arroyo 2011; Owens 2013; Prestnopnik and Crowston 2011), and possibly also acquire skills (e.g. coding, transcribing, or research skills) that could help participants gain later employment (Estellés-Arolas and González-Ladrón-de-Guevara 2012: 195). However, in relation to the Galaxy Zoo project, only 22% participated because they wanted to contribute to scientific research, and to lesser degrees because they wanted to have fun (11%) or learn (10%). Instead, many were encouraged by their pre-existing interest (46%) (Raddick 2009; also see Raddick et al. 2013). In this way, Holley (2010) points out that it is likely that many individuals will become involved in a project on a personal level, making it even more of an ethical imperative to provide some form of benefit for participants. Furthermore, Dunn and Hedges (2012: 40) posit that "…most humanities scholars who have used crowd-sourcing in its various forms now agree that it is not simply a form of cheap labour for the creation or digitization of content; indeed in a cost-benefit sense it does not always compare well with more conventional means of digitization and processing. In this sense, it has truly left its roots, as defined by Howe (2006) behind".

Cultural institutions certainly obtain new knowledge about their collections in crowdsourcing projects, and possibly also through solicitations of user-generated content on social networking websites and other participatory platforms (e.g. tagging systems). The particular benefits produced depend upon the scope and aims of the project. Complicating this picture is the observation that some participants intentionally participate in order to contribute to a subject matter they are passionate about, whereas others contribute as a side effect of the task and some may participate because they enjoy the 'game' element of crowdsourcing (see Ridge 2013). Either way, the organising institution would seem to accrue resources at the expense of the crowd. It is thus important to develop the idea of 'digital labour', since these participants may be in effect working for the institution (see Chapter 5.3.1; Scholz 2013a). The benefits accrued by the organising institution are evidently quite tangible,

including resources to add to their centralised collections information, and personal benefits for the individual researchers and project organisers. For crowdsourcing participants, however, it is not evident that a large number of people have obtained jobs through the skills developed through participating in crowdsourcing, that a general public has tangibly benefited from academic research, or that people's lives have been greatly enhanced in any lasting way through their participation. The goals and ways of participating in user-generated content production envisioned by the central institution, the skills and motivation of participations, as well as the specific contexts of web use, would seem to determine how equitably benefits are shared. By extension, awareness of these different factors would indicate both ethical and sociopolitical awareness on the part of the museum, a necessary factor for true 'collaboration'. Yet these points have not been thoroughly considered, and as such will be analysed in this thesis.

3.8. Learning and the Web

Social constructivist approaches to museum education have encouraged museum educators to consider the previous knowledge and identities that visitors bring into galleries which impact the ways in which they learn (Hein 1998). Therefore, a more active role for museum visitors has been asserted, whereby visitors actively engage with the information provided by museums and make their own meanings, rather than passively receiving information from an authoritative cultural institution (e.g. Falk 2006; Hooper-Greenhill 2000). Thus, the interactions between the museum, the identities of audiences, and their motivations for learning are important (Falk 2006). The adoption of web technologies in museums has evidently been matched with postmodern approaches to museum education, and in many respects seem to have been considered a means by which these 'new museological' concepts can be actualised.

Online collections and exhibitions were initially a direct transposition of existing museum practices in to digital spaces (Cameron and Robinson 2007: 173). As a result, the empirical, modernist regimes of collection and interpretation were widely maintained, despite the concurrent discourse about the impact of the new museology.

Conversely, Russo et al. (2008) argue that the more recent adoption of social media technologies has aided the facilitation of participative cultural experiences, challenging the authority of the museum to disseminate authorised interpretations of cultural heritage. They further assert that it had previously been the case that two-way communications between museums and extra-museum communities were the preserve of outreach and other non-curatorial staff involved in public programming and targeted outreach projects (Russo et al. 2008: 23; also see Golding 2009). Collaborative and community-based museums also experimented with multidirectional communications prior to the widespread adoption of the web (see Crooke 2007, 2008; Peers and Brown 2003). However, it is argued that the ubiquity of the web has enabled efforts that more broadly and definitely shift the museum towards a many-to-many communicative approach, with the formation of online communities, involving both the museum and online users (Russo and Watkins 2007: 161–162).

Many museologists accept the contingency of interpretation, even if this is not always overtly evident within physical museum exhibitions. Web technologies may aid in the actualisation of approaches like multivocality by allowing for the presentation of the various issues and contexts that surround objects and collections, thus helping to reveal that a prevailing expert narrative is often just one out of many possible expert narratives (Cameron and Robinson 2007; also see Hodder 1999; Holtorf 2003; Joyce and Tringham 2007). Deeper and more varied cultural and historical contexts can be expressed through narrative approaches. For example, the Australian Museum website incorporates media such as video to convey indigenous communities' knowledge about collections. Non-indigenous museum visitors would not usually be able to negotiate this amount of content provided by communities who are marginal to the museum (Newell 2012: 301–303). Websites may also allow users to control their educational experience (for example, by creating personal collections or navigating hyperlinks) and can offer diverse experiences of the same database of content depending upon the interests of the user and the pathways that users navigate through online resources (Alsford 1991; Cameron and Robinson 2007: 173; Peterson 1991). Moreover, they have the ability to be productive or creative in some way, which could aid learning (Fillippini Fantoni and Bowen 2007; Russo and Watkins 2007).

Social media platforms in particular could help to realise the idea of collections serving as a focal point, around which to produce communities of interest. In this way a broadcast approach to communication is arguably replaced with a multi-channel, or many-to-many, approach to communication since there is not only a process of meaning-making between museums and individual visitors, but also between visitors within the communities that surround a particular online museum space. It is argued that if museums engage with their visitors on the web, it may allow staff to enter into 'communities of practice' with online users (Kelly and Russo 2010: 281–283). A community of practice is a self-selected group that comes together around a shared topic of interest and may result in the production of a common sense of purpose, and thus the sharing of knowledge between members of that community (see Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger et al. 2002). Kelly and Russo (2010) propose that museum staff should stimulate and facilitate learning within these communities of practice by providing digital content linking collections to communities. Audiences could subsequently contribute ideas and interact with others through social media tools (e.g. commenting functions) and help to shape their own experiences and the experiences of others within that community. This in effect extends to users the authority to engage in curatorial acts, drawing together and comparing institutional knowledge alongside alternative and personal interpretations (Russo et al. 2009: 162). In this way, enabling participation and the co-creation of interpretation in museum web spaces has been argued to represent a 'radical trust' in the unpredictability, but ultimately the value, of users' actions and the outcomes these produce, such as new knowledge about collections (e.g. Carnall et al. 2013; Chan and Spadaccini 2007; Gray et al. 2012; Russo and Peacock 2009; also see Lynch and Alberti 2010). In this model of radical trust, the museum does not harbour control about the final interpretation of its collections or the outcomes of online participation, instead trusting the community to come up with its own beneficial outcomes.

However, one senses a degree of uncertainty in this new role, and that the idea of radical trust is actually one that has limitations in practice. For instance, Russo et al. (2008: 23; also see Trant 1998; Proctor 2010a) posit that online museums should become spaces in which users can find 'reliable' information (as opposed to the unreliable information found elsewhere on the web) and thus, in some respects, reassert its authority as a provider of reliable and "authentic cultural knowledge". This

is a claim that contradicts the notion of radical trust as in this statement the museum is effectively positioning itself as an expert knowledge provider. Thus there remains an appeal to a notion of discipline-based expertise as a source of authority. It further implies that the actions of a generalised online public can only be trusted when actions are performed in response to content provided by museums as 'expert knowledge providers' (see Sanger 2009 for a similar argument regarding expertise on Wikipedia). This was also a concern over two decades ago when it was argued that museums should be concerned with establishing a system by which museums can guide users towards the "most meaningful, most enlightening" information (Bearman 1989; also see Alsford 1991). Such arguments necessitate a consideration of the extent to which postmodern concepts such as multivocality and multiple expertise have actually emerged within online museum environments, and if so, in what contexts of use they have been valued. It also points attention to the possibility of contradictions between discourse and practice, one which this thesis will elucidate further in the following chapters.

3.9. The Real and the Virtual: From the Digital Object to Digital Repatriation

The effects on the creation of digital objects for the museum as an author have been questioned (e.g. Alsford 1991; Dietz 1998). Indeed, digital objects are able to simultaneously exist in multiple locations. They may also be co-opted in unexpected cultural, economic, political, and social ways. For example, some object records from the Powerhouse Museum's online catalogue, which was optimised for search engine integration, were accessed regularly in response to popular news stories (Chan 2007). Similarly, objects from an online exhibition of Persian artefacts hosted by the British Museum were used by a group attempting to subvert the negative representations of Persia in the fantasy-historical movie '300' (Cameron 2008: 230). This may be seen as a significant loss of authority over the interpretation of material cultural heritage. Cameron (2007, 2008; also see Cameron and Mengler 2009; Witcomb 2007) also argues that digital objects enable a democratising movement; the circulation of digital objects affords the ability of a greater range of people to interpret and make associations with museum objects if the museum facilitates conversations around

digital objects (whether a digitised artefact or other content provided by a museum on various web platforms).

Along similar lines, the adoption of the web by museums has encouraged further thinking by scholars on the appropriative, colonial nature of many collections. In turn, this has given rise to a number of digital collaborations and partnerships, some of which may be termed digital repatriation projects. Some are not strictly employing social media, but a 'Web 2.0' or 'social media mindset' can certainly be identified in allowing for users away from the institutional centre to re-use and re-appropriate digital cultural heritage material. In many cases information is returned to the museum. Some form of interactive database is usually involved with an interface accessible through a web browser. These are geared towards replicating, in a digital environment, the culturally specific protocols that determine access to particular material (Srinivasan et al. 2009a, 2009b). A number of examples are discussed below. These projects raise a number of concerns for museums employing social media and open content: firstly, issues of incommensurable knowledges; secondly, unmediated public access to knowledge around collections and associated problems of intellectual property rights; thirdly, the relevance of longer, appropriative and colonial histories of museums, and; fourthly, the notions of participation and collaboration.

Digital technologies intervene in the process of decolonising museums by allowing for a new kind of repatriation—the return of digital versions of cultural heritage materials to the communities from which they originated (see Christen 2011). In many cases, this is not meant as a replacement of the physical object, and digital repatriation may be practised alongside the return of physical materials. Instead, the issue of access is one of the greatest concerns for various groups (Christen 2011; Ngata et al. 2012; Srinivasan et al. 2010). Digital objects may offer an alternative way to achieve the various ends intended by repatriation, including cultural or linguistic revival, the establishment of collaborative relationships, encouraging the production of new cultural forms within the community, and other creative or critical responses (Christen 2011: 187). It is possible for digital objects to exist simultaneously in multiple locations and in multiple forms through copying, distribution and revision (Christen 2011: 187–188). As a result, the process of digital repatriation is seen to provide opportunities for cultural heritage resources to serve multiple needs at once.

Many Maori people have in fact come to see digital technologies as a means of cultural expression in their own right, and have produced websites comprising art works, along with culturally appropriate interactive features and games (Ngata et al. 2012: 231). Deidre Brown (2008) points out that many digitised objects may be considered to have an independent *mauri* (a life force contained by objects) and other properties contained by physical objects, so that digital objects may be equally considered to be *taonga* (a treasured thing). Yet the argument that surrogates are sufficient could be a colonial one in some contexts.

Digital repatriation initiatives often recognise the cultural and political issues involved in the circulation of information. Digital technologies make it possible for information to be freely circulated, re-used and appropriated in uncontrolled and various ways based upon a Western-based concern with the value of open public access. Indigenous and other communities often have access protocols incommensurate to Western ones (e.g. based on various cultural and individual attributes held by individuals) but their views have been marginalised in the formulation of concepts like the 'public domain' and 'open access'. It is difficult for indigenous people to protect cultural heritage and related knowledge by referring to customary laws based upon communal ownership and citing the cultural and spiritual losses resulting from intellectual property infringements (Brown and Nicholas 2012: 309–310; Nicholas and Hollowell 2006). Cultural property is indeed synonymous to intellectual property for many indigenous peoples, and many have raised concerns about the free use of indigenous knowledge, which would serve to marginalise their worldviews and sociopolitical interests (Brown 2004; Nicholas and Bannister 2004; Verran and Christie 2007). Harm has been caused on various levels to indigenous communities, even though this may not have been intended. For example, the integrity of indigenous culture was challenged by making it a form of popular entertainment at the ceremonies of the 2010 Vancouver Olympics (Nicholas and Wylie 2013: 208–210). Thus, the free use of knowledge and material should be recognised as not universally 'good', and in some cases an act of injustice.

For this reason, Samuelson (2006: 833–834) has argued that the notion of the 'public domain' should be challenged, and that we should recognise multiple public domains and their associated social values. Christen (2011: 190–191, emphasis in original)

further asserts that "when access *as* openness is taken for granted as a *de facto* public good, then information management systems based on limiting access often get defined as oppressive". Therefore, developing interactive databases and entering into collaborative relationships necessarily demands reflecting upon the goal of open access knowledge and ascertaining alternative means of information access and circulation (Christen 2011; also see Christen 2005; Leach 2005; Powell 2007; Seeger 2005). Also necessary is a critical reflection upon the alternative ontologies, epistemologies, sociopolitical claims and histories of misappropriation of culture in marginalised communities and developing a recognition of indigenous value not as problematic or 'alternative' but inherently valid (see Christen 2011; Edwards 2003; Hughes and Dallwitz 2007; Toner 2003).

A number of recent collaborative projects, discussed below, have indicated the importance of these kinds of analysis, since they impact the extent to which museums are decentred through the adoption of internet and social media technologies. As the case studies also show,[4] these issues are particularly pertinent for museums with archaeological and anthropological collections with associated source or descendant communities.

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[4] Other notable collaborative projects include: *Ara Irititja* (Christen 2005, 2006; Hughes and Dallwitz 2007); the *Murkurtu Wumpurrarni-kari Archive* and the *Plateau Peoples' Web Portal Project* (Christen 2011); *Reanimating Cultural Heritage: Digital Repatriation, Knowledge Networks and Civil Society Strengthening in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone* (Basu 2011); a collaboration between The American Folklife Center and Zuni Pubelo (Shankar and Hooee 2013), and; a project involving the Museum of the Cherokee Indian and the Smithsonian (Leopold 2013). An earlier and short-lived collaborative project was also established by the National Museum of the American Indian (Christal et al. 2001, Resta et al. 2002; also see Hunter at al. 2003). The *Four Directions Project* encouraged students from American Indian schools to collate stories from elders about objects, people and events. The resultant content contributed to the museum was 'digitally repatriated' to the local community for usage there as well as being accessible on the web. The project also made attempts to explore the possibilities of enhancing online exhibits by including hyperlinks to online resources suggested by the community, and creating an online dictionary to help define terms used in the online exhibition for users unfamiliar with the language and cultural heritage. Moreover, a degree of interactivity was enabled by the construction of a discussion area on the website, intended for visitors and the contributing communities to discuss issues surrounding the collections.

3.9.1. Reciprocal Research Network (Iverson et al. 2008; Rowley et al. 2010)

The Reciprocal Research Network is an online portal developed by a partnership comprising the University of British Columbia's Museum of Anthropology, the Musqueam Indian Band, the Stó:lō Tribal Council and the U'mista Cultural Society alongside several museums which have contributed data on Northwest Coast material heritage.[5] Together, the data constitute an online archive of about 400,000 objects. The aim was to create a collaborative research tool so that geographically dispersed individuals could initiate and participate in conversations around collections of objects. It was further intended to integrate the knowledge and value systems of different communities (including communities of academics and cultural institutions). Importantly, the Reciprocal Research Network does not afford total control over the database to non-museum professionals.

The object records are accessible to registered users through a web interface, wherein it is possible to contribute content to object records (such as audio files or narrative information). Moreover, users can interact by establishing 'projects' by selecting a group of objects, and collaborate or converse with others in discussing the various issues that arise from individual objects or groups of objects. A public interface is also available within the University of British Columbia's Museum of Anthropology 'Multiversity' galleries through touch-screen stations. Together, the digital and physical collections are intended to prompt the visitor to reflect upon classification systems and various epistemologies.

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[5] Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia; Royal British Columbia Museum; Burke Museum; Laboratory of Archaeology at the University of British Columbia; Glenbow Museum; Royal Ontario Museum; Canadian Museum of Civilization; McCord Museum; National Museum of Natural History; National Museum of the American Indian; American Museum of Natural History; Pitt Rivers Museum; Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

3.9.2. *Inuvialuit Pitqusiit Inuuniarutiat: Inuvialuit Living History Project* *(Hennessy et al. 2012; Lyons et al. 2012)*

The Inuvialuit Living History Project was established in 2009 in response to two main observations, that a) the MacFarlane Collection of Inuvialuit ethnographic artefacts has never been exhibited as a complete collection,[6] and, b) that the collection is significant for contemporary Inuvialuit people who are actively attempting to create educational resources within their communities but also attempting to promote their culture and language to a broader audience.[7] Hennessy et al. (2012) investigated whether the collection could be curated online in conjunction with a digital archive controlled by Inuvialuit people. Moreover, this was intended to be a dynamic space within which interpretations change as a result of user-generated contributions and future research projects.

The virtual exhibition has resulted from a collaborative process of revising institutional descriptions and categories so that they were more commensurate with Inuvialuit views, and utilising Web 2.0 technologies such as tagging to help create connections between different object records. Alongside research of literature about the collections and Inuvialuit material culture, Elders were invited to the Smithsonian Institute in 2009 to contribute information about the collections, including the names of the items, and information about how objects were manufactured and utilised. Elders were also consulted in their own communities using photographs of various objects. On the website, community interpretations are displayed alongside curatorial descriptions and historical documents. This allows Inuvialuit people to contribute knowledge of the collections and reflect upon the contemporary meanings of the material culture. Information from individuals is first moderated and discussed by an Inuvialuit person to determine what is appropriate to share before passing it on to the website. In addition, each object record is integrated with the Reciprocal Research

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[6] The MacFarlane Collection is mostly held by the National Museum of Natural History in Washington D.C. Parts are also held by the McCord Museum in Montreal and the National Museums of Scotland in Edinburgh, amongst others.

[7] This collection is not eligible for repatriation under NAGPRA because the Inuvialuit community resides in Canada.

Network record, which means further contributions and discussions can be made around the objects and the collection as a whole.

3.9.3. Emergent Database: Emergent Diversity (Srinivasan et al. 2010)

The Emergent Database: Emergent Diversity project was a collaboration between the A:shiwi A:wan Museum in Zuni, New Mexico, and Heritage Center and the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. An explicitly collaborative research model was adopted as a means of addressing the needs of a marginalised community. The collaborative process was also intended to foster respect for the stakeholders' multiple agendas and to ensure that information was shared in a culturally appropriate way. The project aimed to elucidate how Zuni interpretations of cultural heritage compared to institutional ways of classifying a collection of objects that was collected during an excavation at Kechiba:wa, Zuni. It was established that the institutional descriptions used terminology that was incommensurable with Zuni descriptions of objects. The latter tends to be narrative based, whereby stories aid Zuni participants' descriptions of and engagement with objects. A popular topic was the actual usage of the objects, something lacking in the institutional classifications. Moreover, the Zuni partners tended to consider objects as important resources for cultural revitalisation purposes, and saw a great potential for digitally repatriated objects in this regard. Furthermore, it was argued that digital objects could be important for establishing a space for negotiating multiple ontologies and the issues brought by the various expert communities that surround particular objects (including archaeologists, artists, community leaders and historians).

It was argued that these negotiations and multiple expert knowledges do not currently have a place within institutional catalogues in the long-term. In this way, it was also asserted that critically revisiting what kind of knowledge a catalogue contains is essential for guaranteeing equitable relationships between institutions and other communities, especially since exhibitions tend to be ephemerally multivocal spaces. This being the case, a database was developed which enabled the A:shiwi A:wan Museum to control aspects of the database based in Cambridge. The Zuni community, through the A:shiwi A:wan Museum, was afforded the ability to add content, such as

comments and other resources to the collections database, which the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology did not have the permission to alter.

Such interactive databases, which are 'collaborative' to various degrees, have been more or less responsive to the needs of particular communities. They have been more cognisant of the contexts of use and the appropriative histories of museums as collecting institutions, as well as the exclusionary nature of disciplinary expertise in some contexts. Significantly, they also draw attention to the idea that the web is not an inherently democratising medium; offline contexts dictate the nature of participation. However, it is important to note that some scholars have challenged the extent to which digital repatriation actually results in a situation of shared authority over the interpretation of objects and the equitable sharing of resources. For example, Houghton (2010) and Boast and Enote (2013) have argued that virtual repatriation is in many cases lip service; it is an attempt by museums to show that they are responding to the claims of other communities whilst in effect retaining control of the physical cultural artefacts. These issues are discussed critically in the following two chapters and assessed empirically in the study that follows.

3.10. Conclusions

Discourses about the value of museums' web provisions have been greatly informed by a number of prevailing theories within museology, particularly postmodern museum education theories that posit learning as an active process of meaning making between previous experiences and the information presently being encountered. It has been further asserted that museums may reach or engage new audiences in participating in museum spaces through the use of the internet. Moreover, the internet has been argued to aid a more fundamental process, shifting the museum from being a centralised institution to a decentralised one that: can be accessed from various geographical locations, and away from a physical centre; enables learning opportunities for a wider demographic, and; embraces multivocality and the contingency of disciplinary interpretations through affording interpretive authority to extra-institutional communities. The web is considered a threat to the

position of the museum as a cultural authority as it both enables and authorises alternative sources of expertise. Fundamental to these claims is the assumption that museums no longer have a strong claim to cultural authority, in large part as a direct result of the widespread adoption of the web and social media in particular. This argument finds great similarities with earlier deterministic assertions about the internet.

Whether a 'radical' trust in the participation of online crowds results in a positive impact is far from clear. The choice of such terms implies that authority is fundamentally abandoned and that museums cannot appeal to their now supposedly abandoned authority to control the quality of outcomes. Yet repositioning themselves as trustworthy experts appears to contradict such claims because there is in fact a continued appeal to external structures of expertise as an authorising agent. This point will be considered further in Chapter 5. There is also an assumption that all user-generated content is valuable, but it is not always clear whether this makes an effective long-term impact on museum collections and catalogues. For whom is value being added, and to what criteria of expertise do museums appeal when curating user-generated content (if they curate it at all)? Crowdsourcing projects suggest that user-generated content is valuable for the museum, but collaborative databases and digital repatriation initiatives demonstrate that some groups remain marginalised. Furthermore, there is a need to unpack the various inequalities that continue to exist and the motivations that encourage people to participate. This raises questions such as to what extent are online users considered equal participants if shared communities of practice exist? Do benefits accrue equally? Is authority really decentred? What biases and what histories continue to uphold traditional structures? Is it possible that online activities are in fact appropriative devices? The following chapters elucidate these crucial questions.

The first attempts at producing web content during the 1990s have been noted to be largely transpositions of the prevailing methodologies and practices within museums, which were based upon didacticism and 'objective', discipline-based theories (Cameron and Robinson 2007: 173). This is an important point as it draws attention to how methods and theories continue to inform online practices and concurrent

discourses. Significantly, little work has analysed critically the adoption of internet technologies within museums with reference to the wider internet and new media literature. This literature indicates several pertinent barriers to achieving the laudable contemporary aims. Much work has also failed to engage fully with the critical literature on the theory and practice of collaboration and participation in archaeological heritage studies, and other relevant literature such as the sociology of expertise. Moreover there has been a lack of analysis of online participatory activities beyond simple quantitative measures (see Allen-Greil 2013). Without these assessments, the discourse surrounding the democratisation of museums, as more responsive, broader-reaching institutions, cannot be maintained successfully.

The following chapter will contribute to this assessment. It is organised into two sections. The first analyses the digital divide in terms of physical access to the internet but also the skills required to use it effectively and the motivational factors that predict the ways users participate on the internet. The second examines the various ways in which pre-existing elites maintain existing structures of inequality, and how the web reinforces pre-existing ideas of disciplinary authority, thereby contributing to a situation of structural inequality. Chapter 5 subsequently analyses museums' use of the web in relation to broader theoretical considerations of expertise, participation and ethics. Ultimately, this assessment is cognisant of the wider contexts within which the web is used, including the history of the museum as an appropriative collecting institution, as well as the local contexts that determine the impact the web actually has on issues such as decentring authority and the benefits of cultural heritage. As a result, it will draw attention to some of the ways that the contemporary aims of museums may be realised more effectively.

CHAPTER 4

THE PARTICIPATORY WEB:

UTOPIAN IN THEORY, INEQUALITY IN PRACTICE

4.1. Introduction

> *"I always think: OK, you want to send computers to Africa, what about food, and electricity, those computers aren't going to be that valuable... They're amazing in what they can do, but they have to be put into perspective of human value"* (Gates 2000).

There are numerous proponents of the view that the internet is a generally egalitarian platform, wherein users can be producers and consumers and that this will inevitably result in a more egalitarian society (e.g. Castells 2009; Rheingold 1994; Shirky 2008; Suroweicki 2005). Yet it should continue to be borne in mind that Web 2.0 systems were discussed originally in terms of their value to businesses (Howe 2006; O'Reilly 2005). Online social spaces have been increasingly corporatised, where many companies have marketing profiles, in addition to the sites themselves making substantial profits (Zimmer 2008). Enhanced techniques of surveillance allow businesses to make commercial gains from the actions of users (Everitt and Mills 2009; Fuchs 2014a; Sandoval and Fuchs 2010). Moreover, as discussed in the previous section, many scholars have not engaged fully with the various individual and sociopolitical contexts within which the internet is used. Indeed, the internet and the 'real world' cannot be maintained as a dichotomy (Agre 1999); the web is embedded into existing social situations, and may help to transform existing social structures, but cannot transcend them (see Kellner 1995; Miller and Slater 2000; Wilson and Peterson 2002). It is becoming increasingly clear that the internet cannot be currently considered an egalitarian space because various inequalities persist. Essential to this thesis, museological research has overlooked who effectively benefits from social media. A critical study of social media would thus analyse: "society as a terrain of domination and resistance and engage in a critique of domination and of the

ways that media culture engages in reproducing relationships of domination and oppression" (Kellner 1995: 4).

Together, these observations draw attention to the idea that elites may continue to exist in various ways on the internet whilst others remain marginalised or may become newly marginalised. This section discusses firstly the various barriers to equal participation on the internet in terms of physical access as well as intellectual access. Secondly, it highlights that many inequalities of access are a result of pre-existing cultural, political, and social inequalities. In addition, influenced by the approach of media archaeologists in identifying recurring themes throughout media, it is demonstrated that structures of authority and expertise are often maintained within online environments. This approach is maintained into the next chapter and highlights that museums continue to appeal to discipline-based criteria to determine the value of user-generated content. Finally, informed by theories of participation and ethical principles, it is demonstrated that many kinds of participation allowed for on the internet cannot be claimed as decentring acts due to the inequitable way that authority and benefits are distributed amongst participants.

4.2. The First Digital Divide

The term 'digital divide' originally referred to simple physical access to digital technologies and became a popular term from around the mid-1990s. This was a reaction to the previously prevailing utopian visions of an internet that could drive social and political change, and improve people's quality of life regardless of social or cultural factors like age, class or other demographic factors (e.g. Rheingold 1994, 2000; also see Gunkel 2003; Thurburn and Jenkins 2003; van Dijk 2012). The early studies revealed a digital divide based upon various social and demographic factors, which contributed to unequal access to technology (e.g. Hoffman and Novak 1998; Howard et al. 2001; Katz and Aspden 1997). However, a focus on these factors without considering the complexity of issues involved in access and using the internet prevents the discourse of the internet as an egalitarian communication platform from being realised (e.g. Escobar et al. 1994; Gray and Driscoll 1992; Howland 1998; Kottak 1996). More recent theorisation about the impact of the internet on

communication and society tends to be more balanced, highlighting the importance of personal and social contexts in determining the actual impact the internet might produce (e.g. Katz and Rice 2002), although the emergence of social media platforms seems to have revived the more utopian visions of technology-driven change (e.g. Jenkins 2006; Shirky 2008).

In fact, there remains a persistent gap of access to technology, and this is observed between regions and countries (ITU 2014; Miniwatts Marketing Group 2014), as well as being significantly determined by cultural, political, social, and other demographic factors (van Dijk 2009). One in ten adults were using the internet in the US in 1995 compared to 87% in 2014 (Pew Research Center 2014; Zickuhr and Smith 2012; Zickuhr 2013; also see Hampton et al. 2011); this means around 13% of people still do not have physical access to the internet in the US (or choose not to use the internet). Similarly, a broad study of the UK population found that 57% of households had an internet connection in 2006 and 82% (n=22 million) had an internet connection in 2014. However, this was found to depend upon the composition of the household. Households containing children were more likely to have the internet (96%), whereas internet access in single adult households varies significantly with the age of the individual: from 41% of households where the adult is 65 years old or more to 80% where the individual is between 16–64 years old (Office for National Statistics 2014). In the US, internet usage rates decline significantly for people over the age of 75 (34%) (Zickuhr and Madden 2012) with 44% of the total number of non-users in 2013 being 65 or older (Zickuhr 2013). Little research has been conducted to assess disabled people's use of the internet, but in one survey it was found that only 54% of adults living with a disability were using the internet (Zickuhr and Smith 2012). Internet speed discrepancies are also significant, and this is particularly evident in the US, where four out of ten adults do not have broadband access (Zickuhr and Smith 2012). Furthermore, broadband access amongst Native American tribes was less than 10% only five years ago (Morris and Meinrath 2009). In addition, active choice is a major factor in non-use, with 34% of US non-users claiming a lack of interest, 32% claiming the internet is difficult to use and 19% asserting that it is too expensive (Zickuhr 2013). Similar issues are demonstrated for UK non-users (Dutton and Blank 2013: 54–58). The idea of 'media refusal' is therefore important, since this is a

conscious rejection of the social or political relevance of a technology, rather than exclusion *per se* (Portwood-Stacer 2013; see below).

As an explanation for why a truly egalitarian online sociopolitical sphere has not emerged, the posited divide between 'haves' and 'have nots' is too facile to be a viable model of inequality. It is technologically determinist in that it suggests physical access to the internet inevitably forges a more equal society through the inherently democratising nature of internet communications. The reality is less absolute, since there are relative inequalities between those who do have physical access (van Dijk 2005: 95–130). Indeed, it is possible to identify differences between formal access to digital technology and online content (i.e. provision at home or elsewhere, such as libraries) compared to effective access (i.e. how able people feel to use these provisions) (Selwyn 2010). Thus, the concept of the digital divide has persisted but with a number of authors suggesting models of access depending on a complex range of determinants, which take into account a plethora of factors that impact the effectiveness of access. A wealth of literature has pointed towards the necessity of considering physical access to technology alongside factors such as the kinds and frequency of activities performed on the internet; motivation to perform particular activities; skills (including critical thinking and social skills, as well as ICT skills), and; social issues (e.g. the complexity of online and offline social networks) (see Kennedy et al. 2010; Selwyn 2004, 2006, 2010; van Dijk 2003, 2005, 2009; Warschauer 2002). It is possible to recognise a concurrent shift in governmental policies addressing differential access to technology from the 1990s to the 2000s, and there is now a tendency to focus on digital literacy programmes that enable online participation for targeted groups of people (van Dijk 2009: 302–303).

There remains strong evidence to suggest that sociodemographic categories still act as predictors for the range of activities performed by individuals online. Thus, enabling access to the internet does not result in the equal use of the internet as a resource. For various online activities, a number of differences have been observed. For example, men (65%) are more likely than women (57%) to use online banking, and middle-aged people are the most likely age group to bank online. Moreover, those with higher incomes are far more likely to shop online: ranging from 90% of those with incomes of £75,000 or over to 51% for those with incomes less than £30,000 (Office for

National Statistics 2013). Those with higher educational attainments are also more likely to buy goods or services online. A significant difference has also been observed between the percentage of 25–34 year olds and 65 year olds and over who shop online (87% to 32%, respectively) (Office for National Statistics 2013).

Walther and Parks (2002) introduced the notion of 'multimodal' internet use to refer to the different kinds of activities performed by internet users. Different internet activities may vary in sophistication and the level or type of skill involved in their usage. There are differences in the range of resources used on the internet— experienced users, younger people and those with higher levels of educational attainment use more kinds of internet applications than inexperienced users, older people and those with lower educational attainment. Educational attainment seems to be one the best predictors of internet access disparities, even for younger people (van Dijk 2009: 299). This challenges Tapscott's (2009) generalising idea of the 'net geners', which refers to younger people being born into a digital generation, and which is fundamentally and uniformly different from other generations in the way they search for and process information. For instance, it is argued that 'net geners' are adept at critically evaluating the mass of information available to them online, and further, they expect instant access to content and the ability to customise that content. The reality is more divided. For example, those with higher levels of educational attainment are more likely to refer to information websites, and news, jobs, banking, retail or governmental websites; whereas those with lower levels of educational attainment tend to use entertainment websites. More educated people also tend to retrieve information and communicate with others more often, and, significantly, tend to produce as well as contribute content whereas less educated people tend to exchange content (van Dijk 2009: 299; also see Dutton and Blank 2013; Wei 2012; Zickuhr and Smith 2012).

One study that has considered differences in usage within a particular social networking website, Facebook, indicates that variations of use are evident and that these follow predictors similar to those mentioned above (Hampton et al. 2011). Overall the most common actions on Facebook are 'liking' content (26%); 'commenting' on a status update (22%) or a photograph (20%). However, older people were much less likely to never or only infrequently comment on posts; and

women were more likely than men to frequently do so (Hampton et al. 2011). This is a significant point that cultural institutions hoping to reach new audiences must consider; there is the potential of new inequalities being produced (e.g. excluding traditional audiences who may not use social networking sites effectively, and, further, uncritical use of social networking sites may reinforce pre-existing inequalities).

Simple sociodemographic groupings remain important predictors of internet use, as well as describing some of the discrepancies in the range of activities performed on the internet. Mobile internet access is apparently adding a further dynamic in allowing broader access to more socially marginalised groups (Rainie 2012; Zickuhr and Smith 2012), but overall it can be concluded that the divide in physical access is still one that has not been closed. Museums have been largely unresponsive to these observations in the prevailing discourse of the democratising nature of the web. Further, both the broad-scale quantitative surveys and much of the museum studies literature lack critical consideration of the other factors that may impact upon individuals' internet usage. It is not sufficient for cultural institutions like museums to measure access and online engagement in terms of number of users as 'participation' and 'engagement' are not absolute terms in practice; many participate in ways that are not measurable in quantitative statistics (see Kelly and Russo 2008; Simon 2007). The factors influencing individuals' actual usage of online content provided by museums must be considered before it can be claimed that the provision of participatory web platforms enables broader access to cultural heritage materials and the development of co-productive or decentred relationships with museums (e.g. Marty et al. 2011). Indeed, a growing body of qualitative research has begun to point towards motivation and confidence as well as skills as crucial influences on individuals' internet usage.

4.3. The Second Digital Divide

The internet demands of individuals particular skills in order to use it in effective and complex ways. Thus, a 'second level' (Hargittai 2002) of the digital divide has been recognised that does not solely define access to the internet in terms of physical access but also incorporates issues of intellectual or cognitive access. Physical access

is indeed required, but the skills to use it effectively as well as the motivation to use it in various ways are also necessary (van Dijk 2009: 302–304). Both motivation and skill are essential to consider because the two are not mutually exclusive: for example, individuals with higher levels of IT skills are more likely to contribute on the web (Hargittai and Hinnant 2008: 616–618). There are some seemingly simple predictors of skill level, including the number of years an individual has used the internet (Livingstone and Helsper 2007), as well as the complexity of internet usage increasing with the number of internet access points an individual has (e.g. at work and at home; Hargittai and Hinnant 2008: 607). Furthermore, internet skills are clearly not equally distributed amongst a population and a number of sociodemographic factors remain important in determining this. For example, (in the US, at least) males, whites and Asian Americans are more likely to have high-level web skills (Hargittai 2010: 109).

Jan van Dijk (2009; van Deursen and van Dijk 2010, 2011) argues that 'digital skills' is a concept that incorporates: 1) operational skills—the capacity to utilise hardware and software (e.g. booting a computer; operating a web browser); 2) information skills—the ability to navigate the web effectively (e.g. using hyperlinks and making sense of file structures) and the ability to find, process and evaluate online information, and; 3) strategic skills—the ability to formulate a goal; knowing how to reach that goal, which may, importantly, lead to obtaining the benefits from that goal (e.g. finding a hospital with a short waiting list for a particular operation). When these categories were measured using a number of sociodemographic categories it was discovered that gender did not seem to be an important predictor for skills (van Deursen and van Dijk 2010: 909–910). Age was also not a major factor for predicting information and strategic skills, although it was still important for predicting operational skills, with younger people more likely to be able to use hardware and software effectively. Educational attainment levels were seen as important for all kinds of internet skills, although income was not a predictor of skills. Importantly, van Deursen and van Dijk (2010: 891–892) assert that it is crucial to have high levels of information and strategic skill in order to produce and contribute user-generated content and communicate more actively with others online. Operational skills are not sufficient for these uses of the internet. Similar issues may be observed in studies of peoples' motivation to contribute to online platforms.

Individuals may actively decide not to use the internet for a number of reasons, including: the conscious rejection of technology; a fear of technology; financial difficulties; lack of knowledge of how to use technology; physical impairments which hinder the use of technology, and; social influences, such as individuals feeling that it is more convenient to let someone else find information for them rather than use the internet for themselves (Reisdorf et al. 2012; Selwyn 2006). Selwyn (2006: 288) in particular, has discussed the employment of 'warm experts', who are individuals acting as mediators between technology and an individual choosing to not directly use that technology. Some people do not feel the need to actively engage with computers at all, whilst others are "surviving (and often thriving) without it" (Selwyn 2006: 289–290). Similarly it can be considered that some are 'want nots' rather than 'have nots' (Klecun 2008; van Dijk 2009). This undermines the fundamental premise of the digital divide that all 'need' and 'want' access to the internet and it will inevitably produce positive effects. Instead, motivation is essential in determining the various uses of the internet.

Much research has employed a 'uses-and-gratifications' approach in determining some of the motivations to participate in online activities. This approach considers highly active individual media users, positing that individuals utilise media in order to satisfy particular desires and to realise expectations about the goals or rewards involved in participating (e.g. Cho et al. 2003; Levy and Windahl 1984; Ruggiero 2000). Older media theories based upon mass communication and mass audiences are thus rejected, wherein audiences lack a great degree of individual or collective agency. Instead the kinds of goal sought or anticipated by audiences include: enhancement of social interactions; entertainment, and; escaping from various stresses in life (McQuail 2010: 435–437). However personal motivation to participate is often more complex than seeking a goal (Correa 2010). It is necessary to take into account intrinsic motivations, that is performing an action owing to an acceptance of the inherent value of a task or enjoyment or interest in performing that task (e.g. aiding others by providing information; having an affinity to the values of a particular group), as well as extrinsic motivations, which often relate to social pressures or the expectation of a reward (e.g. gaining visibility or an enhanced profile within an online

group; seeking information for one's own benefit) (Correa 2010; Lampe et al. 2010; Ryan and Deci 2000; Teo 2001; Waterson 2006).

Women tend to be more extrinsically motivated than men, as are younger people compared to older people. However men are more likely to have higher levels of internet skills as well as higher levels of self-efficacy (Hargittai and Shafer 2006: 444). Self-efficacy (i.e. an individual's perceived competence with relation to a particular action, which influences his or her decision about what he or she may be able achieve with a particular skill) is of great importance in predicting levels of motivation to perform a particular task, whereby higher levels of perceived competence is related to a greater likelihood of contributing content online (Correa 2010: 85; Livingstone and Helpser 2007: 691; for examples of psychological studies on self-efficacy see Ryan and Deci 2000). Self-efficacy and intrinsic motivational discrepancies are more likely to create gender inequalities in content production than differences in extrinsic motivations (Correa 2010: 85; Hargittai and Walejko 2008). A UK study recently quantified that men's levels of self-efficacy was around 7% higher than women's (Dutton and Blank 2013: 17). Aiming for equal participation amongst individuals thus necessitates a consideration of whether individuals are equally confident and motivated; this cannot be assumed by museums.

Related to self-efficacy, individuals may also consider the extent to which their contributions are valued or welcomed by others before participating online. For example, Yun and Park (2011; also see Walther and Jang 2012) applied the 'spiral of silence' theory to assess contribution to online forums. This posits that people express opinions based upon a perception of the prevailing climate of opinion (see Noelle-Nuemann 1993). If an individual perceives herself or himself as part of the majority, she or he will be more willing to express an opinion, but, conversely, will tend towards 'silence' if they perceive themselves to hold a minority viewpoint owing to fears such as social isolation. Online, a spiral of silence may be caused by users encountering consonant opinions amongst multiple media outlets (Yun and Park 2011: 202–206). It is thus vital to consider the extent to which alternative viewpoints are encouraged online, otherwise majority rule may be enforced: not only by drowning out minority viewpoints when they are actually contributed, but by preventing those holding such viewpoints from participating in the first place. This

being the case, cultural institutions aiming to incorporate new knowledge about collections and engage new audiences should consider how minority viewpoints might be encouraged in a way that affords individuals confidence and a sense of 'safety' (see McDevitt et al. 2003). Moreover, given the existence of studies demonstrating that individuals tend to visit familiar web pages rather than actively seeking out new viewpoints on other websites (Tewksbury and Rittenberg 2005), it is also necessary to consider how the individuals harbouring more mainstream views may be encouraged to engage with non-majority and unauthorised viewpoints.

4.3.1. Contributing and Lurking

Adding further complexity to inequality in participation rates, many commentators have noted that most people do not participate in ways that are visible or quantitatively measurable. This may pose a significant challenge to the claim that participatory web technologies encourage active participation amongst visitors. Nielson (2006) posited a rule of participation inequality which follows a pattern of 90:9:1. That is, 90% of people 'lurk' (i.e. observe, but do not actively contribute), 9% of people contribute on an intermittent basis, and 1% of people actively contribute most of the content. The percentage of people who actively contribute content to blogs and on Wikipedia may be substantially smaller. However, 'lurking' or intermittent contribution is not evidently representative of lower quality interaction than the more visible forms of content contribution. Non-contribution of content is in fact 'normal', and active contribution of content is an unusual occurrence. This being the case it must be considered who is actually participating (whether or not in obvious ways), and the motivations behind participation and non-participation.

Some commentators have considered lurkers as non-contributors and merely consumers of information (e.g. Kollock and Smith 1996). However, defining participation is highly problematic. Variable definitions of engagement are often given in surveys: for example a survey of online 'engagement' with the arts and cultural sector online indicated that just over half (53%) of adults had 'engaged' during a 12-month period (MTM 2010: 17). However it is evident in this study that engagement was categorised in a limited way. Categories included finding out about a

performer or event (33%); viewing content on blogs or YouTube (21%); purchasing tickets (20%); using a discussion forum (7%); or uploading creative content like music or a photograph (7%) (MTM 2010: 4). This range of actions does not take into account engagement in other terms, such as harder to measure long-term educational benefits, other measures of intellectual engagement, or how online and offline activities intersect. The ladders or hierarchies of participation suggested by some commentators in the museum sector (e.g. Simon 2007, 2010: 26) are similarly problematic in their valuing of certain forms of participation above others (Russo and Peacock 2009).

In fact, one of the key principles of Web 2.0 is that being part of a crowd is valuable in itself for sustaining a particular web platform. This means that users may actively contribute content (e.g. commenting or uploading photographs) but incidental contributions are also evident. Actions associated with lurking, such as clicking hyperlinks to navigate various pages of content actually contribute significantly to many web systems. Many online retail recommendation systems are based upon such actions, for example. Lurking can also be considered to be active participation in the sense that users are fulfilling certain individual needs, such as a need for entertainment or information on a particular topic (Crawford 2009). Additionally, they may be learning about the rules of a group, such as its language or style of dialogue before subsequently participating; lurkers may desire anonymity to safely learn about a topic (Nonneke and Preece 2003: 116–118). Phatic communication, discussed in Chapter 3.3, may also be evident.

Crawford (2009) employs the idea of listening to demonstrate the complexity of actions usually considered 'lurking'. Listening involves a sense of obligation and connection amongst individuals and the pejorative charges of lurking such as ambiguity and deliberate concealment can be challenged in this way. Active listening on social networking sites such as Twitter may be considered highly participatory. Crawford refers to three kinds of listening: firstly, 'background listening'. For example, Twitter users often rapidly scan a stream of tweets, wherein these conversations are a daily backdrop to online interactions, with concentrated attention rarely occurring. Reichelt (2007) also points towards the ephemeral nature of tweets. Listening on Twitter, however, demands of a user the ability to "inhabit a stream of

multilayered information, often leaping from news updates to a message from a friend experiencing a stressful situation, to information about what a stranger had for lunch, all in the space of seconds" (Crawford 2009: 529). Secondly, 'reciprocal listening' involves responding to messages on Twitter. Users may become frustrated with other users who do not respond to content and merely broadcast, as many political accounts do (also see Wilson 2009). Importantly, Crawford points out that many organisations produce a sense of distance in their tweets which represents a non-genuine attempt to engage in reciprocal communication. Thirdly, she introduces the idea of 'delegated listening'. This applies to organisations which outsource the responsibility to communicate with others to dedicated staff. Crawford (2009: 531) argues this is actually akin to "engagement-at-arm's-length" as they feel the need to be attentive to others, but perform this duty at a distance. In all cases, listening involves the active recognition of others. The concept of 'listening as participation' is therefore a useful concept that allows us to consider the reciprocity of communication, as well as drawing attention to the fact that listeners may be as actively engaged (if not more so) than the speaker.

4.3.2. Structural Inequalities

As a result of inequalities in internet skills, the provision of participatory web platforms cannot inevitably lead to the equal participation of diverse individuals. As these uses may be predicted by sociodemographic factors, it is possible that inequalities evident in skill levels may contribute to the exacerbation of wider social inequalities, thus enforcing structural inequality (van Dijk 2005: 178, 2012: 204–205; Witte and Mannon 2010). Structural inequality occurs when a particular group in society is afforded a superior position with regards to another group, and this relationship evidently determines inequitable positioning in several spheres of society. In turn this prevents the disadvantaged groups being able to equally benefit from a given situation (see Royce 2015). Online, structural inequality may result in disadvantaged individuals being further excluded from access to or participation in various activities. Examples include the inability to participate in online political activities, or from being able to find cheaper or better healthcare through online resources (van Deursen and van Dijk 2010: 916). In the case of museums, this may

mean individuals are not able to participate effectively in online museum spaces or even be aware of the existence of museums' online provisions. As such, pointing towards the existence of structural inequality can lead us to recognise that those who are participating online may be those who are already advantaged.

Structural inequality is evident within a number of empirical internet access studies. For example, within Native American communities, who are already marginalised in various spheres in society, broadband internet is accessible for less than 10% of people, yet high-speed internet is conducive to improved education, healthcare, economic development, and civic participation (Morris and Meinrath 2009). Jan van Dijk (2012: 205) asserted that a new 'information elite' has established itself in society more generally, comprising approximately 15% of the population. These people already have higher levels of income and educational attainment, and have the best jobs and positions in society—and the internet helps them to reinforce this position. He further argues that most middle class and working class people have basic internet skills, but tend to not use the internet beyond recreational or entertainment purposes rather than, for example, using the internet for career or educational advancement. Moreover, he estimates that 20–30% of society is excluded (either by choice or by inequalities) from effective online participation, but particularly those in lower social classes, ethnic minorities, new immigrants, and elderly people (even in the higher social classes). Similar studies have supported the identification of structural inequalities, particularly noting that low and staggered internet usage may pose disadvantages to those who are already socio-economically disadvantaged, with low incomes and low levels of educational attainment (see Hargittai 2008; Helsper 2011; White and Selwyn 2011).

A range of activities online may foster more equitable relations between different social groups, but the differential performance of these activities results in further inequality. Selwyn (2004, 2010) identifies five kinds of activities that are important measures of inclusion in society and to which the internet may contribute: 1) Consumption activities (i.e. consuming goods or services at a level considered normal); 2) Political activities (i.e. the extent of civic engagement demonstrated); 3) Production activities (i.e. engaging in economically or socially valued work—such as education or training courses or paid employment); 4) Savings activity (i.e. the extent

to which financial assets are accumulated), and; 5) Social activities (i.e. engaging in social interaction with family or friends and/or identifying with a particular group or community). Selwyn (2006) indicates that those already weak in certain spheres are less likely to use technology, and it is likely these social factors will persist even if computers are used. This again points to the necessity of examining the wider contexts of internet usage in museums and denying a dichotomy between online and offline provisions. In some cases, targeted offline, community-based technology centres, which help to improve IT skills within society, may help individuals to benefit from online activities in ways that also have offline implications (e.g. Servon and Pinkett 2004). Yet this is something museums are not unfamiliar with, as indicated by the many decades of outreach activities offered by museums.

4.4. The New Digital Divide: The Reassertion of Online Inequality

4.4.1. An Archaeology of Internet Usage

Carpentier (2011b) analysed critically the supposed convergence between authors and consumers in reference to Barthes' (1977 [1967]) essay, 'The Death of the Author'. In this, Barthes argued that at the time of interpretation there is a convergence between the producer of information and the receiver of information. This means that there is no privileged vantage point from which a text can be interpreted; readers can produce their own interpretations, which may or may not diverge from the intention of the author. New media scholars have argued that, following the emergence of the social web, there is also a convergence at the level of production as well as interpretation (e.g. Bruns 2008). Carpentier's (2011b) argument challenges such an interpretation by demonstrating that this depends on a very individualised interpretation of internet usage, which does not consider the persistent sociopolitical structures, such as the institutions and organisational cultures which privilege the traditional authorial elites in the production of texts. Furthermore, these structures help to define professional identities and disciplinary expertise in relation to those identities. In turn, they serve to legitimise (or authorise) certain authors and prevent others from participating on the same level. Following this argument it is essential to consider the ways in which new authors may be enabled or disenabled from participating on an equal level with

traditional authorities (if participation occurs at all), and particularly whether or not the outputs of participation (e.g. user-generated content) are held to be equally expert. Moreover, it is necessary to ascertain to what existing authorities like museums refer when they determine the value of others' authored content.

The work of media archaeologists indicates some of the ways in which this may be determined. Media archaeologies fundamentally challenge technological determinists by countering a vision of 'new' media which maintains that each new technology displaces the preceding technology. For example, the popular discourse surrounding the internet during the mid-1990s attempted to construct a revitalised democracy and public sphere (Chun 2006: 3). The internet was not a new technology in 1995, but that was arguably the year when it emerged in popular thought through mass coverage in political debates and visions of the internet in television (Chun 2006: 3). Media histories should instead focus upon new technologies as additive in a more gradual process of change; new technologies do not replace older ones but often existing alongside, and older media also adapt (see Bolter and Grusin 1999; Thurburn and Jenkins 2003). It is also possible for newer media to be used in 'old' ways. In the case of the internet, for example, the term Web 2.0 has been challenged by a number of scholars for being grounded in a perspective which views web developments as being on an evolutionary trajectory (Chun 2006; Fuchs et al. 2010). This also implies that social practices follow a similar progression along with the technology (Barassi and Treré 2012). There are particular assumptions about user behaviour, for example, that users in the 'age of Web 2.0' are actively collaborating, contributing and participating. However, Web developments do not necessarily replace those preceding; Web 1.0 technologies and the practices that are presumed of Web 1.0 users co-exist alongside Web 2.0 technologies. Barassi and Treré (2012) demonstrate this in a study of social activists, who produced content and collaborated (supposedly Web 2.0 practices) using mailing lists (a Web 1.0 technology), as well as using Web 2.0 platforms like social networking sites in distinctly Web 1.0 ways. For instance, unidirectional broadcasting was used consciously on platforms like Facebook in order to mitigate the impact of data mining, to control discussions and to avoid information leaking about their activities (Barassi and Treré 2012: 1276).

Media archaeology attempts to uncover the development of media forms over time, and how various media forms and associated ideas have emerged and disappeared, as well as recurred in other media forms (e.g. Bolter and Grusin 1999; Parikka 2014; Thurburn and Jenkins 2003). In this way, it is necessary to point towards the longer histories of thought involved in particular media forms. Many studies focus upon the emergence of particular thoughts in the early, experimental stages of media technologies, in order to demonstrate that media forms are not final end points, but are in flux (e.g. Dewdney and Ride 2006; Huhtamo and Parikka 2011). For example, it is possible to demonstrate that animation, interactivity and montage were involved in experiments with stereoscopic, projected and moving photographic images, but these were discarded on the way to forms that emerged as photographic realism and narrative cinema, yet still have still re-emerged as key features of internet technologies (Dewdney and Ride 2006: 77). A further characteristic of the internet is its 'hypermediacy', a visual concept which values fragmentation and heterogeneity over inevitable end-points (e.g. webpages are viewed in different windows, and hyperlinks can be freely and variously navigated). However, a similar logic is evident in the 'multimediated' spaces of magazines and medieval cathedrals (Bolter and Grusin 1999: 32). In other cases of digital media usage, remediation may occur, where one medium is represented within another. For instance, the video game 'Myst' mediates cinema, but allows for control over the narrative (e.g. the user can decide where to 'look' in the game) (Botler and Grusin 1999: 46).

A media archaeological approach thus draws attention to the ways in which features and themes of older media interact with the posited features of new media. Importantly, media archaeology is also an activist form of research since it is interested in possible futures for media. By looking to the past, we can see how aspects of the present have been shaped. This is clearest in archives and museums since those who control archives create "futures in which memory is perceived as memory" (Parikka 2014: 76). Of particular utility is Huhtamo's (1996, 2011, 2013) application of the *topos* approach to media studies.[1] The idea of the *topos* emphasises common themes throughout media forms; although appearing to be original, new and emerging media forms often rely on pre-existing ideas. The approach also helps to

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[1] *Topos* can be translated as a recurring or traditional theme.

reveal themes that have been suppressed or misrepresented by new discourses surrounding new media forms. This being the case, it can be demonstrated that the claims of the democratising impact and the creation of new citizens prompted by the popularisation of internet are not new or unique. Dahlgren (1995: 122–124), for example points out that television audiences have been identified as 'citizens' and that the socio-cultural positioning of audiences is important for determining the actual impact of television. Berry (2013: 34–35), however, warns that the prevailing notion of remediation may desensitise us to the specificity of new forms of media and therefore we should also try and identify what themes or characteristics of 'new' media are actually new. As such, he introduced the idea of 'enmediation' (Berry 2013: 43). This occurs when an older form is absorbed and reconstructed within a newer media; this is not the same as remediation since the older media form is transformed into something new, rather than simply incorporated.

This section and the following chapter are especially informed by a media archaeology approach, although the previous section can also be considered a form of media archaeology in its identification of the persistent theme of access inequalities across the media of museums and the internet. It is essential for museums (which can be considered a medium; e.g. a physical space in which cultural heritage materials are displayed and interpreted) to consider the ways in which older themes (i.e. appropriation, colonialism, authority and expertise) are maintained within their use of new media (e.g. 'Web 1.0' and social media technologies, smartphone applications), especially since the older themes are claimed to be transcended by new media. This section analyses some of the ways in which existing elites reassert their cultural authority as well as how internet technologies are used in ways that resist the older themes of museums. Using this theoretical framework, the tool of 'participation', which has prevailed within archaeological heritage and museum studies, is deconstructed in the next chapter, in turn aiding in the empirical analysis of museums' use of social media.

4.4.2. Elite and Majority Control and Benefit

Web 2.0 platforms, are often considered as opposing the control of elites (e.g. Bruns 2006, 2008; Shirky 2008; Weinberger 2007; also see Levine et al. 2000). However, the extent to which social media subverts the existence of elites is unclear. Indeed, with reference to blogs, Shirky (2003) argues for the existence of a power law, noting that the top 50 blogs on the internet account for around 50% of the inbound links from other blogs and that as the system increases, the discrepancy between the most-visited blogs and the median increases. Moreover, the environment shaped by previous users heavily influences later users entering the system. This means there is a significant first-mover advantage, since new bloggers will find it difficult to establish a newly popular blog. Shirky (2003) argues that this system in fact produces "fair inequality" because the level of skill needed to start a blog is only slightly higher than the ability needed to get on the internet. Furthermore, popularity is considered "distributed approval", meaning the popular blogs are in fact 'the best' according to most people. Similarly, on tagging platforms, collaborative folksonomies are produced, which are considered to be heterarchical and anti-elitist (Weinberger 2005).

More problematic is research indicating that many online elites are those pre-existing in society. Rather than repositioning the balance of power to express opinions about the state of the world, blogs may actually reinforce traditional elites such as the mainstream media. Bloggers may have some influence on formulating the agendas of mainstream media outlets, especially through a first-mover advantage which means that bloggers' opinions can form around an issue before the mainstream media has formulated a stable opinion (Farrell and Drezner 2008: 24–25). However, blogs are considered valuable resources for traditional media outlets as they are useful supplementary experienced-based accounts of issues. This could be considered an act of appropriation, which serves to benefit elites over 'ordinary' people (see Cammaerts and Carpentier 2009). The inclusion of indigenous knowledge once restricted to particular cultural systems may also allow for appropriation (see Nicholas and Bannister 2004). In addition, blogs often convey views that have already been expressed in the mainstream media, whilst also serving to reinforce these views by including links to the mainstream media outlets (Adamic and Glance 2005; Kenix 2009; Reese et al. 2007). Indeed, mainstream media have tended to co-opt the

supposedly egalitarian web platforms (see for example, The Guardian's blog pages). The aggregated opinions of the mass of bloggers on the long-tail of the power law may serve to challenge the singular agenda of traditional media (Meraz 2009), but it is not clear how much impact this aggregate effect actually has. Thus, traditional media outlets seem to remain elite, authoritative institutions.

Moreover, the internet has arguably been subject to a process of capitalisation (Dahlberg 2005). Many Web 2.0 websites have been purchased in whole or in part by large media conglomerates (e.g. MySpace by News Corporation). Institutions and companies have also established profiles on Web 2.0 sites, such as Facebook and Twitter, and created sponsored sites as extensions of existing marketing and public relations strategies (see Deuze 2008). van Dijck (2009) has pointed out that the crowds of online publics are not merely content providers, but also data providers. By uploading content, users are willingly (but often unknowingly) providing data about their online activities to site owners through metadata aggregation systems. This in turn allows companies to offer targeted, personalised advertising to site visitors for commercial gain (also see van Dijck and Nieborg, 2009; Everitt and Mills 2009; Morozov 2011; Sandoval and Fuchs 2010; Zimmer 2008). Thus, the 'playful' web interfaces, which may seem to encourage users' creative agency or authority, may actually serve to maintain the user as consumer. These assertions draw attention to the appropriative and possibly exploitative activities conducted by website owners. They also point towards the necessity of considering whether or not museums, which indeed are traditionally collecting institutions, continue to appropriate resources at the expense of users, and whether equal benefits are offered in return.

Webpage owners are also influential in determining the kinds of interaction that may occur around their content. On social networking sites, the page owner's content tends to form the focus of most conversations, rather than the content provided by other users. In this sense, user-generated content is often reactive to proprietor content (Walther and Jang 2012). Moreover, page proprietors tend to retain editorial rights over page content (Walther and Jang 2012: 3–4; Wong 2011). As a result, a museum's online provisions, such as their Facebook and Twitter pages, may reinforce the museum's authority, rather than decentring it. Nevertheless, user-generated content can become interactive if users respond to each other on a proprietor's page,

and furthermore, the possibility exists for them taking the content from the original social media page (e.g. by sharing or copying it) and using it in diverse ways on their own pages. Here, it is important to bear in mind again the motivation of the social media users, and other influential factors on users' actions, such as the perceived climate of opinion, which may impact the actions of other users and lead to 'bandwagon effects' or conversely a 'spiral of silence' (see Farrell and Drezner 2008; Fu 2012; Miconi 2013; Walther and Jang 2012)

Moreover, when users offer alternative or minority viewpoints, these could be drowned out by the majority. It should be questioned how museums deal with minority viewpoints—whether they are supported and afforded authority by the museum or are allowed to disappear through the power of the majority. This also raises the question of whether museums are actively (e.g. through explicitly questioning disciplinary interpretations and supporting others as equal) or passively attempting to decentre their authority. For example, whether it is considered that simply maintaining a social media presence shifts the museum away from being a centralised institution to a decentred one. Another significant issue is whether museums may continue to fulfil a traditional role: to collect, or appropriate, resources.

4.4.3. Archiving and Curation

A number of scholars have argued that the internet is free from authority to a great extent (e.g. Benkler 2006; Bruns 2008). Wikipedia has particularly drawn the attention of many scholars since it is argued to be a platform which challenges the status of existing experts. One report attempted to demonstrate that the quality of Wikipedia articles is equal to that of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Giles 2005). However, Sanger (2009) argues that traditional expertise remains strong in social media environments. With reference to Giles's (2005) article, it was evident that those who determined the reliability and accuracy of the Wikipedia articles were in fact afforded positions of authority through their labelling as 'experts'. Thus, some external structure maintaining what is considered 'expert' knowledge is always referred to when commentators argue that user-generated content is as 'expert' as the knowledge produced by traditional discipline-based experts. Indeed, conversely, if

this external authority is not referred to then the argument that user-generated content is accurate and reliable faces epistemic circularity and is thus groundless in its justifications (Sanger 2009: 17–18). In this way, it is by referring to an institutionalised authority that museums can variously value or devalue user-generated content; this pre-existing condition is not abandoned by extending museum space onto the internet.

It is unclear how museums curate user-generated content and the author knows of no study that demonstrates or analyses the long-term curation of user-generated content in a museum. The act of curation would in effect be an authorisation of extra-museum communities' knowledge as 'expert' and valuable. It certainly cannot be assumed that user-generated content can be maintained in perpetuity on social media platforms, or even on a museums' own web-hosting space. Social media platforms can collapse (e.g. the social bookmarking website Magnolia and the social networking site Bebo), and even platforms run by large corporations can be discontinued along with the content hosted on them (e.g. Google Buzz and Google Reader). In another sense, however, the web could be seen to have a problem 'forgetting' as data is often copied and stored in multiple places. Hard drive storage is also relatively cheap, which necessarily shifts the focus towards what user-generated content museums choose to preserve or curate rather than what they are able to. It is also important to consider the expectations and motivations of individuals who provide content. Indeed somebody has authored user-generated content and in that sense the content harbours a 'voice' and intent (Boyd 2010; Papacharassi 2012). If significant disconnections are evident, this may indicate unethical practice on the behalf of the museum.

Archiving or curation is a form of control and ownership as it affords the power to define and thus authorise what happened in a certain place or time (Povinelli 2011). Moreover, it is powerful in the sense that the resultant archives command without appearing to rule by hiding the alternative possibilities and negotiations that led to certain knowledges being achieved for posterity over others. On the internet, it is the assertion of power by a page proprietor or owner to keep for posterity interactions which users might have intended to be forgotten. This action goes against the assertion that social media is an open space, wherein transient engagements take place, and wherein participants are arguably reacting against more formal, mediated,

permanently recorded forms of discourse (Jeffrey 2012; also see Bright 2012). Jeffrey (2012: 563) asserts that users should be provided with a reasonable expectation of how the content they contribute to a platform is going to be utilised in the long-term. He further challenges many commercial organisations' self-serving assumption that user-generated content should be retained as long as it has "value to the owner of the platform or application, and as long as the host continues to exist" (Jeffrey 2012: 563).

Social media also presents specific challenges owing to the quantity of contributions from users. As mentioned above, the idea of choice is important. This demands critical reflection of both museum professionals and archivists in other institutions. Ankerson (2012), for example, has shown how the British Broadcasting Corporation's archives are biased towards news and documentary programmes, and archivists tended to exclude daytime entertainment programmes targeted at women, an act which involves several assumptions about the worth and significance of different kinds of content. She warns that web archives should react against a particularly discernible bias towards preserving government related archives, such as the MINERVA archive which has especially focused on political events (Ankerson 2012: 390). Similarly, it has been asserted that female novelists are under-represented on Wikipedia, and have been categorised with gender modifiers such as 'American women novelists' rather than simply 'American novelists' (Flood 2013; Koh 2013; Wadewitz 2013). It should be assessed what knowledge is being valued by museums if they are archiving or curating user-generated content, and how this may relate to structures of inequality.

An additional problem is presented by the control asserted by computer codes and databases. One of the fundamental issues involved in expanding, even democratising, the museum through technological means is that museum catalogues and databases are primarily tools to manage knowledge rather than tools to enable broader access (Boast et al. 2007: 396). Cubitt (1998: 1–6) draws attention to the management role of databases by arguing that computer code forces users to remain within a limited range of delineated categories. We may be offered an illusion of choice, but this choice is in fact limited at the level of code (also see Cubitt 2013; Manovich 2001: 202–205). This acts as a challenge to scholars asserting the educational benefits of decentring

interpretive authority to users, for example, in projects that intend online users to draw their own connections between aspects of online collections. Code also defines the way we can interact on social media. For example on Twitter, if a user wishes to interact with a museum they must respond publicly to a post made by the museum, they must use 140 characters or less to do so and they must use text (though an image may be included as a hyperlink). It is also simple enough to point to the categories such as 'miscellaneous' and 'none of the above', which often appear in databases, as a demonstration of the boundaries imposed by standards (Bowker and Star 1999: 321; Huggett 2012; Lampland and Star 2009: 9–11). This leads to the more significant observation that knowledge contained within a database forms an authorised canon. Anything not included is not considered to be true (Knell 2003: 137; Parry 2007: 56–57). Departures are not allowed as they are considered errors. Thus, it is a political issue as to whether something can be found or not on a database.

Simply using the web does not undo themes of exclusion and authority, rather, 'interactive' social media and other web spaces may in fact be 'invited' spaces imbued with pre-existing structures of inequality. It is only a small number of people, in control of internet codes and standards, who can greatly impact the ability of individuals to participate on an equal footing. Code hides the ethical, moral, and social choices and implications involved in their production (Lampland and Star 2009: 11; also see Bowker and Star 1999; Feenberg 1999; Timmermans and Epstein 2010). This is similar to Foucault's (1995 [1975]) observation that those doing the categorising have the power to remain invisible, whilst those who do not fit a standard stand out. The enforcement of standards is therefore a kind of social control and regulation (Brunsson and Jacobsson 2000: 32). In museums, for example, databases exclude the more various, possibly incommensurate, cultural and historical narratives that surround objects. They do this by standardising terms in relation to discipline-based concepts, in order to make the records interoperable (Boast et al. 2007; Srinivasan and Huang 2005). It is clear from these observations that to fundamentally decentre authority on the web, museums must challenge their underlying practices and discipline-based knowledge, which continue to exclude alternative ways of thinking about collections. Cameron and Mengler (2009: 204–209) refer to this need as allowing for 'complexity' while Bowker and Star (1999: 324) emphasise the contingent nature of knowledge with the use of the term 'ambiguity'. The essential

point is that the knowledge of different 'expert' communities should be authorised in order to claim diversity and inclusion.

In fact, many participatory web platforms seem to allow for neither complexity nor the contingency of interpretations. Many in effect reassert the centrality of institutions like museums due to the lack of permanent changes they enact upon databases or archives. For instance, the Dublin Core Metadata Initiative, which allowed tags to be added to records and pages, did not effectively establish others as equal experts. Instead, terms that were divergent from existing institutional terms were assigned secondary or peripheral status (Boast et al. 2007: 398). User-generated content is not evidently incorporated into permanent catalogues on a broad basis, although this assertion demands investigation. This has significant implications for the extent to which museums can meet aims such as decentring interpretive authority and decolonisation as the authority to assign 'expert' status to knowledge evidently remains solely in the hand of the museum (Cameron and Mengler 2009). In this way, the content generated by extra-museum communities through social media may be simply temporary performances, whereby they react to the discipline-based, authorised content provided the museum, and in ways defined by the museum.

We can further scrutinise the underlying assumptions of technology in relation to the divergent ontologies invoked by participatory projects. Ontologies are not simply 'alternative' expressions of disciplinary interpretations but are "diverse 'ways of knowing' about the world that are necessary to organize, find, and use information" (Srinivasan et al. 2010: 738; also see Srinivasan 2012; Srinivasan and Huang 2005). Dei et al. (2000: 6–7) assert that indigenous knowledge especially should be afforded an oppositional, 'anti-colonial' status because indigenous knowledges may exist in the absence of colonial (often Western) knowledge. Thus, it cannot be post-colonial in these terms. This affords the colonised a greater degree of power, to be able to resist the colonisers. Turnbull (2009) has argued that enforcing commensurability (i.e. making information fit a common standard) means the denial of legitimate alternative expertise. It is often claimed that indigenous knowledge is difficult to reconcile with scientific knowledge due to it often being localised and place-based (e.g. Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2010b; Turnbull 2009). In fact, scientific knowledge can be also considered to be 'local', in the sense that 'local' knowledge is produced

through observations in a particular environment and held by a specific group of people (Turnbull 2000: 40). It is also recognised to be contingent, and dependent upon disciplinary canons for what counts as expertise (see Chapter 5). Thus, we can certainly point to the good intentions and the commitment of many museum staff to support the views of marginalised communities, but as in many collaborative or community-based exhibits, little change may be observed at the institutional core of the museum, which continues to uphold discipline-based experts with disproportionately accruing benefits (see Ames 1994; Boast 2011; Srinivasan et al. 2009c). It is thus necessary to ascertain under what situations multivocality is authorised and how benefits can be more equitably shared.

4.5. Conclusions

This chapter focused specifically upon the factors that prevent equitable access to and use of the internet. It utilised the approach of media archaeology as an aid for uncovering the ignored or forgotten themes that nevertheless follow museums in their movement to online spaces. Exclusion is evidently persistent as a result of the authorisation of discipline-based expertise and the lack of decentring of authority that has actually occurred. The web seemingly results in reinforcing the museum as a centre, harbouring cultural authority and making judgements based upon discipline-based expertise, rather than decentring it. However, there remain democratic possibilities for technology. The expansion of educational opportunities for general online audiences involved in providing digital content is probably most easily demonstrated (though further audience studies are still required), yet other claimed benefits of web use cannot be realised without a critical stance towards the pre-existing structures of inequality. Technology does not automatically result in the transcendence of inequality; it cannot alone deliver the democratisation promised by early internet utopian theorists. This is essential for museums to consider if they wish to undermine the themes of appropriation and colonialism that characterise the traditional collecting museum. In the next chapter, the nature of disciplinary expertise is scrutinised, and an assessment of the necessary conditions for equal participation and good practice in collaboration is presented. A new concern with 'ethical

expertise' is asserted as well as the necessity of attending more thoroughly to sociopolitical and disciplinary contexts in order to truly decentre the museum.

CHAPTER 5

A DECENTRED DISCIPLINE?

EXPERTS, PARTICIPATION AND ETHICS

5.1. Introduction

Participation is often considered to be the cure for the exclusivity of discipline-based practices. These practices have resulted in extra-disciplinary communities being marginalised in their access to museum collections, as well as their ability to gain benefits from and establish their rights as equal 'experts' over them. The concept has underlain all kinds of public involvement seen as valuable within both museum studies and public archaeology more generally, including: outreach and educational projects, consultation initiatives, and the more extensive 'collaborative' partnerships (see Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008a; Sandell 2002; Simon 2010). Most recently, museums have utilised social media to establish participatory relationships not only with targeted communities but also an online public, generally seeing the technology as inherently interactive and democratic (e.g. Kelly 2010, 2013; Proctor 2010, 2013). This movement is posited to be commensurate with the tenets of the new museology and postprocessual archaeology.

Taken with the assessment of online inequalities in the previous chapters, this chapter addresses the vital questions of for whom do benefits accrue in participation, and whether authority is effectively decentred? In this chapter, and essential to this thesis as a whole, it is accepted that a critical study of social media recognises "society as a terrain of domination and resistance and engages in a critique of domination and of the ways that media culture engages in reproducing relationships of domination and oppression" (Kellner 1995: 4). The nature of expertise is firstly assessed in order to identify the factors that continue to uphold museums, as discipline-based institutions, as authorities. The chapter points out that expertise can be considered a relational concept, depending upon individual museum 'experts'' relationship with other possible experts and their actual knowledge of the relationship to the subject matter at hand. They may deny the existence of other 'expert communities' and control whose views are authorised. Equal inclusion seems to involve a reflexive stance, assessing

the previously under-analysed assumptions of a discipline, while taking into account the various cultural, social, political, and other factors that may prevent another community from participating.

Subsequently, a critical analysis of the concept of participation is offered, questioning whether or not the traditional themes of museums and archaeology, such as appropriation and colonialism, are reinforced through participatory practices. The chapter outlines models of participation developed within museums and archaeology, as well as those drawn from the fields of Participatory Action Research, critical pedagogy, and development studies. These are useful models that attempt to account for deep-seated asymmetries in power-relations and attempt to decentre more thoroughly the benefits of participation. The chapter then returns to a consideration of ethics, referring especially to the ethical arguments made within indigenous and collaborative archaeology, which demand a greater reflexivity of archaeology and museum practitioners towards disciplinary histories. The aim is to challenge the usually unquestioned 'friendliness' of the concept of collaboration and participation, arguing that participation (especially when involving web technologies) is not a quick fix for more deep-seated problems.

5.2. Expertise as Performative

Science and technology studies, and related areas of study such as ethnographies of archaeological practice and the sociology of expertise, have revealed the numerous ways scholarly disciplines attempt to establish themselves as 'expert'. By acting as experts, they harbour the authority to talk about their domain of expertise. Expert communities are not easily deconstructed but the increasing number of studies, especially within archaeology but also more broadly within heritage studies, are pointing towards the ways in which other communities of experts may be more equally included. Equal inclusion involves a reflexive stance, assessing the previously under-analysed assumptions of a discipline, while taking into account the various cultural, social, political, and other factors that may prevent another community from participating. Science is often considered a special form of activity, separate from culture and sociopolitics (Latour 1993: 13; Rorty 1991: 46–47). The sociology of

scientific knowledge in fact indicates that knowledge is produced and distributed within social environments (see Latour and Woolgar 1986). Further, exactly what is considered to be expert is usually a reflection of the social and material positions of those involved in a dispute, and is therefore a product of both politics and culture (see Haraway 1989, 1991; Jasanoff 2003). As a result of this, 'fact' can be considered a form of social achievement, referring to physical and material realities, but also relying upon power asymmetries. The aim of sociologies of expertise is not just to describe the workings of disciplines, but to deconstruct the often ignored or taken-for-granted practices and foundations of disciplines, and point towards possible alternative, more democratic futures for disciplinary practice (Haraway 1991: 4; Jasanoff 2003; Law and Singleton 2013: 500–501). This is ethical and political work and essential for museum practitioners to consider if they truly wish to see the rhetoric of democratisation they espouse become reality.

It is possible to define expertise in at least three ways. Firstly, in terms of an individual's relationship to a subject matter, that is, harbouring advanced knowledge of a particular subject. Secondly, as an individual's superior competence in a particular task, often in relation to cognitive performance (Ericsson et al. 2006). Finally, in terms of the interaction between a person, the environment and the audience: in other words, convincing others that one is an expert about something (Hartelius 2011). In the latter view, many sociologists of expertise have asserted expertise to be something enacted or performed, rather than something harboured inherently, as seen in the first definition of expertise. Thus, it may be a social accomplishment because an individual has utilised particular rhetoric, jargon and gestures to demonstrate their expertise in a particular area (see Hartelius 2011; Matoesian 2008; Silverstein 2006). Moreover, for this to occur an individual needs to be successfully socialised into a domain of expertise, learning about its accepted practices, and ultimately citing others within a discipline or institution as supportive of her or his position and views (Carr 2010: 24–25). Expertise is therefore a form of self-referential practice (e.g. one is an expert because one is socialised within a communities of experts and is recognised as such). In this way, expertise is not solely about the knowledge held by an individual, but also the process by which people become experts and the community that helps to sustain them as experts (also see Walker 2014a).

These relational approaches to expertise are important because they point towards the factors that define what is appropriately 'expert' or useful for a discipline. It is rare for the internal workings of a discipline to be evident to individuals outside it. Latour (1999: 23) describes a feature of scientific practice termed 'blackboxing': the final product (e.g. exhibition content, a museum catalogue, content on social media) hides all the activity that went into the production of that product. A successful blackboxing process prevents others from questioning the activities (e.g. the negotiations, contingencies, power-relations) that contributed to a product, only paying attention to the product itself (see Jones 2004: 31–33). Furthermore, when something is accepted as 'valid' or 'fact', it is made authoritative (Collins and Evans 2007: 125). Most people will tend to defer to experts because there are far too many decisions to make in everyday life than could possibly be made on the basis of personal, thorough examination. We must therefore depend on experts, believing that they are authorities on particular matters (Hardwig 1985). On the other hand, experts tend to be driven by internal disciplinary problems, which rarely and usually only accidentally intersect with issues pertinent to people's everyday lives. In some cases it may therefore not be rational to depend on experts (Pierson 1994). It follows that if traditional experts bring a wider range of concerns to bear on their interpretations of the world then their conclusions should be more broadly trustworthy.

Consideration of sociopolitics and ethics is evidently a required feature of 'legitimate' expertise (Jasanoff 2003: 160). However, the archaeological discourse embedded in heritage organisations and museums is often based on processual archaeological thinking (Smith 2004: 37–43). This allows participatory practices to occur (e.g. community archaeology projects) but for expertise to be ultimately upheld, referring to knowledge held by others in a consultative manner at best and ignored at worst (McNiven and Russell 2005: 232–242). However, in more genuinely collaborative practice, which necessarily involves reflexivity about disciplinary norms and assumptions, and a consideration of sociopolitical contexts and ethics, others can be more equally included. When this does not occur, experts run the risk of epistemically excluding others, which may have sociopolitical implications. Spivak (1998: 281) used the term 'epistemic violence' to refer to the systemic and routine silencing of marginalised groups over authorised Western or disciplinary practice. More recently,

Fricker (2007) introduced a similar notion of 'epistemic injustice' which occurs when the views of marginalised communities are considered incredible by those with the power to make decisions, despite their lived experience indicating that they should in fact be highly knowledgeable about particular subjects.

Epistemic exclusion becomes a form of injustice because it involves the control of an elite over the ability of others to act in the world, preventing them from striving towards social or political change as well as speaking back to those in power (Dotson 2012). When a group is unable to act as a "full epistemic subject" they are prevented from benefiting from prevailing social discourses (Fricker 2007: 145). For instance, a woman may be unable to protest against sexual harassment because of a lack of understanding or distortion in the prevailing collective knowledge about the concept of sexism, and is therefore blocked from claiming recognition for the harms that result from sexual harassment. Other examples include experiences of racism and homophobia, which may have been denied legitimacy before these concepts became more popularly recognised (Fricker 2007: 150–165). Wylie (2008) has applied the concept of epistemic injustice to archaeology, arguing that those traditionally marginalised from archaeological interpretations are likely to hold important insights but are excluded because their views are incompatible with the discourse and conceptual resources of the dominant culture. This is a deeply human form of injustice based on a lack of recognition and understanding. Instead, when the marginalised are considered to hold useful, legitimate expertise, it becomes necessary to involve them in decision-making. It also improves disciplinary practice, bringing all relevant information and the range of criticism to bear on the usual disciplinary framework (Anderson 2012: 171–172; Fricker 2007: 7–8; Longino 1990: 7–12; Wylie 2008). This depends on the situation at hand; in some cases many opinions together may offer a more accurate conclusion than one or two expert opinions (e.g. guessing how many sweets are in a jar), but in complex contexts, diverse epistemologies or ontologies may need to be sought (Solomon 2006). This argument is particularly important for proponents of crowdsourcing to consider, especially those who value the 'wisdom of crowds' (see Surowiecki 2005). In this way, experts become obliged to develop methods that allow them to target and engage with interested and relevant parties, and with different types of expert knowledge.

Two inter-related areas of study within archaeology have specifically analysed the ways in which archaeological knowledge is produced and how the boundaries of the discipline are maintained. Firstly, as with postprocessual archaeologies more generally, 'archaeological ethnographies' were encouraged by a greater recognition of the political and ethical implications of archaeological products, in addition to archaeologists' wish to engage with previously excluded local communities (e.g. Bartu 2000; Castañeda 1996, 2009; El-Haj 2001; Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009; Handler and Gable 1997; Mortensen and Hollowell 2009; Stroulia and Buck Sutton 2010). These ethnographies specially investigate the alternative (e.g. indigenous, popular, local, possibly 'non-archaeological') discourses that surround archaeological heritage, thus ensuring the contingent status of archaeological knowledge and decentring of their previously sole authority. Secondly, 'ethnographies of archaeological practice' more specifically look at the creation and recreation of disciplinary norms within archaeology, rather than directly studying extra-disciplinary communities' discourses about cultural heritage. In turning the ethnographic gaze towards the discipline itself the categories of 'observed' and 'observers' become blurred, and the disciplinary norms of archaeology can be more critically challenged (see Edgeworth 2006). Taken together these two areas of study indicate that archaeology is also a discipline that creates its products and defines its boundaries through relationships between people: a kind of expert performance. Ethnographies of archaeological practice are particularly important because they challenge the tendency in many case studies in heritage and museum studies to simply describe the discourses of non-archaeologists as 'alternative' or 'folk tales' (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009: 71). Instead, they focus more explicitly on the ways in which the discipline of archaeology produces its norms and excludes others.

It has been observed that archaeological products are created through the actions and thoughts of individuals (Edgeworth 2003, 2006; Yarrow 2003, 2006; also see Gero 1996; Moser 1996, 2007). An object becomes an archaeological object through its relationship with an archaeologist: so a bowl for instance may become a 'Barton incised bowl' and related to a particular archaeological time, whereas the user or creator of that same bowl would have defined it differently (Van Reybrouck and Jacobs 2006: 41–42, also see Lippert 2006). It is likely non-disciplinary communities would define it differently still. Thus, archaeologists perform the skills that define

them as 'archaeologists', skills which conform to disciplinary norms, and which only archaeologists have mastered (Shanks and Macguire 1996). Newcomers to the archaeological community must learn how to act, how to discern the importance of particular objects, and doing this successfully, to the satisfaction of other archaeologists, grants an individual the status of 'archaeologist' (see Goodwin 1994; Holtorf and Schadla-Hall 1999; Van Reybrouck and Jacobs 2006). It is often within archaeological field schools that people learn how to participate as part of the archaeological community, using particular techniques and tools (Perry 2004, 2006). Moreover, archaeology demands a particular kind of language and scientific inquiry based upon Western scientific methods and the objectification of peoples and their cultures, in addition to valuing the material over the intangible (see McNiven and Russell 2005; Smith 2004, 2006; also see Joyce 2002). This language excludes others (laypeople or other expert communities) from participating on an equal basis in the interpretation of archaeological resources. Intersecting with sociopolitical contexts, such as power differentials between archaeologists and indigenous and other communities, the public come to see archaeologists as existing in a position of authority—as legitimate stewards of the past.

These observations do not deny the status of archaeologists as experts, nor do they deny the importance of material objects, as symmetrical archaeologists have indicated. Instead, archaeologists and other discipline-based experts, such as those based in museums, should be seen as individuals who have successfully met the requirements of a particular community. They sustain their status as 'expert' through their relationship with other accepted members of the archaeological discipline, in addition to their accrual of discipline-based knowledge about the past. Indeed, scientists may perform 'boundary work', labelling what is appropriately objective and relevant to the discipline (Jasanoff 2003: 160–161; also see Becher and Trowler 2001: 85–88). They may systematically exclude other significant perspectives and through the demarcation a discipline or profession some are raised to positions of authority whilst others are disempowered.

The recognition of the contingency of discipline-based knowledge is a key feature of the new museology. To some extent it recognised the performative nature of expertise, although fewer in-depth studies exist on the relational nature of expertise

(e.g. Macdonald 2002). Nevertheless, a number of vital observations have been made. The act of removing objects from their original contexts and placing them in a disciplinary framework within a museum is a demonstration of connoisseurship or expertise (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 33). The use of particular disciplinary techniques and discourses is particularly important for this performance (Clifford 1986, 1988; Karp and Kratz 2000; Marcus and Fischer 1986). Furthermore, the museum exhibition can be recognised as a kind of political performance, controlling the authorised values and truths of a community (Duncan 1995; Preziosi and Farago 2004). They attempt to constrain the possible interpretations that may be made around objects, and are thus an expression of power (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 168–172, 2000: 14; see Foucault [1995] 1970). As in observations of scientific practice, museums attempt to hide the contingency of interpretations, and the various negotiations and power asymmetries that eventually give rise to a seemingly stable exhibition or catalogue (Karp and Kratz 2000; Macdonald 2002: 8). The increased number of multivocal exhibitions and collaborations between museums and other communities is an attempt to address museums' power to exclude, as is the rise in support for visitor agency, and more recently the use of participatory web technologies.

However, it should be questioned where sovereignty truly lies in the attempt to involve other communities, even where there is a theoretically informed recognition of the workings of disciplines. In theory, the new museology attempts to support multiple expert communities, but scholars and collaborating community members have increasingly pointed towards the lack of effective impact on the museum as a discipline-based collecting institution. For instance, museums continue to accrue resources and may assimilate 'alternative' viewpoints rather than affording interpretive sovereignty to others. The following section determines the features of effective, decentred collaboration or participation.

5.3. The Problem of Participation

The notion of decentring authority, and in turn the benefits that accrue from museums, has been based upon a largely unquestioned commitment to the idea of 'participation' and related terms like 'collaboration'. Participation has been considered something

largely positive, which can aid in bringing non-disciplinary communities into museum spaces (online and offline). As outlined in previous chapters, both external pressures and internal disciplinary debates have resulted in the rise of participation, and museums in particular have attempted to maintain their relevance to society (Janes and Conaty 2005). There is certainly a fear that museums will disappear into irrelevance: Black (2010: 8), for example, argues that museums should 'persuade' the public of the value of museums, 'convince' individuals, families, and communities, of the 'unique benefits' they will gain from museums, and 'persuade' local communities to work in partnership with them. All these terms speak to the museum as a coercive entity. The underlying disciplinary and related sociopolitical structures have remained under-examined yet these are vital to consider as they determine power asymmetries in participation.

This section aims to deconstruct the surety of participation as a positive act by pointing towards critical discussions on power relations and ethics. These critical discussions have emerged in archaeological and museological literature, as well as wider literature drawn from critical pedagogy, development studies and internet studies. The concept is assessed through a number of theoretical concepts and models of participation: the 'contact zone', spectrums or ladders of participation, 'voice' and critical pedagogy. It concludes that participation often, whether intentional or not, upholds the status quo, maintaining museums as the institutional authority at the centre. A greater concern with ethics may improve museums' participation with external communities. These observations are essential to the empirical analysis of museums' use of social media in the subsequent chapters.

5.3.1. Contact Zones, Unequal Benefits and Digital Labour

A useful starting point for the discussion of inequity in power relations and the concurrent accrual of benefits is the concept of the 'contact zone'. The term refers to the power-charged historical, political, and moral relationships between two cultures (i.e. the museum as a disciplinary culture and an external community) (see Clifford 1997). In the contact zone, communities are argued to repair a traditionally unequal power relationship, forcing the museum especially to encounter and learn from the

politics involved in its own history, as well as the deep significance of particular collections to various contemporary communities (Peers and Brown 2003: 8–10). However, though many have identified the importance of museums acting as contact zones in recent years, many have also failed to recognise the longer disciplinary histories and embedded power relations involved in these (Boast 2011: 64–66). The rise of recognition of visitor agency amongst many museum scholars has resulted in a divide between those who believe the museum is not a institution based upon the enactment of governmentality because of the strong agency of visitors to formulate alternative meanings (e.g. Witcomb 2003: 24–26) and those who assert the museum to be a powerful and coercive institution despite an acceptance of visitor agency (Bennett 1995; Boast 2011; Hein 2006; Mason 2006; see Chapter 2.3.2). Although the museum may now allow for dialogue between the museum and other communities, this could be merely an extension of governmentality, that is, managed multiculturalism aimed at regulating populations (Bennett 1998). Witcomb (2003: 17–18), however, argues that the power of museums to coerce populations is not as strong as this image suggests, largely based upon the argument that actively engaged audiences can create alternative meanings. That is, as outlined in previous chapters, museums are not about fixing meanings and communicating them to audiences in a didactic manner. Yet this argument does not recognise that museums may resist alternative meanings very well, they may continue to attempt to 'civilise' populations (Hein 2006: 114–122), and continue to be impacted greatly by their disciplinary and sociopolitical underpinnings.

The underlying power relations must then be analysed. Boast (2011: 57–60) has drawn the attention back to the original definition of the contact zone, outlined by Pratt (1991, 1992). In this way contact zones are seen as neocolonial devices and an instrument of appropriation, assuring museums of the accrual of resources (e.g. knowledge, information) at the expense of the 'participating' or 'collaborating' communities (Boast 2011: 64–66). This is related to the longer histories of museums to collect, alienate and reduce; museums alienate communities from their material culture and tend to reduce the richness and diversity of those contained in a museum (Harrison 1997). In Pratt's (1991) work, contact zones involve autoethnography, that is, a community entering an unequal or colonial space and making representations of itself. Autoethnography offers the chance for others to speak, such as in a contact

zone, and may raise consciousness amongst a dominant society, and thus lead towards social change (Boylorn and Orbe 2013; Ellis 2004, 2007). They may speak to the dominant institution, claiming their own abilities to research and control their cultures (Denzin et al. 2008; Smith 1999). On the other hand, these representations or autoethnographies are neocolonial in the sense that a community must describe themselves by engaging with the representation others (i.e. the colonial, institutional centres) have made of them. Furthermore, the contact zone is space imbued with inequality since the powerful centre offers the space for participation, but does so in a way that controls how others can participate and what is legitimate. In so doing, the museum protects itself as a powerful centre (Boast 2011). The museum can thus benefit from collaborations to an extent far greater than the collaborating communities. Often, it is unclear what those communities gain.

The inequality of power is most clearly demonstrated through the evident directions of dependence between traditional museums and tribal museums. It is rare for traditional, dominant society or non-native museums to depend upon tribal museums for loans, for example, yet tribal museums often depend upon traditional museums accommodating their requests (Hoerig 2010; Svensson 2008; also see McMullen 2008). Traditional museums harbour the greater expertise in various techniques, more funding and larger collections. Despite collaborations, the status quo remains: the marginalised are still marginal. Knowledge may continue to be extracted from other communities for the primary benefit of the central institution rather than other communities; they can expand their collections whereas others are offered "precious little" (Hoerig 2010: 70; also see Boast and Enote 2013). Even where more equal collaborations seemingly emerge, they tend to serve as temporary spectacles, failing to influence the permanent catalogues of the museum in the long-term thus allowing museums to temporarily protect themselves (see Dawdy 2009; Srinivasan et al. 2010). Museums seem to continue to set the agendas, academic research objectives, control recruitment, and dictate the final editing and presentation of information (Ames 2005; Clifford 1997; Kahn 2000). For indigenous groups especially, to not be subject to neocolonialism they must be afforded true cultural autonomy that is separate from multicultural-based participation or ideas about universal heritage. Without allowing others to gain sovereignty and control their own participation, autonomy is ignored and communities' differences are simply owned by the centre (Ames 1994; Todd

1992a, 1992b). This involves "a decentering of those in control (ourselves) and of their (our) institutions, and therefore, in a real sense, a certain loss of power and privilege" (Ames 1994: 15). This can be more generally applied due to museologists' claims that the web decentres authority at large, forging the museum as a widely democratic and socially relevant institution.

Yet, museum collaborations have seemingly failed to deliver on the effective actual sharing of authority, even twenty years after Ames' statement, meaning museums gain at the expense of others and these other communities continue to participate on the terms of the current elite. In many contexts, archaeology is a practice with an inherent culture of appropriation which is linked to its related institutions like museums. We must question who benefits from museums and archaeology and who does not (Hamilakis 2007: 24). Indeed for many indigenous communities, archaeology is a form of scientific colonialism, as the archaeological record that is their heritage is extracted and taken elsewhere for the benefit of others (Zimmerman 2001). It is clear that academics have tended to benefit from collaborative projects, leaving little in return.

Academics, gain tenure, peer-reviewed articles and other professional kudos. The communities being collaborated with receive little in return despite often vague claims that public archaeology aids issues such as economic development, education, community cohesion (Little 2002), although more equal collaborations are attempting to rectify this (see Ames 1999; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008a; Nicholas and Hollowell 2007). Yet even when archaeologists and other heritage managers study the heritage of their own cultures, appropriation is involved in the sense of benefitting by extracting resources from others (Nicholas and Wylie 2012; also see Smith and Waterton 2009). As discussed above, archaeologists assert the importance of their viewpoints relative to other communities, creating boundaries about which knowledges are appropriately archaeological and relevant to the discipline and which are not. Moreover, they regulate access to the heritage by storing away information in intellectually or physically inaccessible reports, or objects in the stores of museums if they are (most likely) not on display. Further, they determine whose interests archaeology should serve (Nicholas 2012). In this regard, the idea of 'stewardship' is often referred to, that is archaeologists exist in order to protect a universal heritage

(see Society of American Archaeology 1996). Similar issues are involved in museums' attempts to become more socially relevant.

For museums espousing the benefits of participatory web technologies, the decentring of authority and expanding the reach of the museum are key issues. However, it is not clear that online participation, resulting in user-generated content, effects any permanent changes upon the museum as an institution despite claims of improving collections, for example. It is within the growing area of crowdsourcing that particular concerns can be raised. Crowdsourcing within culture institutions is agued to produce 'public goods' with wider benefits to society and personal benefits for participants (e.g. Dunn and Hedges 2012; Holley 2010; Terras 2014). These claims are rarely well supported, however. With reference to the Transcribe Bentham project, for example, which aims to make the writings of the philosopher Jeremy Bentham more "well known, accessible, and searchable" via transcription tasks (Terras 2014), actual public impact cannot be quantified. What is clearer is the kind of benefits offered to the institution and the project organisers. Most significantly, project organisers gain academic papers, funding for their work, and professional recognition. Besides some acknowledgement in academic papers, it cannot be argued convincingly that crowdsourcing participants benefit to a greater extent. Thus, crowdsourcing and user-generated content in general raises ethical issues regarding fair remuneration for the effort involved for participants. Some contributors may be observed to work for substantial amounts of time but to receive little monetary (or otherwise) remuneration. A particularly stark example of inequality in benefits between the participating parties can be noted from BBC Your Paintings, a tagging project involving the BBC, the Public Catalogue Foundation and several museums across the UK. One tagger identified a seventeenth-century original Van Dyck painting valued at up to £1 million (BBC News 2013): the Bowes Museum, which held the painting thus benefitted substantially from the work of others. Although an extreme example, this demonstrates that inequality in benefits exists, but is hidden under the guise of the positive discourse that surrounds crowdsourcing.

Project organisers have argued that crowdsourcing is "not simply a form of cheap labour for the creation or digitisation of content" (Dunn and Hedges 2012: 40) and diverges from the original business roots of Web 2.0 (Owens 2013: 122). It is not

clear that the wider critical internet studies literature supports such assertions. Brabham (2013) points out that crowdsourcing should ideally ensure mutual benefit for the organisation and the participating crowd. This can only be achieved where the locus of control exists between the crowd and the organisation; if the organisation controls the goals and products then the crowd becomes a "mere pawn in the organisation's overall goals" (Brabham 2013: 2–3). We should question whether this is the case in museums: critical internet studies sees the more pernicious side of user-generated content.

The notion of 'digital labour' has emerged in recent years as a concept around which to assess whether the effort and desires of participating online audiences are appropriately matched by the benefits of participation (Fuchs 2014b; Scholz 2013b; also see Terranova 2000, 2013). Andrejevic (2013: 156) argues that labour freely offered (e.g. the production of user-generated content or participation in crowdsourcing) may not be reasonably considered as 'exploitative'. Hesmondhalgh (2010: 271–272) also argues that we cannot see these people as exploited compared to unpaid interns or those profoundly impacted by industrial capitalism such as sweatshop workers. Although this is certainly the case, a number of important observations can be made. Users produce various kinds of value through their online actions, not least a great economic value. Data drawn from social networking sites is sold, resulting in the platforms gaining massive price tags, and this data is used for the benefit of various businesses. The users involved in producing this data have little say over its extraction and use and rarely benefit from it. This means participation often unwittingly turns into a form of exploitation (Petersen 2008; Scholz 2013b; van Dijck and Nieborg 2009). In Marxist terms, profits are gained by the few and workers are alienated from these (Andrejevic 2013 154; also see Fuchs 2014b). Furthermore, there is an element of coercion, as users are often forced into using particular online platforms—without them they would not be able to communicate or maintain social relationships in the ways they would wish (Fuchs 2013: 58). Consideration of the concept of digital labour and a concern for the benefits accrued by users of social media, or 'digital workers' as Scholz (2013b) calls them, are essential if museums are to claim the democratisation of the museum through participatory internet technologies.

A veneer of democratisation (either in the discourses surrounding a technology or the apparent interactivity of a platform) hides a more pernicious top-down management. This may be the case in many crowdsourcing, and especially crowdfunding, projects where organisations seek resources and give little in return (see Brabham 2013: 39–40). Indeed, platforms exist not to sell their services as commodities to users, *per se*, but to sell the data produced by users as commodities to advertisers, resulting in 'no privacy' as the default status of many social networking sites (Vaidhyanathan 2011: 84). Some sites have opened access to data, such as Twitter allowing access to an archive of tweets dating from 2006 (Zhuang 2014). However, the ability to benefit depends upon a user's familiarity with its Application Programming Interface. Most users are, as a result, "passive" content producers (Puschmann and Burgess 2014: 52). That is, users of social media produce content that may satisfy their communicative or other needs, but also contribute massive value to centralised organisations: this can be seen to include the social media platform itself; marketing agencies making use of massive quantities of data, and; companies or organisations looking to market their products through social media (including, significantly, museums). By bringing these issues to light the aim is to create a more ethical basis for participation that is not based upon the logic of markets and profit. Indeed, this is the basis of much internet commons-based media (Fuchs 2013: 62–63; Sandoval 2013: 158–159). Social media involves quite pernicious concepts, such as exploitation, but museums are espousing the positive results of social media use without critically considering these issues. Moreover, it can be seen that concepts such as appropriation of resources for a centre match well with the traditional function of museums to collect or appropriate. In this way, traditional authority and patterns of inequality may even be reinforced or increased by the use of social media. The more empirical analysis which follows this chapter attempts to assess the extent to which the central organisation, the museum, gains at the expense of others.

5.3.2. *Models of Collaboration and Participation*

The discussion above, as well as the analysis presented in the producing chapters, has questioned the effectiveness of collaborative projects. Several models of participation and collaboration in museum studies and archaeology exist, though much discussion

takes the form of a retrospective analysis of particular case studies. The models of participation tend to emphasise that there are no principles that can be followed exactly in any given situation since the specific sociopolitical circumstances demand varying considerations. This section outlines some of these models, namely those that have been developed within the fields of Participatory Action Research, critical pedagogy, and development studies. These are useful models that attempt to account for deep-seated asymmetries in power-relations and attempt to more thoroughly decentre the benefits of participation. The chapter then returns to a consideration of ethics, referring especially to the ethical arguments made within indigenous and collaborative archaeology, which demand a greater reflexivity of archaeology and museum practitioners towards disciplinary histories. The aim is to challenge the usually unquestioned 'friendliness' of the concept of collaboration and participation, arguing that participation (especially when involving web technologies) is not a quick fix to more deep-seated problems.

5.3.2.1. Ladders and Spectrums of Participation and Collaboration

One of the earliest and most influential models of participation is Arnstein's (1969) 'ladder of citizen participation', which pointed towards the frustrating and 'empty' process of participation when there is no redistribution of power (Figure 5.1). This ladder progresses through a number of stages where participants gain increased powers of decision-making and the ability to benefit from decisions. It is also recognised that particular individuals within groups may exist on various rungs of the ladder owing to other intersecting issues like racism and paternalism. Even where higher levels of participation are encouraged communities may be limited due to a lack of socio-economic and political resources, knowledge, and difficulties in organising participation. A number of museum scholars have adopted ladders of participation to account for differences in the apparent commitment of online participants. Simon's (2010) ladder of participation, for example, progresses from lurking behaviour where individuals consume content and seemingly give nothing back towards 'fuller' levels of participation with others (Figure 5.2). This ladder is particularly problematic because it firstly does not recognise that many acts of participation do not leave tangible traces (Kelly and Russo 2008) and secondly it does

not account for the power relations and structures of inequality that prevent equal participation.

Figure 5.1. Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation

Citizen power	**Citizen Control**	Citizens in full charge of policy and management, with set criteria for how others can change conditions. However, may encourage balkanisation and new leaders may be just as exclusionary of other groups as traditional leaders. In addition, citizens may not have the resources to sustain control.
	Delegated Power	Negotiation can result in citizens achieving great influence in decision making over a particular plan or programme. Citizens have clear majority and can hold traditional power holders to account. Power holders start the bargaining process to resolve differences.
	Partnership	Power is redistributed through negotiation between citizens and power holders. Decision making and planning through joint policy boards and committees. May be a financial or time burden, so citizen leaders need to be supported.
Tokenism	**Placation**	Citizens are afforded some degree of influence but tokenism is still apparent. May involve inclusion of citizen representatives on boards or committees, but traditional powers hold the majority vote.
	Consultation	Citizens are asked for opinions, but no assurance that concerns are actually taken into account by officials. A form of public relations as officials can show they have gone through the motions of involving others.
	Informing	Important first step towards true participation. Informing citizens of their rights and responsibilities, but a one-way flow of information with no opportunity for feedback or influence.
Non-participation	**Therapy**	Citizen involvement as a kind of group therapy. Focus on altering the value and attitudes of citizens to prevent discontent.
	Manipulation	Engineering the support of citizens. Participation as a public relations vehicle. Officials 'educating' citizens, rather than the reverse.

Adapted from Arnstein (1969)

Figure 5.2. Simon's (2010) Ladder of Participation

Stage 5	Individuals engage with each other socially. This stage sees the entire institution as a social place, full of challenging, interesting and enriching encounters.
Stage 4	Individual interactions are networked for social use. Visitors can connect with other visitors as well as staff members.
Stage 3	Individual interactions are networked in aggregate. Visitors are provided with the opportunity to see other people's opinions alongside their own.
Stage 2	Individual interaction with content. An opportunity is provided for museum visitors to take action, make challenges or ask questions.
Stage 1	Individual consumes content. Museum audiences are simply provided with content.

Adapted from Simon (2010: 26)

A 'spectrum of collaboration' was developed by Chip Colwell and T.J. Ferguson (2008a, 2008b) and demonstrated through a series of authors' case studies (Figure 5.3). This stretched from merely communicating research to descendent communities to a genuine 'synergy' between scholars and community members that produce unique results. Depending on a project's position along the spectrum, the authority to define that project's aims and objectives resides variably amongst the discipline, institution-based professionals or the collaborating community. This spectrum takes sociopolitical contexts into account, since where the project lies depends upon the sociopolitical context of the work, ethical considerations, such as the histories of marginalisation or colonialism involved in that community, and practicalities (e.g. whether a community has time to spare to collaborate). The ethical stance is a fundamental concern (see below). The project may involve the archaeologists doing most of the work, but this is perfectly acceptable, and possibly preferable for a community, as long as the archaeologists are being guided by sound ethics. Thus, effective collaboration depends upon not a sole commitment to disciplinary norms but a willingness to engage with other methods of research, ways of thinking, and the histories and sociopolitical interests implicated (Wylie 2008). Many collaborative projects are guided by the model of Participatory Action Research (PAR), which

involves communities and scholars working to ensure solidarity and action on particular issues (Stoecker 1999). PAR involves the co-construction of research designs, data, interpretation of results, and joint ownership of products (McGhee 2012; Robinson 1996). Furthermore, scholars are encouraged to use their resources and skills to explore dialogues in society. Some form of social transformation is essential to PAR (see Kincheloe and McLaren 2000; Pyburn 2009; Schensul et al. 2008) as well as transformation of the institution (Petras and Porpora 1993). Importantly, PAR attempts to be non-coercive in making collaboration grounded in the concerns of the affected groups (Wadsworth 1998).

Figure 5.3. Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson's (2008b) Spectrum of Collaboration

Resistance	Participation	Collaboration
Goals develop in opposition	Goals develop independently	Goals develop jointly
Information is secreted	Information is disclosed	Information flows freely
No stakeholder involvement	Limited stakeholder involvement	Full stakeholder involvement
No voice for stakeholders	Some voice for stakeholders	Full voice for stakeholders
No support is given or obtained	Support is solicited	Support is tacit
Needs of others unconsidered	Needs of most parties mostly met	Needs of all parties met

Adapted from Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2008b: 11)

Another spectrum of collaboration proposed more specifically in relation to online participation is Carpentier's (2011a, 2012). This describes participation as representative of minimalist participation at one extremity, which involves great inequalities between the various actors, and maximalist participation at the other, which demands more egalitarian relationships (Figure 5.4). Minimal participation is characterised by the centralised nature of decision-making where participation is controlled and limited to particular places and times. On the other hand, maximalist

participation demands ceding a degree of control, therefore allowing for shared decision-making. This cannot ignore power relations and should take into account the ability of communities to have their voices heard. Importantly 'access' and 'interaction' are not the same as true 'participation'. The former terms define the conditions of possibility for participation, but fail to take power and authority into account (Carpentier 2011a: 45). Access refers to gaining a presence within a media platform (which in turn allows for the opportunity to interact and participation), whereas interaction refers to the establishment of socio-communicative relationships between people and organisations. Participation, however, further takes power intro account in the ability of people to participate in decision-making (Carpentier 2011a: 139–141). This suggests that what many museums describe as 'participation' is simply broadening the possibility of access, which is not true participation in which authority and benefits are decentred. Indeed, like the concept of 'community' words such as 'collaboration' or 'participation' may simply create a veneer of co-creation or shared authority, and an illusion of choice. As discussed in Chapter 4, this is evident in online interactive platforms which paradoxically inhibit the range of interaction that can occur. Museums may fail to deliver their promises if they do not critically consider power relations, the features of particular social media platforms, and the longer sociopolitical histories that determine the ability of others to participate.

Figure 5.4. Carpentier's (2011a) Model of Minimalist and Maximalist Participation

Minimalist Participation	Maximalist Participation
Focus on representation and delegation of power	Balancing representation and participation
Participation as elite will	Attempt to maximise participation at a micro and macro level
Politics interpreted only as institutionalised politics	Politics as a necessary dimension of the social
Unidirectional participation	Multidirectional participation
Decision making as homogenous popular will	Focus on heterogeneity in decision making

Adapted from Carpentier (2011a: 17)

A community should not be coerced into participation and should be afforded sovereignty within a truly collaborative relationship. Some communities may in fact have no interest in collaborative relationships. With reference to museum data, communities have a strong sense of their own heritage and do not want to partner with museums in allowing for their knowledge to be used by a central institution. Instead, participation should "remain an invitation—permanently on offer and embedded in balanced power relations—to those who want to have their voices heard" (Carpentier 2011a: 359). There is a need to move towards participation being considered an invitational process, so that communities are not coerced (Carpentier 2011a ; Foss and Griffin 1995). In museum collaborations, it may be argued that communities are coerced into participation in order for a museum to protect itself of charges of cultural irrelevance. Where participation is coerced, it tends to represent 'consultation', that is a more neoliberal form of participation where it is reduced to merely a 'technocratic' administration process (Cooke and Kothari 2001: 7; Smith and Waterton 2009). These kinds of projects fail to undermine inequality in society and more broadly fail to deliver the asserted benefits of participating in museums. Moreover, they serve to uphold the disciplinary centre by ultimately appropriating resources to a far greater extent than a community receives (Boast 2011: 66). Also problematic is the observation that collaboration also ideally demands a long-term commitment which often cannot be achieved, and so most projects appear to have a 'life span'. What tends to be seen is a plethora of individual projects, composed of personal relationships between particular individuals within the various participating communities (including the museum or archaeological community), rather than a discipline-wide commitment to ethical collaborative practice.

For collaboration to be successful, at least within particular projects, or to make a permanent impact on particular institutions then what is valued by the discipline needs to be altered. As discussed in the previous section, disciplinary boundaries need to be explicitly interrogated and challenged. We may appreciate the good intentions of many archaeologists and museum professionals but we also need to interrogate the power-relations that are involved within disciplines.

5.3.2.2. Voice and Dialogue

The concept of 'voice' has emerged as an important concern within development studies, particularly in the area of Information and Communication Technologies for Development (ICT4D). Whereas discourse within development projects has tended to include words such as 'participation', as in collaborative museology and archaeology, the rhetorical assertions of power shifts remain just that—unrealised rhetoric. Voice involves speaking across various cultural, political, social and economic boundaries but is often denied by those in power as it is not positioned to be valued (Couldry 2010). Thus, taking voice into account means attending to sociopolitical realities on a case-by-case basis. The concept refers to the multidirectional obligations in participation, whereby somebody is always listening and responding to the voices (the desires, and viewpoints) of others (Cornwall 2006, 2008; Cornwall and Coelho 2007; Couldry 2009; Mitra 2004). This may be an epistemic obligation (Fricker 2007). Morgan-Olsen (2010) points out that many communicative contexts involving those in power and demand the marginalised to translate their insights for the dominant culture. To share the authority to speak then voices must be valued, rather than simply facilitated, by considering the factors that prevent equal participation. This is in opposition to simply providing technologies such as social media and expecting change to follow as a result of participation being a possibility (Tacchi 2011; Tacchi and Kiran 2008). This was a particular problem with Mitra's (2004) assertion that the web allows the marginalised to carve out a discursive space on the web to speak for themselves about particular issues. His focus on a website for South Asian women fails to fully take into account the concept of 'listening', the vital counterpoint to 'voice'. In many online socio-communicative contexts, such as social networking between friends or acquaintances on Facebook, individual users are largely fulfilling both speaking and listening roles, whereas museums may not be positioned to 'listen'.

Many participatory projects enacted by central organisations in effect do not allow for voice. When a central, powerful organisation enters the frame they must actively adopt the role as listener for substantial changes to occur, and recognition of the needs of others must occur (Couldry 2009). In this way, Cornwall (2006, 2008) has questioned the extent to which participation actually represents a meaningful involvement for marginalised people in decision-making. Instead, it may resemble a

one-way, 'invited' or 'enforced' state of affairs, in which no power is afforded to the marginalised. They are unable to determine agendas and therefore they are unable to address their needs and concerns. As Cornwall (2008: 13) points out: "translating formal participation into substantive democratic engagement is another matter entirely; having a seat at the table is a necessary but not sufficient condition for exercising voice. Nor is presence at the table on the part of public officials the same as a willingness to listen and respond". Such arguments return us to the idea of many participatory projects representing a neoliberal kind of consultation, or management of diversity. Neoliberalism reduces politics to function like an 'efficient market'. This in effect reduces meaningful social exchanges between the marginalised and those in power (Couldry 2010: 13). Couldry (2010: 51) describes how communities may be allowed a consultation role at certain 'local' levels, but this fails to impact higher levels of government. For instance, the UK government's proposals to allow people to comment on government websites can be described as superficial.

Thus true dialogue is demanded, where decisions are not made prior to a 'consultation', but take into account the needs and desires of other communities. An avoidance of creating invited or coerced 'contact zones' (Pratt 1992), which are imbued with asymmetrical power relationships, is also required. This involves sociopolitical awareness and a realisation of ethical concerns, allowing for the discipline to question its own assumptions and values, and to be open to the idea that others are equally expert. Mouffe's (2000) concept of agonism is useful to conceptualise this. Agonism refers to dissensus, disagreements between respectful adversaries rather than antagonism between enemies. This perpetual contestation is likely to be a concern for some, but this is ultimately focused on democratic debate which takes power relations into account. Indeed, the inclusion of legitimate alternative perspectives, as well as the exclusion of disruptive and unwelcome voices (Noveck 2003), is an essential feature of an ethically- and epistemologically-sound space (Fricker 2007).

5.3.2.3. Critical Pedagogy

Critical pedagogy combines educational theories with critical theory, emphasising that learning can occur across lifetimes, and that 'teachers' often have as much to learn as 'students'. Importantly, it emphasises that learning does not just occur in schools, but across cultural and social arenas, including museums, the arts more generally, broadcast media, and workplaces (Simon 1992; also see Illich 1971). Critical pedagogues investigate the ways in which pedagogy is a technology of power, which reproduces particular social relations, and defines which kinds of behaviour, moral and political stances are legitimate, and which should be prevented (Giroux 1991: 55–56). Culture generally is seen as a generative field, where particular meanings or ideologies are imbued and distributed. Culture should therefore be a focus for opposition, allowing for other identities and values to be negotiated (Freire 1996 [1970]; Giroux 2005). Authority, rather than being ignored or glossed over, is revealed, thus posing the status quo as a problem to be discussed (Kincheloe 2008: 6–11). Critical pedagogy sees learners as active, becoming aware of the uneven distribution of resources (e.g. cultural capital) and the consequences of this. In this way, critical pedagogy seeks to encourage marginalised people to think about themselves in a different way and to become active participants and for 'teachers' (which may include museum professionals and scholars) to facilitate in the struggle towards a more just society. Culture can be critiqued by helping others to become producers (which may include facilitating access to and enabling efficient use of technology) and develop critical thinking skills (Giroux 2005). It can be considered an emancipatory approach, seeking a more democratic reality for marginalised communities.

This establishes participants within mutually beneficial relationships, which allows for dialogic listening between the centres and the margins. Transdisciplinary research goes beyond the academy to include public stakeholders in the definition of project objectives and desired outcomes (Wickson et al. 2006). Critical pedagogy can be considered a transdisciplinary approach since it reveals and emphasises the sociopolitical contexts that determine the way knowledge is produced and the power relations that are implicated (Giroux 2005; Kincheloe 2008). Freire (1996 [1970]) referred to this process as 'conscientisation', the cultivation of a critical consciousness

about how a marginal position is supported, and an acceptance of responsibility for both the learner and the teacher to struggle towards desired outcomes. The term emphasises marginalised ways of knowing the world related to real-world problems, and helps to ensure equal participation and mutually beneficial results. An avoidance of 'hegemonic' forms of teaching (that uphold the status quo in society) and 'accommodating' teaching (that seem to recognise other thoughts and desires, but tend to assimilate these to the whims of the dominant society) is essential (Aronowitz and Girowux 1993).

In more recent years critical pedagogy has also explicitly challenged neoliberalism, arguing against the 'efficient' management of culture and allowing for a genuine expansion of democratic politics (Giroux 2005). Critical pedagogy, importantly, does not deny a role for traditional experts; it recognises them as having much to bring, but demands 'humility', accepting that they are not sole owners of truth and knowledge (Freire 1996 [1970]: 69–71), and the ability to work with and for others. This matches well to the aims of many museologists and is important as it specifically emphasises solidarity with specific communities rather than vaguely defined publics.

5.4. Ethical Expertise

It is possible to return to the collaborative museology and archaeology literature in order to find a firmer grounding for guiding collaborative action in museums' use of social media. An increasing number of scholars and professionals, as well as professional organisations such as the Society for American Archaeology, are beginning to be concerned with ethics in archaeology and heritage management. Since the emergence of postmodern approaches to museology and archaeology there has remained a concern about 'extreme' relativism and concern about whose values we support (e.g. Brown 2004: 343). This is particularly concerning for experts who believe their status as such will be undermined. Smith and Waterton (2009: 11) claimed that professional heritage experts' interest in the past "is no more or less legitimate, or worthy of respect, than anyone else's". This is perhaps not fair in all contexts, as disciplinary experts do hold a specific kind of expertise about 'things' and the past. Instead 'postmodern' approaches should be seen to increase the need to

challenge the erroneous interpretations that are encountered (Trigger 2006), meaning that some interests are illegitimate, whereas others are more 'worthy of respect' (including archaeologists amongst other expert communities). Ethical guidelines can direct our decisions in this regard and which can help to establish current authorities as 'ethically-aware experts'.

In the past, ethics have tended to focus on the relationship of the discipline to its subject matter, the archaeological record. Specifically, they have established archaeologists as stewards for the past and are measured by guidelines for best practice. These make archaeologists 'experts' rather than looters or amateurs (Lynott and Wylie 1995; McGuire 1992, 2003). This is similar to more recent pronouncements among supporters of the 'universal museum' model, which argues that museums are the only place that can protect the true interpretations of objects and that have a uniform value to humanity (Appiah 2006; Cuno 2004; de Montebello 2004). More broadly a claim of guardianship (a similar concept to archaeological stewardship) establishes museums as the only appropriate place to contain objects. This is, ironically, a kind of local perspective rather than a universal one, as these views tend to be supported within the world's largest museums, in cities where there are strong art markets and where museums are linked to wealthy collectors' networks (Geismar 2008: 110). Furthermore, such pronouncements are political acts (Ames 1991: 13). They act as a serious challenge and contradiction towards the thinking of many museologists that it is ethically sound to decentre the authority of museum interpretation, and that objects do not have uniform universal value. Arguments of stewardship and guardianship alienate communities from their cultural heritage and a valid claim to the objects contained within museums.

In recent years, ethical guidelines have involved a shift towards an obligation to contemporary people beyond the discipline. Ethics should be considered, importantly, to be about positive actions rather than constraints on actions since they concern the values, aims, and personal and social goals of both professional and other communities (Scarre and Scarre 2006). In archaeology they guide practitioners towards a thorough awareness that their values probably do not overlap with those of other communities. The role of ethics within museum studies has not been as thoroughly discussed although it has been accepted that ethics should be contingent,

and dependent upon the social and political issues at hand (see Marstine 2011). Although not explicitly phrased in such terms, the growing bodies of literature on the social work and activist possibilities of museums can be seen to support such arguments (e.g. Black 2012; Janes and Conaty 2005; Silverman 2010). Ethics often become codified within the ethical guidelines of professional organisations, which, in effect, 'solidifies' debate (Hamilakis 2007; also see Pels 1999; Tarlow 2001; Zimmerman et al. 2003). Ethical codes should be fluid, however, allowing for revision and application to various situations. As such, guidelines or ethical principles, rather than codes of conducts, have been valued by organisations like the Society for American Archaeology (Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2006). These encourage us to continue to ask the politically-charged question, "why archaeology?" (Hamilakis 2007: 24)—or "why museums?"—to which there may be no correct answer. Codes also have value in endorsing a disciplinary stance towards activities that have previously been marginalised. This means an activist stance may need to be adopted towards particular interests and against others, which is admittedly uncomfortable and challenging work (Hamilakis 2007; Nicholas et al. 2011). Yet they ensure that discourses about the wide benefits of museums and archaeology become realised.

Importantly, ethics should involve an activist stance, enacted throughout an individual's career, and encouraged by the discipline-supported guidelines. For example, archaeologists should be encouraged to cultivate characteristics of virtue ethics such as civility, benevolence, generosity, loyalty, dependability and friendliness (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2004, 2008b; Wylie 2003). Questions of character and the relationships of individuals to people should be of great concern. This establishes archaeology as a discipline driven by human concerns rather than science-driven ethics (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2011; Walker 2011a). As such, expertise must be used to work not only for the benefit of a central institution (if at all) but also for others. This is likely to face much resistance. Many have questioned the kind of discrimination that may be evident in scholars' support for a particular community's desires or viewpoints over another. McGhee (2008) for example challenges indigenous exceptionalism, wherein indigenous groups assume rights over cultural heritage not available to others and especially removes science as a strong voice. Moreover, this may even reinforce stereotypes of indigenous people as passive,

and a special 'class' of human which remains marginal to domain society. Holtorf (2009; Tarlow 2001: 252) also questioned the discrimination resulting from privileging indigenous perspectives. In Europe the support for indigenous rights may be incommensurate with a sociodemographic reality where the 'indigenous' populations are the majority because, in theory, far right groups could employ such ethical codes as support for their own discriminatory ends (Holtorf 2009). However, these arguments overlook a number of critical observations.

Specifically with reference to McGhee's (2008) charges of exceptionalism and discrimination, indigenous groups have always been required to demonstrate their 'otherness', and they have developed a sense of collective history and produced political stances on the basis of this (Wilcox 2010). There are also other important legal considerations like treaty rights and the political rights of dependent sovereign nations which are not evident in Europe (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010). Moreover, this is an attempt to offer reparation for past wrongs and continued injustices, a way of showing respect, and to protect the right to be assimilated into a 'multicultural' society desired by the dominant society (Ames 1994; Young and Brunk 2012). This does not only apply to work with indigenous communities in the United States, Canada and Australia (where much of the English-language work on collaborative archaeology comes from). Similar tenets of respect for alternative and situated perspectives on heritage have been enacted within a wide range of heritage, museum and archaeology projects within the UK, for example (see Schofield 2014; Waterton and Smith 2009). The tenets of more activist participation may therefore be applicable far beyond indigenous archaeology—this is discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

5.5. Conclusions

Extending the media archaeological approach, this chapter forms a vital backdrop to the empirical analysis of museums' use of social media presented in the following chapters. Taken with the preceding chapters it aids in countering a vision that new media (such as the internet) can replace the features of a pre-existing medium (such as the museum). Instead, the persistent themes of disciplinary expertise, appropriation

and exclusion can be identified. Media archaeology also demands an activist stance, and this chapter has indeed pointed towards more democratic possibilities for future social media use.

The need to establish 'ethical expertise' has been particularly asserted in this chapter. Ethically aware practice involves examining inequality in the present and how this has been grounded in experiences of colonialism and other inequalities such as those related to race, gender, nationality and ethnicity (see Lydon and Rizvi 2010). There remains a role for traditional experts in this. Experts (including archaeologists, museum curators and other museum professionals, such as social media and communications staff) are skilled researchers with a particular disciplinary-informed relationship to material culture. The discipline and its institutions are seeking social relevance (see Black 2010; Janes and Conaty 2005) and discourses of democratising and decentred authority are being widely espoused. Through the observations highlighted in the analysis of participation and ethics in this chapter, these contemporary disciplinary desires may be more effectively achieved. Even if professionals are unsure or uncomfortable with human-based ethical values, there are ethics regarding epistemological obligations which can be referred to. This line of thinking suggests that actively collaborating with others improves disciplinary practice, bringing all the relevant information and the range of criticism to bear on the usual disciplinary framework involved (Anderson 2012; Fricker 2007; Longino 1990; Wylie 2008).

This chapter has also outlined the ways in which disciplines attempt to establish their experts as such. A relational approach to expertise indicates that archaeologists and museum professionals have successfully met the requirements of the discipline-based museum community to be characterised as experts. They sustain their expert status through their relationship with other accepted members of the archaeological discipline, which in turn helps to sustain disciplinary boundaries. However, equal participation demands a greater awareness of the previously under-analysed nature of expertise, and awareness of the sociopolitical factors that may prevent other expert communities from participating. Disciplinary experts must consider the importance of 'voice' and actively taking a stance that allows for institutional 'listening'. Situations of coercion and charges of neocolonialism, and even neoliberalism, may be avoided

by creating relationships of solidarity with targeted communities. This demands attending to their viewpoints and needs, including the possibility of working 'for' rather than 'with' them. Furthermore, the models of participation tend to emphasise that there are no principles that can be followed exactly in any given situation as the specific sociopolitical circumstances demand varying approaches. An important consideration following this is the possibility that the broadly conceived online publics, often referred to by museums in their discussion of social media, may not be effectively co-opted into truly collaborative relationships. This point will specifically be addressed in the following chapters. However, and in sum, it is important for disciplinary experts and professionals to adopt an ethical stance and adopt methods of participation that better allow for the decentring of authority and the benefits that are perceived to accrue through participation.

CHAPTER 6

INVESTIGATIVE METHODOLOGY

6.1. Introduction

As the previous chapters have highlighted, museum studies and archaeology have argued for accountability to the public. They encourage a view that academic disciplines do not necessarily harbour intrinsic merit and may instead exist to serve various communities beyond the academy or institution. Participation and collaboration are concepts that underlie the variety of public involvement within museums (and archaeology more generally), including outreach and educational projects, consultation initiatives and the more intensive 'collaborative' partnerships. The concept of participation has also been highlighted within discussions of social media usage within museums, as social media is argued to aid in establishing participatory relationships with the general online public. Moreover, the online publics engaged are seen as necessarily more diverse and as more equal partners in the cultural institution than offline visitors tend to be. It is essential, however, to deconstruct the assumptions made about social media and participation within the academic and professional literature. This chapter outlines the methodology and approaches adopted to research this overarching issue established as an essential object of research in this thesis.

It was decided that a series of surveys, distributed online, would be the most appropriate and effective way of researching this topic. The first of these was distributed to social media managers at museums (Appendix 1), and sought their views on the advantages and disadvantages of social media usage, as well as asking specific questions about the extent of social media usage within their museum and of particular platforms or features of social media. Second and third surveys were distributed via museums' Twitter (Appendix 2) and Facebook (Appendix 3) pages to museum followers on those social media platforms. These investigated the reasons and motivations for why people follow museums on social media, and assessed their expectations of museums. The two social media followers' surveys provided data

detailing the kind of people who follow museums. Both surveys provided useful quantitative information but also rich qualitative information.

A number of methods were adopted to analyse this data, specifically those drawn from critical discourse analysis and qualitative content analysis, as well as the theoretical insights of media archaeology and collaborative archaeology. The chapter details the approaches taken towards the analysis of the data. This study offers two major contributions: its empirical findings and critical assessment of these findings, and an analysis of the relevance and importance of the application of critical discourse analysis to the study of museums and social media more broadly.

6.2. Survey Distribution and Data Collection

6.2.1. Social Media Managers' Survey

The social media managers' survey was distributed to a list of 281 museums, and directly to the social media manager where possible. The list of museums was compiled as a mixture of art, archaeology, science, natural history, and cultural history museums to provide a range of disciplinary perspectives. It was decided, as an arbitrary guide, to contact the major museums in the largest 25 cities of the UK, the largest 20 cities in the US, the largest 20 cities in Canada, the largest 15 cities in Australia and the largest 5 cities in New Zealand. Where university museums were not also the major museums of a given city (e.g. the Manchester Museum, part of the University of Manchester), a number of university museums were also included. Indeed, university museums often allow for levels of experimentation and institutional or disciplinary critique which are more restricted in other institutions (King and Marstine 2005: 267–269). It was thought that their inclusion would provide interesting viewpoints on the use of social media and the challenges made towards the discipline-based authority of the museum.

A link to the survey, hosted on the Qualtrics survey platform,[1] was distributed by email in batches from October 3rd 2013 to October 17th 2013. It has been noted that the average response speed varies between 2.2 days and 13 days in a survey for online surveys (Sue and Ritter 2007: 8). Thus, a follow-up email was sent after two weeks if the survey had not been completed or no response was received, as it was assumed that no response would be made unless prompted again after this time. The first email outlined the aims of the survey and stated that the results would be valuable for the professional museum community as I would provide an overview of current practice in social media usage and suggest future avenues of best practice. The follow up email reminded the potential respondent that their answers would be valuable and again provided a link to the survey. When an email address was not available online, this was obtained by contacting the museum by telephone. The aims of the survey were described over the phone and the email subsequently forwarded once an email address had been obtained. This survey remained accessible until November 26th 2013, at which point the survey was closed on Qualtrics and the results exported to a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. The data were cleaned for nonsensical and incomplete answers, and identifiable information (e.g. IP addresses and other location data recorded by the online survey platform) was removed.

145 surveys were completed (see Appendix 4). One manager replied saying they would not complete the survey as institutionally imposed guidelines meant they could not participate in the research. I failed to contact two further individuals owing to 'undeliverable' emails being returned. 41 other museums did not have a designated social media manager or the email was forwarded to the head of the overarching institution (e.g. a national museums service). Thus, the overall response rate was 61.2% (145 out of 237). This can be considered a 'good' response rate, as studies have shown 50% to be adequate and 70% to be very good (Kittleson 1997), with many email surveys varying between response rates of 24 to 76% (Sue and Ritter 2007; also see Dillman et al. 2009: 234–236). The wide range of responding museums, coupled with the rich body of quantitative and qualitative data obtained through the surveys, means this study offers a significant and broadly representative analysis of the use of and discourses surrounding social media use in museums.

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[1] Qualtrics website: http://www.qualtrics.com.

6.2.2. Facebook and Twitter Followers' Surveys

For the Twitter and Facebook followers' surveys, the same museums were emailed and asked to tweet or post a status update with a link to the respective survey, encouraging their followers to complete it. These surveys were also hosted on Qualtrics. For Twitter, I provided a link to a tweet I had posted on my personal Twitter page and suggested that they retweet it.[2] This was in order to retain the specific wording which particularly encouraged participation. For Facebook specific wording was also suggested in order to retain consistent clarity.[3] The emails regarding the Twitter followers' survey were distributed between January 31st 2013 and February 28th 2013 and the Facebook followers' survey emails were distributed from March 13th 2013 and April 12th 2013. The emails were sent in staggered batches to allow for as many retweets as possible, and to maximise exposure to the post where individuals may follow more than one museum. This was a consideration made to increase the chance of survey completion. However, it is practically impossible to calculate the response rate for these surveys since there is no way of measuring exactly how many people viewed each post. This was partially because many museums and individuals did not retweet or share my post, instead composing their own, and analytics data was inaccessible to me as an individual rather than a business. Nevertheless, most Twitter followers' surveys were completed during February 2013 and 1465 surveys were completed. For the Facebook followers' survey, most surveys were completed during March and April and 574 surveys were completed.

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[2] "I am running a short survey about museums on Twitter for my PhD. Please help me out by completing a survey! Thank you! [Qualtrics link]"

[3] "Dominic Walker is running a short survey about museums on Facebook for his PhD research at Cambridge University. Please help him out by completing a survey here: [Qualtrics link]. Thank you!"

6.3. Survey Design Considerations

6.3.1. Sample Size

For the Facebook and Twitter followers' surveys, it was impossible to produce a truly random sample as Twitter or Facebook followers could not be randomly selected for survey completion. For instance, follower lists on Facebook are not accessible and Twitter users are unlikely to be contactable due to privacy settings regarding 'direct messages'. It is also not possible to know the likelihood of selection for the sample as many followers of museums on social media are likely to be spam, duplicate, abandoned or commercial accounts (see Fricker Jr 2008 for discussion on selection probability). Thus a self-selected convenience sample of respondents was used. Rules of thumb for adequate sample sizes have been provided by a number of qualitative researchers (e.g. Alreck and Settle 1995; Hill 1998; Sue and Ritter 2007: 34): these vary from no less than 30 and no more than 500. A sample of at least 100 social media managers can be considered a good sample size, and given the very large population size for museum followers on social media, it was decided that a sample of no less than 400 each should be sought for Twitter and Facebook. The number of responses received for the three surveys thus far exceeded the minimum requirement sought: 145 social media managers, 1465 Twitter followers and 574 Facebook followers.

6.3.2. Response Rates

The three surveys were written and distributed in such a way as to maximise survey response and to draw in as rich a qualitative dataset as possible. It was decided that the most effective method of collecting qualitative data on the use of social media by museums and their followers would be a web-based survey. Emails were used to distribute the survey to social media managers, and to request museums to in turn distribute the Facebook and Twitter followers' survey. It was not realistic, owing to geographical, financial, and time limitations, to conduct face-to-face or telephone conversations with thousands of people. Several factors were borne in mind in order to maximise response rates. It was felt to be particularly important to consider the

persuasion strategies that encourage the completion of a survey, including the degree of social responsibility felt by the sample (Hewson and Laurent 2008: 69; Lynn 2008). For this reason, the benefits of completing the survey were emphasised, including helping the author's PhD research and for the case of social media managers, aiding best practice in museums. These factors were taken into account during the wording of the emails and the drafting of the Twitter and Facebook posts. The introductory page of the survey re-emphasised these points and acted as a way to introduce a level of rapport with the respondent.

Although online distributed and administered surveys may reduce the chance to build rapport with participants (and thus increase response rates), online surveys do have several crucial advantages. Web-based surveys help to minimise the social desirability effect where respondents feel pressured to give a perceived 'correct' answer, not least because a certain amount of privacy is afforded by a self-administered online survey (Sue and Ritter 2007: 5, 40). Moreover, respondents are not pressured by time since they can control the pace of the survey and are able to think about answers or consult records if necessary (De Leeuw 2005, 2008; James and Busher 2009: 24). Asynchronous, self-paced surveys also tend to deliver richer and more reflective responses from respondents (see Bowker and Tuffin 2004; Kenny 2005; Murray and Sixsmith 1998), essential for both museum survey managers and followers.

The museums' distribution of survey requests on Twitter and Facebook was particularly challenging in terms of ensuring higher response rates. Firstly, social media posts can be quite ephemeral, especially on Twitter, and may be hidden within a large stream of other posts—especially for those who follow large numbers of accounts. In order to increase response rates, I considered offering incentives for participation. Experimental studies of the impact of survey cash incentives or lotteries were analysed by Warriner et al. (1996) who concluded that a cash incentive increases overall response rate for surveys to over 70%, but a lottery or charitable donation had no demonstrable impact. Other surveys have questioned the effectiveness of monetary rewards (Buck et al. 2012), while others question the ethical issues surrounding inflating the expectation of compensation. Lotteries in particular may challenge people's ability to comprehend the risks, benefits, and compensation of research (Brown et al. 2006). As a lottery was the only possible monetary reward possible for

this survey it was decided not to offer any monetary compensation. Given the very large potential sample size, a fixed financial reward for participation was unfeasible. Nevertheless, by utilising the tactics mentioned above, especially that of placing emphasis on 'helping out' a doctoral student as well as museums, in addition to making the survey sound interesting or enjoyable, I tried to reduce non-response as much as possible.

6.3.3. Drop-Offs

The surveys were piloted with fellow students and colleagues working on museums and archaeology. These individuals provided feedback on the effectiveness and clarity of the survey, and the length of time demanded of the respondent, to help reduce drop-off rates. To prevent drop-offs during completion of the survey, specialist language was also reduced as much as possible and a page clarifying social media terms was presented after the landing page to minimise confusion for those not completely familiar with social media terminology. The survey was kept as short as possible, easy to navigate, and organised into small 'chunks' of questions. Qualtrics further allowed for contingency questions to be set so that respondents were only presented with relevant questions and were not forced to read and answer irrelevant questions.[4] Indeed, frustration with forced questions may have resulted in a greater drop-off rate. This also aided in increasing survey response validity as those who did not have opinions on particular topics were not forced to provide a reply, which may have been inaccurate (Sue and Ritter 2007: 42). A final consideration is that an interesting survey contains a variety of question types to provide relevant and useful qualitative and quantitative information (Sue and Ritter 2007: 16). Thus, open-ended questions, radio buttons and scale responses were utilised throughout. Text boxes were also designed to be larger where more detailed answers were desired (Smyth et al. 2009), especially within the social media managers' survey.

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[4] For example, if a respondent to the Twitter followers' survey answered 'no' to the question, 'have you ever retweeted a tweet that was posted by a museum?' questions asking for further details of their retweeting would not be asked. Instead, the respondent would be directed to the a page asking for reasons why she or he has not retweeted a tweet that was posted by a museum.

6.4. Ethical Considerations

As a qualitative study involving human participants, standard social science guidelines on ethics were followed, particularly with regards to informed consent and confidentiality (Bryman 2012: 135–142) to help prevent any possible harm to participants as a result of participating.

6.4.1. Informed Consent

Individuals who began the survey were presented with a welcome page, outlining the goals of the research and what the survey involved. They were informed of the investigative aims, and that the survey would form part of my PhD thesis and possibly future publications or presentations. It was noted that their participation was voluntary and an email address was provided so that participants could ask questions or request the removal of their responses if they wished to withdraw. This minimised the risk of participation especially for social media managers, as there would be no possibility of employers or colleagues identifying their responses.

6.4.2. Confidentiality

The confidentiality of participating individuals was also ensured. The survey was hosted on the secure Qualtrics servers. This platform automatically tracks IP addresses in order to prevent multiple responses from single users, and social media managers were asked to state their institution when completing the survey in order to track completion rates. Upon closing the surveys, the data was exported to Excel spreadsheets and all identifying information removed.

6.4.3. Consequences of Participation and Expectation of Reward

As mentioned above, all respondents participated voluntarily and it was made clear that their responses may be used in a thesis and other publications. No reward for participation, such as a lottery entry or other monetary reward, was offered to respondents to avoid an inflated expectation of reward.

6.5. Limitations

A qualitative study depending upon survey, questionnaire or interview data has a number of limitations, especially with regard to validity or accuracy. Although some degree of rapport can be made with individual social media managers, it was considered to be even more challenging to encourage social media followers to participate in the survey. Firstly, the particular features of the different social media platforms provide a number of limitations. This includes the fact that on Twitter especially the interviewer is provided with only 140 characters (including a hyperlink to the survey) to encourage participation. Facebook allows for much more space but still faces the challenge of visibility. Some may not have seen the posts due to a previous choice to block posts from the museums from their Facebook feeds, as well as the effect of Facebook algorithms which impacts the likelihood of the post appearing in their feeds (see Facebook n.d.). Others simply may not have accessed or read through their news feed within the days following the post being made and missed the link to the survey.

A few people started the survey yet exited almost immediately as a result of the first contingent question "do you 'like'/'follow' any museums on Facebook/Twitter"? (n=34 for Facebook and n=177 for Twitter). This was not anticipated as it was assumed that those beginning the survey would in fact follow museums on social media. This is likely to have occurred as individuals tweeted or shared the request to participate in the survey and their friends or followers, who do not actually follow museums, began the survey. It may have been useful to include a few questions about why they do not follow museums. It would also have been useful to conduct a planned survey of a sample of social media users who do not follow museums as a

point of comparison. As outlined above, several steps were made to maximise validity and to reduce non-response.

An in-depth, ethnographic study of a few selected museums may have been useful in identifying the various internal considerations made by museums in their use of social media (see Bhatti 2012; Butler 2007; Macdonald 2002). Such a study would have highlighted possible tensions and contradictions between departments and levels of management which would have been useful for contextualising survey responses. Another fruitful avenue of further research would be a study of museums beyond the English-speaking world. This study focused upon Australia, Canada, New Zealand, United Kingdom and the United States. It would be especially interesting to conduct a similar study of museums within Europe more broadly, as well as their followers, as several European museums have been highlighted as demonstrating good practice in social media use (e.g. Gorgels 2013), while claiming similar positive outcomes.

6.6. Critical Discourse Analysis

"Discourse analysis matters because discourse matters" (Gee and Handford 2012: 5)

The survey questions that garnered quantitative data allowed for a number of summary statistics to be calculated, and frequency distributions gave important initial impressions of social media usage by museums and their followers. These initial impressions and calculations aided in the qualitative analyses essential to a more accurate and thorough understanding of social media usage. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) offers a theoretical orientation and methods that aid a vital critique of the kinds of assumptions that museums rely on when they discuss social media usage (see Fairclough 2010, Wodak 2001). Coupled with the theoretical insights of media archaeology and collaborative archaeology, CDA also allows for an analysis of the extent to which disciplinary structures and longer histories, which have gone under-examined within museum studies, continue to impact the effectiveness of public involvement. Applying discourse analysis to the survey data enables a further assessment of the extent to which the motivations of social media followers match

those of the museum; an important consideration for participatory projects whereby shared goals and mutually beneficial outcomes are often highlighted. Taken together, the insights permitted by CDA serve to elucidate the question of whether or not there is a disconnection between the effects assumed to accrue through the adoption of social media, and those that actually occur. This analysis provides an essential redress of the lack of theorisation and critical reflection on the use of social media within museums, as well as contributing to studies of collaboration in archaeology, anthropology and museum studies more broadly.

6.6.1. Power Relations Reflected and Reproduced in Discourse

Within discourse analysis, discourse is seen as carrying a message about a certain way of being or doing. Discourse analysis enables inferences to be made between grammar and vocabulary, which go beyond the level of basic sentence content. Established during the 1990s, CDA has now become a well-established research field (see Fairclough et al. 2011). CDA is a form of discourse analysis that involves the close examination of writing and speech, but also incorporates wider social analyses, thus situating discourse within a societal context. Most importantly, CDA highlights elements in discourse which signify a particular status quo and asserts that discourse reflects certain power relations. Although discourse does not simply reflect power, power and discourse are not discrete: "the complex realities of power relations are 'condensed' and simplified in discourses" (Fairclough 2010: 4).

CDA looks at the implications of discourse in terms of the social realities it reflects but also seeks to suggest possible alternative futures. It takes a particular social problem, in this case inequality in participation, and examines how discourse is implicated in that problem. Discourse can also aid in the reproduction of inequalities. Thus, discourse is constructed as a 'problem'—it does not neutrally describe the world. It represents prevailing ways of organising the world, but can also delineate what possible futures are allowed for or legitimised. Pierre Bourdieu's (e.g. 1991) thinking has been particularly influential in discourse analysis, as he argued that those who wield power are identifiable through their authoritative discourse and the particular styles of language they use. Social changes can arise when power is

redistributed. Though social orders are socially constructed and sustained through discourses, they are also changeable (Locke 2004; Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Wodak 2001). Discourse can help to contribute to the transformation of the status quo (Wodak 2011: 38–44), including the relationships between groups of people, by encouraging critical reflection upon the kinds of arguments or assumptions relied upon and reproduced. In the case of museums and social media, CDA will aid in pointing towards the structures that act as barriers to more equal forms of participation and the reproduction of the traditional state of affairs wherein the disciplinary institution is the primary or sole beneficiary.

6.6.2. Critical Discourse Analysis as Critical Intervention

Critical discourse analysis is 'critical' because it uncovers the ways in which power relations mediate language in reference to particular social issues. Taking the influence of Marxist and Frankfurt schools of critical theory, critique can both explain social phenomena but also help to change them. CDA thus has an important emancipatory agenda (Lazar 2007: 145–146). Gramsci's concept of hegemony has been influential for CDA scholars, which states that hegemony is achieved when a groups' position of dominance is uncontested and widely accepted, or 'naturalised'. Discourse can aid in its naturalisation (Fairclough 2010: 129). As a result, CDA considers the social effects of reading and to what position the reader is being encouraged to subscribe (Locke 2004: 9–10, 25–26). It aims to denaturalise power, criticising the inevitability suggested by discourse and showing possible alternative futures (Fairclough et al. 2004; van Dijk 1993: 254; Wodak 2001: 9). As a form of 'normative' critique, CDA not only highlights social realities but evaluates them against which values are "taken to be fundamental for just or decent societies" and proposes to transform social realities in a way that "enhance[s] well being and reduce[s] suffering" (Fairclough 2010: 10–11). Such engaged scholarship identifies whether, in particular areas of social life, the existing social order needs to be changed and possible ways past the obstacles to equality (see Fairclough 2010: 8–9). Most importantly it shows which discourses can be contested and the kinds of realities and social reality that can be replaced by others.

The involvement of the social and political subsequently demands self-reflexivity from the researcher. Acknowledging one's interests is a form of scientific objectivity crucial for all the social sciences—something that other methods of discourse analysis may not explicitly allow for (Chilton 2005: 21). Grounded theory, for instance, attempts to build theory from the data. It downplays relevant pre-existing theory and literature in order to 'ground' the theory in the data (see Birks and Mills 2011; Bryant and Charmaz 2010; Charmaz 2014; Urquhart and Fernández 2012). This is not appropriate for this study as the analysis contained within the previous chapters has clearly highlighted the existence of inequality in collaboration and numerous important and helpful critical theories. CDA matches well with the motivations of much research in collaborative and indigenous archaeology and museology, as well as media archaeological approaches.

The methods of CDA are thus important tools for assessing the kinds of inequalities supported by museums despite their use of social media and argument that it undermines the pre-existing discipline-based authority that has excluded various individuals and groups. CDA draws awareness to the broader societal contexts within which museums act, as well as the longer histories their discourses reproduce. This particularly aids in assessing the extent to which others are able to gain benefits from the use of social media or become more equal partners.

6.6.3. Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is essentially a form of content analysis: that is, the systematic, objective, and quantitative analysis of message characteristics (see Neuendorf 2002). However, this goes beyond counting words to examining language closely at both micro levels (the lexical choices, grammatical structures, etc.) and macro levels (e.g. the implications of specific sentences and paragraphs, and in CDA the sociopolitical contexts implicated). Owing to the quantity of data gathered it was necessary to use the method of coding, and to use data analysis software to aid this process. Coding involves separating sections of text (single words, phrases or sentences) which address similar topics into categories. They are assigned a particular 'code' (usually a word or phrase) to describe "what is going on in this piece of data" (Corbin 2004:

527; also see Boeije 2010; Hsieh and Shannon 2005). A codebook is also produced, which describes the criteria for assigning a particular code to a piece of text, as well as an example (see Chapter 7). This helps to ensure consistency and reliability of analysis. The qualitative data analysis software programme MAXQDA was used for this study. It particularly helped the coding process due to its 'notes' feature and its ability to clearly present the codes used in context. This kind of software has been named 'computer assisted qualitative data analysis software' (CAQDAS). As the acronym emphasises, MAXQDA did not do any form of automated analysis—as in sentiment analysis software (see Thelwall 2014; Villaespesa 2013)—but merely assisted the coding process.

Coding ultimately allowed for a numerical based summary of a chosen message set (Neuendorf 2002: 14; Bryman 2008) but due to the quantity of data obtained through the surveys, it was particularly useful for guiding the in-depth qualitative analysis of the data. For the social media managers' survey, categories were drafted prior to the content analysis based upon an initial reading of survey answers and informed by theory and research in public archaeology, museology and social media studies. This was concept-driven rather than data-driven, as is often the case with grounded theory and other approaches (Schierer 2012: 84–86). Each survey was summarised in order to help identify the trends, and notes and initial impressions were made especially on the performative aspects of particular phrases (i.e. how they position museums as opposed to others) and lexical choices. Upon a second reading of the survey responses an initial primary coding scheme was developed in order to categorise answers. Subsequent readings allowed for the initial coding of survey responses, the refining of the coding scheme categores, and the correction of any coding errors (see Appendix 5). The revisions also ensured mutual exclusiveness and made sure categories were as exhaustive as possible. The coding schemes for the Facebook and Twitter museum followers' surveys were developed similarly, but also borne in mind the categories developed in the social media managers' survey to enable better comparison between the three surveys. The characteristics of the two social media platforms necessitated slightly different coding schemes, although they were broadly similar (see Chapter 7). The social media followers' surveys elicited shorter answers and also allowed for the quantitative analysis of data alongside qualitative analysis.

Particular attention was paid to the following grammatical and lexical features:

Connotations of modality: lexical choices were paid particular attention, specifically modal auxiliaries and modal adverbs. Words such as 'may', 'probably' and 'definitely' denote a speakers' commitment to the truth of a particular evaluation. Thus, authority is connoted by such words (Bloor and Bloor 2013; 103–104; Fairclough 1992: 160).

Solidarity/group authority: particular pronouns such as 'we' or 'they' can connote group authority or solidarity. This is an important consideration as museums may position themselves in a certain way against others: setting themselves in an adversarial position against others, for example, and serving as an indication as to who is included and who is excluded from particular groups (Lin and Kubota 2011: 287).

Transitivity: this is a key consideration as it concerns which individuals or groups are afforded the capacity to act. For instance, attention was paid in the analyses to which agents were framed as acting upon others: 'who was doing what, to whom, and how'. Active or passive voices may be important since they change the action of the agent. For example, in intransitive clauses the subject precedes the verb (e.g. "100 people died"), hiding the action of an agent (i.e. as opposed to "[something/someone] caused the death of 100 people"). Hiding agents or goals may be a deliberate act, or it may suggest some situations are to be considered inevitable. This was an important feature to bear in mind for this study, as social media is often considered to be an inevitable harbinger of change. Transitivity allows for an assessment of the extent to which participation is allowed by others—who is being subjected to an action, and who is the active party? Thus, there is a need to identify the participants (those doing or those having something done to them) and the process (the actions represented by verbs) in discourse (Fairclough 2003: 142; Machin and Mayr 2012: 103–107). Adjuncts are also important, as lexical terms that modify circumstances can set the social standing of agents, for example, in medical discourse midwives may be described as simply 'being involved' or 'initiating' assessment procedures rather than more actively and authoritatively 'intervening' or 'recording', reducing their status compared to doctors (Machin and Mayr 2012: 113).

Nominalisation: as a related point, nominalisation (wherein a verb, adverb or additive is employed as the head of a noun phrase) can also obscure agency and responsibility (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 107). For instance, the phrase, "the changed global economy" hides agency, although most would likely argue that the change in the global economy should not be considered as a taken-for-granted process. By comparison, "the global economy was changed by…" reintroduces agency to the sentence (Machin and Mayr 2012: 138–139). This is important since assumptions may be made about social media but paying attention to nominalisation allows for the identification of agents and those affected.

Lexical choice: words referencing the same object may have several connotations or interpretations (e.g. 'home', 'property', 'building') and, as a result, word and meaning potential is important. The extent of vocabulary is also important: what other words may have been used, and with what implications? (Fairclough 1992: 186; Machin and Mayr 2012: 51). Over-lexicalisation was also paid attention. This occurs when additional, but often unnecessary words, are added to nouns—as in 'male nurse', 'female doctor'—which imply something abnormal about those actors. Other lexical features considered were abstract or obscure words which may hide actual meaning (e.g. "a *dynamic* response") (Machin and Mayr 2012: 37).

Finally, and significantly, the analyses highlighted *topoi* within the survey responses (see Chapter 4.4.1). One particular approach to CDA, the discourse historical approach (e.g. Wodak 2001), is oriented particularly towards assessing the historical background to particular discursive 'events': for example, the typical or current texts on a particular topic. This approach assesses the development of social and political fields and identifies how particular discourses are subject to change over time (Wodak 2001: 65–67). The discourse historical approach offers a particularly useful tool to analyse the major themes that occur within discourse. By identifying *topoi*, discourse analysts can highlight the particular themes or arguments that speakers rely on in their discourse and what these themes imply. *Topoi* are defined as the broad beliefs that maintain an argument without constituting the argument itself (Wodak 2001: 74). They are considered to be "common sense reasoning schemes" on particular issues (Hart 2013: 201), wherein a rational conclusion is presupposed to arise from a

statement. They often appeal to *doxa*, the assumed background knowledge of readers. *Topoi* exist as persuasive acts of argument, aiming to encourage people to subscribe to a particular way of thinking (see Wodak 2001; Wodak and Meyer 2001; Žagar 2010). For example, within discourse about immigration, a *topos* of 'burden' may be identified, which suggests that immigrants move to a country, and claim benefits which deny those benefits to natives of the country. This would imply, rather than explicitly state, that one group is burdened by another and as a result something should be done to alleviate that burden (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 75–80).

The aims of CDA match well with those of media archaeology in aiming to identify themes that would serve to challenge the 'newness' of digital culture, instead emphasising circularity and the recurrence of themes. A wide range of fields of study have lent inspiration to media archaeologists, and Huhtamo and Parikka (2011: 2) note discourse analysis to be a part of this list, alongside postcolonial studies, visual and media anthropology, gender theories, and cultural materialism. For this study, the theoretical orientations of critical museology and collaborative archaeology can also be added to this list. *Topoi* have been highlighted by Huhtamo (1996, 2011), who takes the term '*topos*' to mean a recurring or traditional theme throughout media forms. It is argued that ideas appearing to be new often rely on ideas that have existed for some time (Huhtamo 2011). Like CDA, media archaeology is interested in possible futures although it makes reference to the past (Parikka 2014); questioning the conditions of existence of a particular object of study can involve aesthetic, economic, technological, scientific, but most importantly political questions (Parikka 2012: 18). More egalitarian futures are a specific focus for some scholars (e.g. Feenberg 1999; Zielinkski 2006). Essentially, like the discourse historical approach and its orientation towards identifying *topoi*, media archaeology aims to challenge canonised narratives, and 'digs' through the past (including textual, visual, and auditory sources) to emphasise the recurrence of themes. It challenges the misrepresentation of media as 'new' and the narratives of progress. This is a critical, sociopolitically engaged standpoint, essential for this current study.

6.7. Conclusion

The methodology of critical discourse analysis, and the theoretical orientations provided by media archaeology, collaborative museology and archaeology enable in-depth qualitative analyses of the data drawn from three large-scale surveys. By also taking note of quantitative measures, this study is positioned to identify the impacts of social media usage within museums, and to identify possible pernicious impacts. Critical discourse analysis in particular orientates the analysis towards the recurring themes of museums, which may not be transcended by social media usage, despite the professional and academic literature assuming the contrary. In many respects, CDA enables the turning of an 'ethnographic eye' back onto the discipline, and draws attention to ethical issues in involving the public in museum. The ultimate aim is to deconstruct the often ignored or taken-for-granted practices and foundations of disciplines, and point towards possible alternative, more democratic futures for museums and their related disciplines. Moreover, by highlighting the utility of critical discourse analysis, including particular approaches to CDA like the discourse historical approach, as well as the essential theoretical orientations of media archaeology, this thesis also significantly contributes to the kinds of methods that may be used within archaeology, museum studies and social media studies.

CHAPTER 7

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

7.1. Introduction

This chapter presents analyses of qualitative and quantitative data gleaned through the 145 social media managers' surveys, 1465 Twitter followers' surveys and 574 Facebook followers' surveys. It elucidates a number of critical questions through the use of quantitative summary statistics and methods of critical discourse analysis. These have been coupled with a theoretical orientation to the data informed by media archaeology, collaborative museology and archaeology, and related fields like the sociology of expertise. Firstly, it is questioned how extensive social media usage is amongst museums, and, furthermore, whether the arguments seen in the literature regarding the importance of social media are actually ubiquitous amongst museums. The adoption of social media is seen as commensurate with the tenets of the new museology and postprocessual archaeology, but this analysis aims to deconstruct the assumptions made about participation. Particularly, it identifies whether the use of social media allows for non-disciplinary communities (i.e. those individuals and groups who are not based within academic departments and cultural institutions) to gain benefits, or become more equal partners, even 'experts' themselves. The professional and scholarly literature, both within museums and social media studies views the web as providing an egalitarian platform for authorship, wherein users are both consumers and producers, and many scholars have posited that museums' adoption of the social web will similarly aid in the subversion and decentring of traditional structures of authority and disciplinary regimes of expertise. Has this fundamental shift actually occurred?

As critical discourse analysis sees data and interpretation intertwined (see Fairclough 2010, Wodak 2011; Wodak and Meyer 2001), in this chapter analysis follows more general discussions of data. The implications of this research are discussed further in Chapter 8. The use of critical discourse analysis allows for an investigation of the kinds of discourses museums rely on, particularly an assessment of how they position themselves and other individuals or groups in the participatory process. Critical

discourse analysis helps to identify what kind of participation they envision (e.g. outreach, consultation, collaboration) and whether they actually afford a space for social media users' 'voices' to resonate. Importantly, by being oriented to the notion of disciplinary expertise, critical discourse analysis aids in drawing attention to the structures of authority museums' social media managers rely upon in their discourse—do they continue to refer to the authority museums have long enjoyed, or do they allow for decentred and diverse forms of knowledge? Moreover, do they aim to learn from their audiences, and come closer to enacting the tenets of critical pedagogy and the more activist forms of disciplinary practice? Another important consideration is whether long-term partnerships and collaborations are envisioned or assumed, or whether participants are simply seen as ephemeral. This has important implications for whether the more collaborative forms of participation are realised through social media. A media archaeological approach also allows attention to be paid to the recurring themes evident within discourse. Are museums aware of the longer histories that frame their work, and do they offer a degree of critical reflection upon their status as an authoritative institution? Fundamentally, are they aware of the barriers to equal participation and do they actively aid in enabling equal participation? As outlined in previous chapters, a genuinely collaborative practice necessarily involves reflexivity about disciplinary norms and assumptions, and a consideration of sociopolitical contexts and ethics.

Conversely, survey answers from social media followers are also essential. They will elucidate the issue of whether or not audience expectations match those of the museums in the presumed 'partnerships'—essential for identifying truly collaborative relationships wherein all parties work towards shared goals. They will help in answering the question of whether claims match reality and where the benefits of social media lie (if at all) for all parties. Does one group accrue resources at the expense of the other or is the situation more mutual? Importantly, the analysis will also address the potential barriers to a more democratic involvement within museums. Firstly, it will show which publics are involved and whether a more diverse public is necessarily involved 'online' compared to 'offline'. It will also look at qualitative data to assess the motivation and confidence of participants to interact with museums online: do they feel they have 'a voice', and do they feel invited, coerced or excluded? Importantly, what do they expect from museums and do they receive it? These

questions are addressed with an analysis of questions asking for general reasons for following museums on Facebook and Twitter, as well as questions teasing out the specific nuances of actions like commenting, sharing and liking on Facebook and retweeting or tweeting on Twitter.

7.2. Social Media Managers' Survey

7.2.1. Note on Significance

The survey was circulated to 281 museum social media managers and was completed by 145 individuals. As outlined in the previous chapter, the survey achieved a good response rate for a survey administered by email. The responding museums represent variously sized museums (including large national museums) and with different funding sources (including those with national, regional, private, and university sources of funding; see Appendix 4). The quantitative and qualitative data drawn from these responses can therefore be considered broadly representative of the use of social media among museums in the United Kingdom, United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

7.2.2. Quantitative Results

7.2.2.1. Extent of Social Media Usage

The responses to the survey demonstrate that museums are using social media extensively, with every museum claiming the use of at least one social networking site (n=145) (Table 7.1). This indicates that when at least minimal social media usage is taken into account, social media adoption is ubiquitous amongst museums. Many museums have also integrated social networking site functionalities into their websites, though the inclusion of sharing buttons (n=81, 55.9%), and the ability to provide feedback through commenting functions on their websites (n=43, 29.7%). Blogs are used by almost two-thirds of museums (n=94, 64.8%) and although by no means as ubiquitous as social networking sites, this older web 2.0 tool may offer a

degree of flexibility in content not provided by the main museum website and a degree of permanency permitted by social media content.

Table 7.1. Use of different social media tools in museums (145 respondents)

Social Media Tool	Museums (n)	Museums (%)
Blogs	94	64.8
Tagging	46	31.7
Wikis	12	8.3
Social Networking Sites	145	100
Sharing buttons on museum webpages	81	55.9
Commenting functions on museum webpages	43	29.7
Personal collections or bookmarking functions	10	6.9
Other	9	6.2
None of these	0	0

Tagging functionality (included on platforms such as Flickr) has also been embraced by many museums (n=46, 31.7%). However, only a few museums state the use of wikis (n=12, 8.3%) and personal collections or bookmarking functions (n=10, 6.9%). It is surprising not more museums use wikis, given that these have been particularly highlighted for enabling openness. The low adoption rate may have resulted from interpreting a wiki to be an independent one, hosted by the museum, since in another question discussed below 23.4% of museums stated their use of Wikipedia. It may be that the provision of open data or data uploaded to external wikis like Wikipedia may be considered sufficient, and that the museum does not need its own wiki platform. The low percentage of provision of personal collections or bookmarking functionality is less surprising. Although a range of literature discussed case studies of such functionality on websites, some also highlighted their lack of success in terms of continued use (see Filippini Fantoni and Bowen 2007). Enabling content for reuse on visual-based, commercial social media platforms such as Pinterest, or the provision of images of individual collection items on Twitter or Facebook, may also be considered a sufficient alternative to more strictly 'open' content resulting in a lack of interest in museum-owned platforms.

Table 7.2. Use of different social media platforms in museums (145 respondents)

Social Media Platform	Museums (n)	Museums (%)
Facebook	145	100
Twitter	133	91.7
Google+	56	38.6
YouTube	118	81.4
Vimeo	39	28.9
Vine	30	20.7
Instagram	70	48.3
Flickr	88	60.7
Tumblr	35	24.1
Pinterest	70	48.3
Reddit	2	1.4
Foursquare	50	34.5
Wikipedia	34	23.4
Other	13	9
None of these	0	0

It is important to consider which social networking sites are used by museums owing to the varying demographics of these sites (Table 7.2; see Duggan and Brenner 2013). A further question asking for specific social platform usage indicated that every museum uses Facebook (n=145, 100%) with almost all also using Twitter (n=133, 91.7%). The majority of museums also have a presence on YouTube (n=118, 81.4%). About half of museums have Instagram (n=70, 48.3%) and Pinterest (n=70, 48.3%) accounts, reflecting the rising popularity of these visual-based platforms. Flickr also remains popular amongst museums for displaying images (n=88, 60.7%). Of less interest are Vine (n=30, 20.7%), Tumblr (n=35, 24.1%) and Foursquare (n=50, 34.5%). Platforms of little interest are LinkedIn (n=2, 1%) and Reddit (n=2, 1.4%). As a professional networking site, the broad lack of interest in Linkedin is not surprising but it was expected to have been higher, perhaps being a useful site to post business-related news and garner donations. The lack of interest in Reddit is also surprising, as a website used by 6% of online adults (Duggan and Smith 2013). This may be due to an expectation that individual users, rather than museum staff, would post content with potential 'virality' or interest on sites such as Reddit.[1] Finally,

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[1] Reddit is a social networking site that allows registered members to post content, such as links to interesting news articles or humorous content hosted elsewhere on the web. Other users can vote on the submitted content, giving it an 'up' vote or 'down' vote, which affects which content appears on the Reddit 'front page'.

around a quarter of museums (n=34, 23.4%) utilise Wikipedia, which suggests a growing commitment to the provision of at least some open content.

7.2.2.2. Reasons for Social Media Usage

While these results do not indicate the reasons for social media usage, they do indicate the ubiquity of the use of social media amongst museums. It should be borne in mind that having an account or stating these platforms are 'used' does not indicate *active* use. The qualitative data, discussed below, elucidate such concerns, but the initial quantitative data also helps to explain the reasons for social media usage (Table 7.3.). When asked for the reasons behind social media usage, all but one museum (n=144, 99.3%) stated 'marketing or event promotion' as a reason. Marketing is thus identified as the primary use for social media amongst museums, though this is rarely recognised or discussed explicitly in the professional or scholarly literature. Of second-most importance is driving traffic to the main museum website (n=130, 89.7%), which may be for various reasons, including: marketing and sales (e.g. events, ticket, product sales), providing further information about collections, and highlighting a new feature on the websites. About three-quarters of all museums enter into some form of discussion with online audiences (n=106, 73.1%) and monitor conversations about them (n=109, 75.2%). This indicates the importance of social media for shaping the public opinion of a museum, but may indicate a more significant commitment to openness, enhancing the accessibility of the museum and breaking down traditional museum authority; qualitative analysis is required to explore this issue further (see below).

The majority of museums consider social media to be important for educational initiatives (n=122, 84.1%) and outreach programmes (n=121, 83.4%), indicating that social media may be considered a means by which to continue activities already conducted, or possibly to extend and improve upon these by reaching a wider, more diverse audience. Over half of museums that use social media actively encourage the contribution of user-generated content (n=82, 56.6%) while slightly more than this (n=89, 61.4%) highlighting the contributions of audiences on their social media channels. The content offered by social media audiences is thus an important

consideration for most museums, though whether this is effectively valued in the long term is not clear from these statistics. Alongside the accrual of intellectual resources from audiences, monetary resources are also sought, with just under half of responding museums (n=68, 46.9%) conducting fundraising campaigns with the aid of social media. A few other reasons were proffered for the activities conducted on social media. These included advertising job vacancies (n=1), conducting competitions (n=3), sharing information across a subject area or museums more generally (n=7), and promotion of museum sponsors and partners (n=1).

Table 7.3. Activities performed by museums on social media (145 respondents)

Activity	Museums (n)	Museums (%)
Marketing or Event Promotion	144	99.3
Education	122	84.1
Outreach	121	83.4
Fundraising Campaigns	68	46.9
Driving Traffic to Main Museum Website	130	89.7
Posting or Highlighting Content from Online Audiences	89	61.4
Monitoring Discussions or Feedback About the Museum	109	75.2
Conversation or Discussion with Online Audiences	106	73.1
Requesting Contribution of Content from Online Audiences	82	56.6
Other	22	15.2
None of these	0	0

7.2.2.3. Strategy and Evaluation

Under half of museums have formalised social media strategy documentation either as part of a standalone strategy document (n=28, 22%) or incorporated as part of a broader strategy document (n=24, 18.9%) (Table 7.4). Most museums have either only informal guidelines (n=46, 36.2%) or no strategy document for social media (n=29, 22.8%). This indicates the informality and ad-hoc nature of much social media work, and may suggest that it is considered a fundamentally unimportant part of

museum work by the profession as a whole. Although colleagues in other departments (n=35, 40%) and senior management members (n=65, 73.9%) are often consulted about the use of social media, this does not seem to translate into formal strategy. On the other hand, social media policy, whether formal or informal, is usually linked to the museums' overall mission(s), with 79.6% (n=78) of respondents stating their social media presence as being related to their museums' missions. This would serve to suggest that social media is considered an extension of museums' traditional roles, including to educate various audiences, even if its usage is not formalised.

Table 7.4. Strategy documents used by museums (127 respondents)

Social Media Strategy	Museums (n)	Museums (%)
Formalised strategy document	28	22
Broader digital media strategy document incorporating social media	24	18.9
Informal guidelines	46	36.2
No strategy document	29	22.8

Table 7.5. Social media evaluation methods used by museums (88 respondents)

Evaluation Method	Museums (n)	Museums (%)
Tracking follower or fan growth	86	97.7
Tracking comments	75	85.2
Tracking replies	74	84.1
Reporting to other departments	35	40
Reporting to senior management	65	73.9
Qualitative methods	20	22.7
Web analysis tools	75	85.2
Comparison to other museums' data	29	33
Other	4	4.5

Most museums state that they evaluate their use of social media (n=88, 70.4%), yet this appears to be largely in terms of qualitative measures. As indicated by the qualitative critical discourse analysis below, this may be due to a lack of staff time, but also a lack of critical reflection about the impact of social media on both the

museum and its audiences. Museums that do not evaluate their social media channels state a lack of staff time as the major key factor (n=27, 73%), with a lack of funding (n=18, 45.9%), and being unsure about how to evaluate (n=12, 32.4%) also important factors.

Almost all museums that do evaluate their social media usage track the growth of their fans or followers (n=86, 97.7%), suggesting growth in follower count is of utmost important for most museums (Table 7.5). Most museums also use quantitative reports, enabled by the use of web tools such as Hootsuite (n=75, 85.2%). Much time then is invested in social media tracking, with 85.2% of museums (n=75) tracking the comments made about the museum on social media, and a similar number following replies to their posts (84.1%, n=74). What is surprising, however, is that few museums (n=20, 22.7%) use qualitative methods of any kind. This indicates that numeric proxies of the impact of social media suffice for most museums. Where qualitative analysis is used, these include surveys administered through social media (n=4), sentiment analysis software (i.e. automated qualitative analysis) (n=3), or informal methods (n=6) like identifying 'highlights' or garnering general impressions of social media usage amongst audiences.

Also surprising is that only just over a quarter of museums compare their data to other museums' data (n=29, 33%). A smaller amount (n=21, 24.1%) share their data with other museums. Given the large international conferences and numerous publications aimed at museum professionals and scholars, it would be expected that social media data be shared in order for museums to learn about best practices and the success of particular social media practices. Where museums do share data, it is on an informal or ad-hoc basis (n=7), as part of professional presentations (n=3), as part of a research project administered by another organisation, such as 'Culture 24' or 'museum-analytics.org' (n=2), or where museums are part of the same over-arching institution (n=3). Only one respondent stated formal meetings with other museums to discuss analytics issues.

7.2.2.4. User-Generated Content

The vast majority of museums do not permanently store or archive the user-generated content produced in response to their social media posts (n=96, 80%), and only 11.5% (n=14) include user-generated content in the permanent collections database. Even before presenting the results of the critical discourse analysis, this would indicate that user-generated content is not afforded the status of equal, expert knowledge. On the other hand, more than a third (n=43, 35%) of museums have made content open. This includes 21 having a provision for open images, ranging from a few images, to large portions of their collections, to whole collections; 11 offer collections data for reuse, including two offering APIs (application programming interfaces) and one making provision for Linked Open Data activity.[2] Finally, seven provide other kinds of data for open use, such as videos of lectures given at the museum, educational material packs, and the photographs of events hosted at the museum which have been posted on social media platforms. In addition, some museums have been involved in crowdsourcing (n=29, 24%) or crowdfunding (n=15, 12.4%) projects for varying aims, but as argued below, this may be an indication of a cost-effective means of accruing resources, rather than a commitment to democratising (or in some cases decolonising) the process of authorising knowledge.

7.2.3. Discussion

Together these data show a broad usage of social media, with many using the more ubiquitous social networking sites. However, when details are sought regarding particular actions or commitments undertaken using social media platforms, it is evident that fewer are more actively making their data open. There is clearly some demonstrable commitment to making content open, with around a third of museums doing so. However, most museums do not show a commitment to authorising audience knowledge in the form of a formalised plan for archiving user-generated content. Further, it is clear that most museums use social media for marketing

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[2] 'Linked Open Data' refers to data that can be connected to similar content from other sources. This data could be combined, for example.

purposes. In fact, this is one of their primary motivations. Though most museums clearly do use social media for marketing, it also requires qualitative analysis to assess whether this is considered more important than the aims stated within the social media literature. Discourse analysis of qualitative data is essential to indicate the underlying aims of a commitment to social media usage: for instance, whether this is geared towards 'educating', 'democratising', or 'sharing authority', and what the benefits for the museum are seen to be.

7.3. Critical Discourse Analysis

7.3.1. Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, the large body of qualitative data drawn from the social media managers' survey was analysed using the methods of critical discourse analysis. A coding scheme was developed as an initial guide to analysing the content of the data (Appendix 5). A more systematic critical discourse analysis was undertaken subsequently, also serving to frame the approach to the social media followers' surveys. The social media managers' survey provides significant and unique insights into the usage of social media by museums. Whereas quantitative and basic qualitative measures indicate which social media tools are used and for what purposes, as well as an initial indication for the reasons behind social media usage, CDA provides a framework for analysing this in terms of its impact. Specifically, its utilisation allows for the latent content of qualitative data to be analysed, such as the kinds of discourses or themes museums rely on. As a result, this helps to identify the extent to which social media usage affects the status of museums as cultural authorities, and as places harbouring discipline-based expertise. Social media is claimed by many to decentre authority and allow for a 'radical trust' in the expertise of others (i.e. members of the public external to the museum; e.g. Carnall et al. 2013; Chan and Spadaccini 2007; Gray et al. 2012; Russo and Peacock 2009; also see Lynch and Alberti 2010). However, these claims have not been rigorously assessed in relation to the actual practices and discourses of museum social media usage, and the nature and expectations of the online audiences encountering online museum provisions.

7.3.2. Social Media: A Marketing Tool

A primary focus of many social media managers identified in the survey was marketing. Many claimed that social media allows for new audiences to be "brought in" to the museum, and enables museums to engage in conversations and build relationships with audiences. However, the nature of these audiences and relationships were rarely substantiated. Few framed such discussions in terms of social responsibility, seeming to rely upon the trope of reaching "new" and "diverse" audiences often seen within the museum literature. Instead, most museums highlighted the promotion of the museum in general, as well as specific events, programmes and exhibitions in particular, as a major benefit of using social media. Often, this was stated alongside the aim of encouraging visitation to the physical museum. Social media is thus seen as means to achieve a more pervasive degree of marketing activity, and to "push" messages to the audience.

The audience for social media is seemingly considered a mass audience, thought to be "wider" and more "diverse" than existing 'offline' audiences. Social media is identified as a more efficient and cost-effective way of reaching this broader audience, at least compared to traditional publicity and marketing methods, including producing printed matter like newsletters. A few museums see social media as another way to conduct more traditional promotional techniques, such as liaising with the news media. Social media is considered as offering the advantage of immediacy, allowing museums to disseminate information rapidly. Furthermore, social media platforms offer flexibility compared to other digital offerings such as the main museum website: they are easier to update and are able to support a greater range of content. This content also achieves the potential of virality, being easy to share and results in what many museums refer to as "organic [unpaid] growth". Alongside social media practice, a few museums also highlighted the value of paid growth and paying attention to SEO (search engine optimisation), where a museum needs to achieve greater visibility in organic search engine results.

Through such discourse it is clear that social media is considered vital for promoting the museum as a "brand" and for maintaining the museum's "image". Social media is

thus a tool for "converting" people to being "fans" of the museum. Whereas "engagement" and "conversation" are highlighted, this is framed using marketing and business-oriented discourse, hinting towards the ultimate aim of social media: to bolster the museum as a central cultural authority, and to *convert* the audience to the museums' cause. This goes against the grain of the literature, which hints towards a commitment to the desires of the audience, and to be an advocate for them. Such discourse is highlighted further below. Moreover, for many museums there is a clear anxiety about the idea of not using social media. Social media is considered a "necessity due to it being the lead communication tool of today", moreover social media reflects "the social landscape we now inhabit". Social media is thus, contradictorily, both threatening and enabling. Museums must be on social media, otherwise they face the threat of irrelevancy ("either institutions embrace it or they risk becoming marginalized"), but its use enables a broader audience reach. It is perhaps a fear of marginalisation, through non-use of social media, which gives rise to this conceptualisation of social media.

Marketing lexicon is seen throughout discussion of social media. The use of marketing terms speaks to the museum being a self-promoting entity, attempting to bolster its own position in society, rather than an institution striving towards decentred authority. In this way, the value of social media is seen in terms of value for the museum itself rather than its audiences. Many museums are consequently seeking 'advocates' and 'supporters' rather than partners. A wide range of marketing and business lexicon is used, including: "brand awareness", "cheap", "effective", "promote", "vision", "raising profile", "increase revenue", and "operational objectives". From such choices, it is clear that museums are concerned with conveying their agendas to audiences. Moreover, they consider the users of social media to be seeking entertainment: they are "enticing" audiences or giving them "fun". Therefore, not only are museums competing for an audience share, they take the assumption that audiences need to be *provided with* their products, rather than truly *engaged with* content (in the sense of holding discussions around it): suggesting an unequal power relationship wherein the museum provides, and the audience are provided with, products. This does not match the vision of an active audience portrayed within the museum and social media literature; it does not afford the audience an ability to desire anything from the museum, they are simply brought into

the vision held by the museum. Such discourse speaks to a commitment to the longer disciplinary (i.e. institutionally-centred) visions of museums, rather than democratisation and the sharing of benefits.

Talk of business 'best practice' further highlights a very clinical approach to measuring social media engagement: thus "goals" and "performance indicators" are measured. Moreover, audiences are "monitored" and customer service is highlighted. That is, talk of engagement tends to refer to replying to questions, comments, enquiries or complaints. This is a customer service mentality, rather than the relationships of radical trust valued so highly within the literature. Maintaining the image of the museum is at the forefront of this customer service mentality; there is a great anxiety around losing control of the museum by allowing free discussion around it. Taking another angle, success is defined in relation to online engagement metrics and click-through and response rates to posts rather than being audience centred, defining audiences and their needs. Put simply, the argument follows that social media is good for the museum as it increases the reach of its content. This broadcast mentality is in direct contradiction to the two-way partnerships that have been widely espoused.

7.3.3. Openness

7.3.3.1. Audiences: Diverse, Anonymous, Passive

> *"We could never connect with this many people in real life on a daily basis! The internet and social media allows us to be everywhere at once, and to reach a far greater and wider audience." – Respondent*

Phrases such as "diverse", "wide" and "new audiences" are used in lieu of specifics about the nature of online audiences. In many cases they refer to everyone, seemingly at once local, national and international; specific targeted demographics are rarely mentioned. These suppressed specifics are important, as the omission points towards assumptions about what social media enables. There is a presumption of low barriers to entry, and thus barriers are opened for all. Surprisingly, although the physical

limitations of the reach of the museum are considered to be no longer restrictive, only one museum explicitly linked this to restrictions such as disability or old age. A few museums mention younger audiences or "tech-savvy" audiences, who may be particularly targeted through Twitter and other platforms such as YouTube and Instagram and local families who may be reached especially through Facebook. The overall impression is that new, perhaps younger, audiences are drawn in by new media—a popular recurring theme of new media.

Thus, an assumption exists that their audiences are in fact 'new', that is, it they are composed of demographics which do not necessarily visit the physical museum. Social media is seen variously as the active party or an enabler within discourse about social media. For some, it is social media that is seen as offering the greater potential reach; the use of social media inevitably and simply enables access to younger audiences. For some museums, it is the museum that is more active, but social media is still an active party in that it enables the museum to reach a potentially more diverse audience. Instead, the museum is not seen as having the sole or primary role to play: social media acts upon the museum to "break down barriers to access" rather than the museum using social media as a tool, coupled with a critical awareness of its longer disciplinary histories of exclusion, to actively break down barriers to exclusion. Indeed, when attention is paid to transitivity in discourse, it is social media that is granted the active part in clauses, as seen in the phrases "social media *drives* visitation" and "social media *enables*". Social media is not just a tool, but something relied on to perform these functions. The acceptance of technological determinism, that the technology rather than the people using it determine social outcomes, reduces the necessity for museums to consider critically their actions and the impact of those actions. Moreover, museums often consider that they have no choice in becoming more open, as they are joining a "digital ecosystem" in which they see themselves forced into openness. As such, the suppression of information about how social media actually enables museums to reach out to new audiences is significant. This points towards a lack of understanding about what particular barriers exist and how social media, as a tool, can help in intervening, and, further, what the museum must also do to help the process of democratising and diversifying the audience.

The public is constructed as a passive one, and also referred to in reference to the discourse of marketing, rather than the discourse of shared authority. Thus, "increased visitor numbers" and "driving footfall" are of utmost important for many museums. Individuals are variously considered to be "audiences", "fans", "supporters", and "advocates". The continuous use of such words supports the assertion that museums are concerned with gathering a receptive and supportive audience for their social media output, and not with building meaningful and long-term relationships with individuals and groups as part of the online public. This directly challenges the kind of assertions made within the scholarly and professional literature where audiences are not coined as merely supporters, but as 'partners', 'collaborators' and 'co-creators' (e.g. Carnall et al. 2013; Davies et al. 2015; Phillips 2013; Proctor 2010). Thus, where the value of social media actually seems to lie is in its marketing potential, of accruing potential and actual support for the museum's ends. Where the creation of relationships and two-way communication channels are referred to, it is rarely substantiated beyond a common list of words such as "engage" and "user response". In many cases the use of phrases such as "engaging audience" can be seen as hedging, hiding the benefits of social media museums actually consider to be important. Often the discourse then moves on to how social media benefits the profile of the museum, its low cost, and its potential for driving online traffic and audiences.

Looking more closely at the word "audience", it implies the public to be spectators or onlookers. Audiences are therefore people who need to receive a message. They are necessarily required to engage with the museum's content and information, and they are not active agents in discourse. Conversely, the museum is not obliged to engage or converse with its audience. Thus, audiences and museums are structurally opposed in such terms—one cannot simultaneously be part of the museum (as a 'partner', or a 'collaborator') and part of the audience. Instead, the audience is external to the museum and the museum reaches out to them ("reaching a larger audience") to bring them into the museum ("driving users to the museum"). In further support of this, audiences are often associated with adjunct phases, indicating a lower social status. Thus, they are simply "engaged", "enticed", "involved", "inspired" or "stimulated" by the museum. The alternative would be more active words speaking of a fundamental involvement in museum practice. Yet it is the museum that "facilitates" and "provides opportunities" to engage, rather than an active audience seeking involvement in the

museum because that is what they wish. This is an audience who requires its interest to be enthused, and it is the museum's job to do so. This speaks of a one-way communication channel.

To use terms more familiar in social media contexts, these online audiences are considered "users": they use the resources of the museum, but do not necessarily contribute. This suggests that the museum is a public resource, but not one that is obliged to construct "co-creative" and "collaborative" relationships. Audiences are reduced to the functions they perform for the museum: they use, and they listen. Where audiences are seen to be more active, there is no associated obligation by the museum to be bound by their audiences' views. For example, "feedback" is sought and social media can be used to find out what audiences "expect from us [the museum]". Finding out what audiences expect does not bind the museum to relay these expectations; the authority remains solely with the museum. Moreover though some museums seek to "become involved" or "join in" conversations online, the use of the adjunct phrases suggests that they are not intimately embedded or involved in these conversations, they just drop in and out; there is no commitment implied. As discussed below a desire to become "digitally pervasive", to reach "the widest audience possible", is related intimately to the traditional role of the museum, particularly to educate, but also to collect, and in doing so establish itself as a cultural authority. Thus, while museums aim to reach wider audiences for the purpose of achieving their mission to educate, audience support is thought to accrue easily through social media, thus also re-establishing the museum as an important cultural authority. Social media, then, is for the museum.

7.3.3.2. Social Engagement and Relationship Building

Social media has been claimed to enable casual interactions and information exchanges with audiences, allowing museums to respond to feedback or engage in discussions either related or unrelated to the museum collections. Many mention that relationships are formed with audiences, and can be sustained into longer-term relationships, and even community harboured around the museum. As discussed above, when such discourse is analysed, more egalitarian relationships (partnerships)

do not seen to be highly valued. Further, the desire to 'engage' with audiences is often framed by an idea of openness, and to break down the idea that museums are intimidating, "elitist", and inaccessible. Instead, museums should be made to appear friendly, "human" and "approachable". Furthermore, many museums express a desire for a sense of ownership to be developed amongst online audiences, through building relationships of "trust", and facilitating "co-creation" and "co-curation" through social media. A number of museums believe that they are now expected to offer these things.

However, it is clear that these aims are actually at odds with retaining the impression that the museum is a source of expertise, and a cultural authority. Some museums aim to engage with "influencers" on Twitter, pointing towards the idea that museums desire to, in turn, spread their influence. Moreover, when the much stronger desire to reach more audiences and establish a large 'fan' base is considered, as discussed above, a commitment to sharing authority must be questioned. Within discourse, marketing and business lexicon is often used comfortably and at other times is accompanied with hedging terms, showing that many social media managers are aware of the negative connotations of solely adopting a marketing function for social media: "Of course we also market events as well, but not excessively". Facilitating conversations is more important: "In a sense we aim to entice and engage with our communications rather than simply push our sale messages". The negativity is that marketing and openness are in a sense mutually exclusive. One cannot simply 'sell' a message whilst also being open and allowing discussion about what that message is. Thus, museums often see the contradiction in stating social media's main value as pushing a message, while at the same time affording a great degree of openness to online audiences to share the authority held by museums to push those messages.

Where discourse points towards the desire to enable shared authority, many lexical choices have an assumed meaning, whereas others are ambiguous in nature. For instance, many claim that social media "increases engagement and outreach" whilst others more vaguely claim that it allows for conversation in a "fluid dialogic fashion". Ambiguity is particularly problematic as it points to a suppression of information: what is "fluid dialogue"? The use of such phrases points to a lack of understanding about the reality of online conversation and reduces the commitment of the museum

to any measurable or tangible outcomes. Moreover, terms with assumed meaning such as 'engage' and 'participate' are also problematic and often also belie a lack of action on the part of the museum. When examined they are actually redundant terms: for example, 'participating' may not commit the museum to anything more than having a social media account. 'Engaging' on the other hand could simply mean reading the posts of online audiences. The constant use of such terms without expanding on intended outcomes is also seen in the professional museum literature, as well as in the more utopian social media studies literature, and points towards a lack of critical reflection on how *museums* can *use* social media and what they are actually committed to achieve, rather than what *social media* is assumed to *do*.

Further examples are useful here. Museums variously claim that social media enables "casual and informal relationships", "building connections with audiences", "strong relationships", fostering "responsive dialogue", "having conversations", and "connecting". These features can be expected, as common occurrences during contact between two parties, and are not unique to social media. Moreover, they suggest that before social media museums did not engage in dialogue and did not build relationships, which they of course did. Similarly when "active audiences" are sought, these are not defined, and it is not clear what is actually desired from such activity. Thus, the interactions seen to be enabled by social media are redundant, as 'connecting' does not offer a great degree of obligation to a relationship for either party. A lack of critical understanding of the longer histories of museums exists here, as well as a lack of comprehension about what impact social media actually has beyond the assumed interactions between museums and audiences. As will be highlighted in the following section about social media followers, there are perhaps more 'weak ties' (Wellman and Gulia 1999: 176) and superficial relationships between museums and audiences than those initially claimed by museums.

Finally, museums are keen to promote a persona that is "genuine", "relatable" and "approachable" in order to enable the aforementioned, more personal relationships with the museum. A desire to construct a friendly persona, however, speaks to the perception that, prior to social media usage, museums are exclusive, elitist and intimidating. The presumed *doxa* of the exclusivity in discourse also contains the implied argument that museums *should* be more friendly and approachable, showing

some awareness of the longer histories of museums. Without social media, museums will continue to struggle to engender "trust" amongst audiences. Although some commitment to becoming more open is clearly evident, faith is put in technology to achieve this. Social media is thus seen as enabling a break from the old—something that the methods of new museology decades ago also claimed. Here, then, we see a recurring theme of breaking from the old.

7.3.4. Disseminating Knowledge or Gaining Support

True to one of the traditional functions of museums, many museums are highly concerned with re-establishing themselves as relevant by disseminating knowledge of their collections through social media platforms. Many stated explicitly their desire to educate. Through online content and engaging in conversations with audiences, social media was identified as a way to encourage interest in a subject more generally, and to enthuse a community of followers. However, it appears that what underlies this is a desire to be a 'resource' for people, to nurture appreciation of their existence, alongside disseminating the discipline-based knowledge around their collections. In disseminating knowledge of collections, museums also aim to instil knowledge of themselves as authorities and "taste-makers" amongst their followers and the importance of what they 'do'. In this way, it seems that social media is often geared towards garnering support for museums in modern society and increasing advocacy for particular museums.

There is a clear concern to foster advocacy for museums amongst the public, usually broadly defined. Museums wish to change perceptions that they are elitist and exclusive. Social media therefore aids in making the museum appear more engaging and open, and less "rigid". This is achieved through conversation and the provision of various content such as "behind the scenes" content and humorous posts. Related to this concern of establishing museums as socially relevant places is the desire to establish museums as culturally important places. Museums believe that because they are places that harbour experts on particular subjects, this expertise should be made clearer and their value should be recognised more among the public. Moreover, through making content open for reuse and repurposing, museums believe that they

can enter a "digital ecosystem" amplifying museums' reach, and diffusing collections research across the web.

Museums see new media as a means to provide audiences with information, to share their content with audiences, to educate and inform them about the museum and its subject remit and, in effect, to push a message. In this way it is the museum informing rather than being informed by active publics. Thus, museums use social media "to create awareness", "to encourage advocacy about the importance of the museum's collections to the people", and to "increase awareness of and appreciation for the museum and what we [they] do". Such discourse clearly indicates that museums are not seeking to be challenged by online publics; museums do not wish their importance or mission to be questioned or altered, they wish for it to be supported. Here, the discourse contains clauses in which the museum is the active party: it is the museum *creating* awareness, *changing* perceptions, *encouraging* advocacy, *stimulating* their audiences, and *promoting* themselves. Related to the much longer histories of museums establishing themselves as important cultural authorities and promoting a disciplinary perspective on their collections, this discourse demonstrates a much greater confidence in museums' own actions. This compares to a greater anxiety around supporting new audiences, in which museums rely on social media to be the active party.

There is some anxiety, however, around the idea that museums need support: it suggests that they see themselves as under threat in the social sphere. By raising awareness for themselves museums may hope to bolster their own position in society. By exposing people to museums, they hope that "audiences will realise the museum is for them" and make visitors "feel like they are part of the museum". The importance here is encouraging support rather than being committed to actual change. Again, looking at transitivity in clauses, the audience is considered a passive entity. They are the ones being made to realise and the ones being converted, and it is museums actively providing this realisation of their value. Museums may feel they are providing an important service to an online public, yet it appears that the museum benefits from the public's support more than the public being offered any degree of commitment from the museum. The threat in the online social sphere largely seems to be about their position as 'experts', as will be discussed in the following section.

7.3.5. The Museum as Expert and Collector

Social media is seen as a tool to further the aims of the museum, thus, as discussed above, museums are seeking 'advocates' and 'supporters' rather than partners: they are looking to be supported rather than support others. Moreover, museums consider social media to be essential for accruing content from online audiences, which is beneficial for their collections and other activities. For instance, it is an easy way to receive feedback on exhibitions and programming or to efficiently conduct visitor evaluations. Many museums noted that social media provides a useful source of information for audience opinions about permanent and temporary exhibitions and museums' events programmes. Audience preferences may therefore shape future event provision. No museum mentioned a formal evaluation programme for assessing the success of particular exhibits or events, for example in terms of educational goals. Many, however, noted that user-generated content does not guide exhibition or programme development, and one stated explicit disdain towards the idea that user-generated content should guide exhibition development, noting that 'curators' alone hold the necessary expertise in museum practice.

Many museums reported that user-generated content is recorded where it relates directly to their collections. For instance, social media may allow for gathering information about objects and photographs. This may take the form of object identification, or increasing the knowledge about an object, such as identifying the provenance of the object or individuals depicted in a photograph. Audience opinions and ideas may be gathered to supplement exhibitions. In some cases, museums have utilised social media to expand their collections, going beyond the accrual of supplementary data. For example, oral histories, lacking in many museums, may be requested on social media. Images, such as photographs or artworks, may also form the focus of exhibitions. Yet many museums have no formal process for storing user-generated content and deciding what may be of immediate or future interest, and many noted they have no immediate plans for rectifying this. Where they do store user-generated content it is usually in the form of informal back-ups of specific content, or using online applications such as Storify to archive particular tweets. Many only save small selections of content for promotional purposes or for discussion

in directorial meetings. Only a few store user-generated content that relates directly to collections information, but it appears that this is often only supplementary or informs temporary features such as exhibitions. One museum specifically separates user-generated content from their main collections data so it does not interfere with research. Thus, user-generated content is often gathered without particular aims for doing so, and is often discarded.

There is evident concern amongst museums about the expertise of online audiences. Many claim that social media leads to ideas that spark additional research or renewed interest in particular areas of the research remit of the museum. However, several museums noted that they verify information against other sources before establishing it as necessarily authoritative and acting upon (e.g. conducting collections research or recording it). Although museums refer to 'verifying' information and determining its 'credibility', it is the museum establishing the truth of statements, measured by disciplinary standards. This contradicts the radical trust claimed by the proponents of social media use in the literature, and challenges those who claim that audiences can "develop ownership" of "their museum". It is the way in which user-generated content is handled in the long-term which more convincingly shows museums do not value user-generated content as collectively expert. In this way, audiences may inform the museum but they are certainly in no way bound to any audience desire. If audiences were afforded radical trust it would have been more widely suggested that user-generated content could contribute to highlighting the contingency of museums' collections knowledge, one of the key features to be expected of a museum allowing for radical trust. Museums act as feedback providers and may 'inform', but the museum is in no way bound by an audience who at best take up an adjunct position: being "involved" but certainly not integral to disciplinary practice. User-generated content is evidently more often than not discarded and completely devalued in the long-term.

Social media further "enables people to contribute to what we [museums] do". Audiences are not part of the museum (the "we"), but in these terms are content providers. This re-establishes the museum in its traditional role as collector, whereas audiences provide useful supplementary content with great marketing value in particular. This is evident in the theme of audiences being problem-solvers, wherein

they provide information about content posted by the museums where this is sought, and they provide information about how museums can better further their mission and achieve their aims. Where audiences are seen as being more active, it sees no obligation on the part of the museum to be bound by audience views. Museums use social media audiences as a sounding board of opinions about the museum. For example, they "keep track of what members of our community are saying", "feedback" is sought and social media can be used to find out what audiences "expect from us [the museum]". This may well inform future projects, but the museum is not bound by feedback; authority remains with the museum. Thus, audiences are sounding boards rather than partners.

Furthermore, another way museums have used social media to increase their resources is through crowdsourcing certain tasks. As well as requesting information, museums have outsourced tasks that they could not muster the resources to complete themselves. This includes the digitisation of documents, gathering ideas for programmes or exhibition themes, and testing new digital offerings. Some have also attempted crowdfunding in their attempts to gain monetary resources for specific purposes. Some claimed that "community" and "deeper connections" are built with the museum through crowdsourcing but do not expand on what this actually means. Again 'ownership' is seemingly afforded to audiences whilst also "giving them the chance to add something [to the museum]". Museums do not only attempt to accrue resources, they do so by framing this in a discourse that they are offering a sorely desired public service, and that the public should be greatly appreciative of the "opportunity to add something" to the museum.

In fact, crowdsourcing has grown out of recognition of some form of lack within the museum's collections. They seek further information and the publics using social media are seen as potential providers of this information. In this way, museums variously "gather", "generate", "capitalize" and "tap into the larger body of knowledge". This is indicative of a one-way relationship, accruing resources rather than working or collaborating with an audience. Referring again to the idea of collection, it is the museums that are the active participants, whereas the audience is passively acting as a resource to be tapped. With the museum as active and the audience as passive, this suggests that the impact of user-generated content is

contingent upon the museum's own active critical reflections and actions. Yet museums' current reliance on the idea of social media as a democratising force, without critical reflection on the authority they retain, acts as a barrier to any positive effects on the public.

7.3.6. Fear of Losing Authority

Many museums expressed trepidation about the negative impact the use of social media may have on their respective institutions. Of particular concern is the threat of losing control over the museum's image. This includes negative comments about the museum, such as about their practices or about a visitation, as well as more pervasive discussions. This seems to be a particular concern for many social media managers out of working hours, when social media feeds are not monitored. Some museums do see negative comments as offering the opportunity for engagement with audiences, particularly in regards to addressing peoples' concerns about the museum. However, other museums actively avoid conflict and desire not to engage with such conversations, especially ones that they consider to be "rants". Therefore, social media is often seen as threatening as many museums wish to be able to control their image. A fear of openness pervades much discourse, as there is wish amongst many to maintain a positive image of the museum. On the other hand, some see the threatening nature of new media as an opportunity to address concerns, although the intention of "addressing concerns" seems to be to convince people of the essentiality of museums.

There is a definite anxiety surrounding the need to sustain and develop online audiences from a marketing point of view, especially given the observation that failing to provide interesting content (or not providing new content regularly) can lead to the loss of followers. Some admittedly find it difficult to generate interesting content beyond the provision of advertisement about events and programmes in museums. Thus, assessing what museums find challenging about social media usage reveals a reflection about concerns for the quality of content, which contradicts the broader assertion that social media usage is a way to provide 'meaningful' engagement with museum collections. Some museums see social media as contributing to the development of an onerous "corporate" identity. It is thus fruitful

for museums to consider their social media usage, as it may lead to realisations about the effectiveness (or not) of their online provisions.

Of great concern for many social media managers is the lack of support and knowledge about social media platforms across the museum: it is simply not a high priority practice for many museums. The worry about a lack of staff time and resources for social media usage particularly indicates that many social media managers recognise that their institutions, as a whole, often devalue their efforts. Many museums claim that they are not allocated enough resources in order to make better use of social media, whilst they are also unsure about the amount of time that should be allocated to social media, and the amount of returns that may be gained. Some museums state that traditional communications media are assigned much greater resources. Moreover, a great degree of indifference is noted amongst staff. Of particular concern, many departments consider social media to lead to a 'dumbing down' of museums' collection expertise for online audiences. However, many see the positive sides of social media. Particularly, they see the value of engaging with online audiences—in many cases considered a necessity when this is related to the museum's mission to educate audiences. Others see social media as critical for the promotion of events and exhibition, recognising that it both drives people to the museum and is an important tool to leverage audience donations. Social media thus acts a tool to accrue resources for the museum.

However, the demands on staff time are seen as the single most negative impact of social media. It is often something that must be done in addition to existing job descriptions, and even out of hours. This speaks to a great anxiety around social media: there is a feeling that a lively presence must be maintained, activity must be monitored, and negative presence must be managed. There is a worry that the museum will become marginalised if they do not do this. This strongly points to the idea that social media is considered essential. It also points again to the idea of technological determinism: that simple continuous and persistent use of social media can enhance the standing of a museum rather than thoughtful use of it.

7.4. *Topoi*

The qualitative and critical discourse analyses conducted highlighted a number of distinct *topoi*, which are also helpful tools for summarising much of the above discussion. *Topoi* are particular themes or arguments museums rely upon in their discourse and often presume a rational conclusion to follow from them. Their identification also relied upon the theoretical orientations of media archaeology. These include the idea of recursivity and 'facades' of innovation (Huhtamo 2011), as well as those of collaborative archaeology and the sociology of expertise, particularly their notions of more egalitarian forms of participation and the authority held by discipline-based experts. Three primary *topoi* are evident:

1) *Topos* of expertise: museums contain disciplinary experts and if something threatens their status, acts should be taken to retain their status as experts. This theme relies on the *doxa* that discipline-based knowledge, like the archaeological or anthropological knowledge surrounding many museum collections, is necessarily 'expert'. As a result, the more lived or grounded experiences of others must be measured against their expertise, and they are unauthorised as alternative and equal sources of expertise. This *topos* contains a reaction to the threatening nature of new media and social media in particular, seen by a few as an opportunity to address concerns about the exclusionary nature of museums. However, when 'expertise' is introduced, social media is then co-opted as a tool to convince people of the authority and value of museums. This involves educating audiences (or broadcasting) about their collections and subject remits, and relies on one of the essential and historical functions of the museum: to educate.

2) *Topos* of inclusion: some people are not included in museums and therefore measures should aim to include them. This relies on the *doxa* that museums are traditionally and currently exclusionary; they engage only those interested in disciplinary subjects, and only a limited section of the population. A second assumption contained within this *topos* is that it is the museums' responsibility, as the active party, to seek the inclusion of others because the wider public necessarily requires inclusion.

3) *Topos* of innovation: museums are seen as exclusionary spaces, and something innovative should be implemented in order to rectify this situation and include new audiences. This appeals to background knowledge that certain groups of people have been excluded from museums, and also to the tenets of the new museology. It also relies fundamentally on the idea that the presumed innovations of social media enable democratisation in the museum, which is technologically determinist. Social media is seen as allowing museums to reach a wider audience and its features allow for the creation of relationships between museums and other groups, which challenge museums' traditional authority.

As the above qualitative and discourse analyses have highlighted, there are contradictions in these *topoi*, especially leading to an apparent confusion amongst museums about whether or not museums should or can be 'experts' in social media spaces, and whether various publics can be afforded benefits beyond those received by the museum through social media. One of the major contradictions is that new media is seen at once as threatening and enabling: it threatens the position of authority of museums by implicating diverse audiences, but also enables museums to reach new audiences. Thus, it evidently becomes an opportunity for museums to reassert their authority by educating people and possibly accruing resources (e.g. content, their support) from them. This speaks to the longer history of museums: to educate and to collect. Another intersecting contradiction is that museums need to be more open but also need to assert their authority: they believe they should allow participation around collections, but at the same time should be educating audiences about their collections. In this case, social media becomes an opportunity to draw audiences to the disciplinary centre, bringing in support whilst mining their expertise, but not seemingly allowing others to act on an equal footing (e.g. by not archiving or recording user-generated content, and having minimal commitment to authors' opinions). These contradictions are related to the various discourses drawn upon: from utopian new media theory and new museology but also discipline-based knowledge. As will be discussed in the next chapter, this is the result of a lack of critical reflection about the impact of new media as well as the longer histories and missions of museums.

7.5. Facebook and Twitter Followers' Surveys

7.5.1. Museum Accounts Followed

From 1245 responses, the mean number of Twitter accounts followed is 201–250 (Table 7.6), with only 6.6% following more than 1000 (n=82). The mean number of followers is slightly lower at 101–150, again with only 7.1% having more than 1000 followers (n=88). The majority of museum followers use Twitter for up to an estimated 10 hours a week (69.7%) (Table 7.7), with 44.3% (n=549) using it for up to approximately five hours a week and another 25.4% (n=315) using it for between 6–10 hours. 14.6% (n=181) of museum followers estimate their Twitter usage to be between 11–15 hours, with the remaining 15.7% estimating their usage to be above 16 hours a week, with the mean lying between 5–10 hours per week.

From this it is evident that museum followers on Twitter are reasonably light users, with the modal usage category being 0–5 hours and the mean lying between 6–10 hours a week. The average number of followed accounts is 210–250 accounts. This indicates that most people have minimal time to engage with the tweets from museums, and a minority are afforded a greater potential for engagement with museums. Those who do follow museums on Twitter tend to follow several, rather than just one. Whereas 7.6% (n=87) do follow a single museum, the modal category is 6–10 with 24% (n=273) of respondents following this amount of museums. The mean is slightly lower at five museums being followed. Beyond this, several people follow many museums with 12% (n=137) following more than 25 museums. 2.8% (n=32) of all respondents follow a very large amount of museums (more than 100).

Table 7.6. Museum Twitter accounts followed (1138 respondents)

Accounts Followed	Respondents (n)	Respondents (%)
1	87	7.6
2	123	10.8
3	106	9.3
4	83	7.3
5	131	11.5
6–10	273	24
11–15	92	8.1
16–20	63	5.5
21–25	43	3.8
26–30	32	2.8
31–35	9	0.8
36–40	17	1.5
41–45	6	0.5
46–50	11	1
51–60	9	0.8
61–70	5	0.4
71–80	5	0.4
81–90	2	0.2
91–100	9	0.8
More than 100	32	2.8

Table 7.7. Hours spent using Twitter (1239 respondents)

Hours	Respondents (n)	Respondents (%)
0–5	549	44.3
6–10	315	25.4
11–15	181	14.6
16–20	83	6.7
21–25	42	3.4
26–30	34	2.7
31–35	15	1.2
36–40	5	0.4
Over 40	15	1.2

By comparison, 523 Facebook followers like a mean of 51–60 pages, with 13.8% (n=72) liking over 250 pages (Table 7.8). This is an expectably lower mean than Twitter owing to the short style messages on Twitter compared to Facebook. This is likely due to the accounts people follow on Twitter including their friends and

personal connections as well as various company, news, and institutional accounts, whereas 'liked' pages on Facebook will not include friends (as 'pages' are held by companies rather than individuals). There may also be a greater allowance for serendipity on Twitter, in that retweets and 'who to follow' sections on Twitter allow for new accounts to follow to be more easily found. As a result, people will tend to follow more accounts on Twitter overall. However, the number of museum pages liked is comparable to Twitter, with the mean category being five liked museums, and the model category also being 6–10 (22.5%; n=108). Over 50% follow five museums or fewer (53%, n=255), which is slightly higher than Twitter where 46.6% (n=530) follow five museums or fewer. The number following over 25 is also slightly lower than Facebook, at 7.3% (n=39). Facebook museum followers tend to use Facebook for a longer period than Twitter, with 50.7% using Facebook for up to 10 hours, and 69% (n=358) using Facebook for up to 15 hours (Table 7.9). Facebook use also sees a greater number of heavy users with another 12.7% (n=66) using Facebook for up to 20 hours a week and the remaining 18.3% (n=95) using Facebook for over an estimated 20 hours a week.

Table 7.8. Museum Facebook accounts liked (523 respondents)

Accounts Liked	Respondents (n)	Respondents (%)
1	54	11.2
2	60	12.5
3	46	9.6
4	36	7.5
5	59	12.3
6–10	108	22.5
11–15	42	8.7
16–20	22	4.6
21–25	15	3.1
26–30	11	2.3
31–35	5	1
36–40	4	0.8
41–45	3	0.6
46–50	4	0.8
51–60	4	0.8
61–70	0	0
71–80	1	0.2
81–90	0	0
91–100	0	0
More than 100	7	1.46

Table 7.9. Hours spent using Facebook (519 respondents)

Hours	Respondents (n)	Respondents (%)
0–5	126	24.2
6–10	137	26.4
11–15	95	18.3
16–20	66	12.7
21–25	38	7.3
26–30	24	4.6
31–35	12	2.3
36–40	6	1.2
Over 40	15	2.9

7.5.2. Characteristics of Followers: Visitation, Age, Education

Of museums followed on Twitter, 62.72% (n=1138) of respondents have visited the physical museum (Table 7.10). This is an important statistic as it suggests most people would only follow a museum if they were familiar with the museum through having visited it. This matches well to the number of people who report physical attendance of the museum as a result of tweets by a museum. 58.1% (n=604) have attended a particular exhibition at a museum owing to a tweet that was read, whereas 45.2% have attended an event (n=470). General visitation, that is, visiting a museum but not to see any exhibition in particular, was only reported by 22.1% of respondents (n=230). A slightly greater number of people (28.8%, n=299) reported no physical visitation to the museum as a result of reading a tweet from a museum. These responses suggest that museums are much more likely to reach people who are already familiar with a museum rather than those unfamiliar with it. However, tweets can encourage physical attendance of the museum, but only when geared towards a specific exhibition or event—general marketing of the museum is unlikely to result in action.

Table 7.10. Activities performed as a result of reading social media posts

Activity	Facebook n (%)	Twitter n (%)
Visited museum (for a particular exhibition)	310 (73.1)	604 (58.1)
Visited museum (but not for a particular exhibition)	168 (39.6)	470 (45.19)
Attended an event	153 (36.1)	230 (22.1)
No visit to museum	79 (18.6)	299 (28.8)

Table 7.11. Gender of Facebook and Twitter followers

Gender	Facebook n (%)	Twitter n (%)
Female	331 (78.8)	755 (72.9)
Male	81 (19.3)	267 (25.8)
Transgender	2 (0.5)	2 (0.19)
Withheld	6 (1.4)	12 (1.16)

Table 7.12. Education levels of Facebook and Twitter followers

Highest Level of Education	Facebook n (%)	Twitter n (%)
No high school / equivalent	0 (0)	1 (0.1)
High school / equivalent	21 (5)	30 (2.9)
Some university	62 (14.7)	118 (11.4)
Undergraduate degree (e.g. BA)	143 (34.1)	381 (36.8)
Taught postgraduate degree (e.g. MA)	121 (28.8)	332 (32.1)
Research postgraduate degree (e.g. MPhil, PhD)	72 (17.1)	164 (15.9)
Withheld	1 (0.2)	10 (1)

A greater number of people have visited the physical museums they follow on Facebook, with the mean being 71.73% (n=481), which suggests even further that pre-disposition to a museum determines following. Visitation of a particular exhibition is also greater than with Facebook, with 73.1% (n=310) of Facebook followers having visited a particular exhibition owing to a post made by a museum. A further 39.6% (n=168) have also attended events for the same reason. General

visitation is also higher than Twitter as 36.1% (n=153) of Facebook museum followers have visited a museum as a result of a post but not to see any exhibition in particular. The number of people who report no physical action because of posts made on Facebook is much lower than Twitter with 18.6% (n=79) reporting no physical visitation. Moreover, museum social media followers tend to be regular museum visitors, with more than half of the Twitter survey respondents (58.9%, n=613) visiting museums between 6–50 times in a year (i.e. every other month to approximately once a week). Only 3% (n=31) have not visited a museum in the past 12 months, so the vast majority have visited museums at least a few times in the past 12 months. Facebook museum followers show a similar amount of visits with 55.4% (n=235) visiting museums 6-50 times per year.[3] Again only 2.8% (n=12) have not visited a museum in the previous year.

The mean age of a museum follower on Twitter is 37.1 and almost three-quarters are female (72.9%, n=755). Significantly, the great majority of followers have at least a bachelor's degree or higher degree (85.6%, n=877), with 36.8% (n=381) holding a bachelor's degree, 32.1% (n=332) holding a taught postgraduate degree (e.g. MA), and 15.8% (n=164) holding a form of postgraduate research degree (MPhil or PhD). The mean age of a museum follower on Facebook is slightly higher at 40.2. Facebook also shows a greater number of female followers (78.8%, n=331). Facebook followers also show a high degree of education with 80.2% (n=336) of museum followers having at least a bachelor's degree. Of these, 34.1% (n=143) report holding a bachelor's degree, 28.8% (n=121) holding a taught postgraduate degree, and 17.1% (n=72) holding a research postgraduate degree.

7.5.3. Reasons for Following

7.5.3.1. Exhibitions and Events Information

The reasons for following museums on Twitter (Table 7.13) and Facebook (Table 7.14) are predictably diverse but through qualitative analysis a number of trends can

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[3] It is likely that those 'visiting' more than 100 times per year are people who work or volunteer in museums.

be identified. Firstly, it is evident that the primary reason people follow museums on both Facebook and Twitter is to be informed about upcoming events or exhibitions (Facebook: 28.3%, n=415; Twitter: 28.8%, n=975). The percentages are surprisingly similar, suggesting the differences between Facebook and Twitter do not affect this primary motivation. Respondents' answers in regard to this category are usually brief but convey the desire to be informed about upcoming events and exhibitions. This sees the social media platform as opening up a one-way communication channel akin to marketing. There is a clear desire for respondents' to simply find out what is happening at museums rather than being provided with collections-based content. Followers actively position themselves to receive this information, thus they want "to be notified", "to find out" and "to keep up-to-date"—clearly opening up a 'push' marketing channel for museums.

7.5.3.2. *Museum Collections and Subject Information*

The second most common category of response refers to learning about museums' collections (Facebook: 26.4%, n=387; Twitter: 25.3%, n=855). The percentages are again surprisingly similar between the two platforms, as it might be expected that the shorter format of Twitter messages would result in a lower expectation of learning. The responses contain a desire to be informed by the museum along a number of lines and can be broken down into 5 sub-categories: 1) general collections-related information; 2) specific desire to learn or be educated; 3) visual information; 4) information for research, and; 5) teaching resources. Sub-categories 1–3 are the most common.

For both Facebook and Twitter followers, there is a prevalent general interest in the various collections and subject remits of museums (Facebook: 15.1%, n=222; Twitter: 18%, n=609). The responses include those who generally "love history and archaeology" and would like to receive "titbits" of information or "factoids", as well as those desiring details and specifics relating to the subject area, including "new discoveries". This category may in fact relate to a feeling that they are keeping in touch with the museum; the museum account thus provides a general feeling of culture. In this way, the museum becomes a hub of information rather than a hub

around which discussion occurs. Taken together, this sees museums as authoritative about their subject areas, either for small snippets of information as well as specific detailed information, with the focus on the discipline and collections-based information that they can provide. Referring to the statistics about museum visitation, these can be presumed to be followers who have a predisposition to learn more about the museums' collections rather than a new audience learning about museums' collections for the first time.

Table 7.13. Why do you follow museums on Twitter? (1066 respondents)[4]

Category	Responses (n)	Responses (%)
Events and exhibitions	975	28.8%
Professional interest (work in a museum)	288	8.5%
Professional interest (study museums)	38	1.1%
Professional interest (job listings)	116	3.4%
Professional interest (other)	54	1.6%
Personal connection (friends or family)	34	1%
Personal connection (local museum)	17	0.5%
Show support	70	2.1%
Like/enjoy museums	107	3.2%
Collections info (research)	36	1.1%
Collections info (teaching resources)	10	0.3%
Collections info (general)	609	18%
Collections (specifically to learn)	127	3.8%
Collections (photos)	73	2.2%
Links to other resources	112	3.3%
Enabling access (physical)	34	1%
Enabling access (intellectual)	75	2.2%
Interaction	115	3.4%
As a personal show	28	0.8%
Bookmarking	53	1.6%
Visiting information	44	1.3%
Marketing (e.g. offers, discounts, shop)	67	2%
Phatic posts (e.g. general news)	191	5.6%
Uncategorisable	111	3.3%
Total	**3384**	

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[4] 'Uncategorisable' answers are either nonsensical or too vague to assign to a category.

Table 7.14. Why do you follow museums on Facebook? (446 respondents)

Category	Responses (n)	Responses (%)
Events and exhibitions	415	28.3%
Professional interest (work in a museum)	66	4.5%
Professional interest (study museums)	7	0.5%
Professional interest (job listings)	20	1.4%
Professional interest (other)	9	0.6%
Personal connection (friends or family)	31	2.1%
Personal connection (local museum)	15	1%
Show support	116	7.9%
Like/enjoy museums	47	3.2%
Collections info (research)	22	1.5%
Collections info (teaching resources)	5	0.3%
Collections info (general)	222	15.1%
Collections (specifically to learn)	60	4.1%
Collections (photos)	78	5.3%
Links to other resources	21	1.4%
Enabling access (physical)	20	1.4%
Enabling access (intellectual)	23	1.6%
Interaction	46	3.1%
As a personal show	40	2.7%
Bookmarking	59	4%
Visiting information	22	1.5%
Marketing (e.g. offers, discounts, shop)	18	1.2%
Phatic posts (e.g. general news)	35	2.3%
Uncategorisable	68	4.6%
Total	1465	

A slight difference is shown, however, in the percentage of people desiring a visual experience on social media. This relates to following museums for the pictures they post, including photographs from their collections and other museums' collections, their exhibitions, and artwork. 5.3% (n=78) of Facebook followers are drawn by the visual appeal of museums' posts. This compares to 2.2% (n=73) of Twitter followers. This difference may be due to the possibility to include several images in one post on

Facebook and the ease of browsing an album of images, rather than the experience of Twitter.

A similar number of people expressly follow museums on Facebook (4.1%, n=60) and Twitter (3.8%, n=127) to be educated or to learn. Although this may be considered an implication of posts in the first, more general, category, the people in this category expressly seek to be educated by museums rather than following as a result of a general interest. Thus, they seek educational resources and "to be informed" by the museum. For some this is about a feeling of culture, or "cultural nourishment", and to be "inspired" or "stimulated". They are also seeking a stream of cultural information, something that is not banal, which is perhaps what they consider the rest of their twitter stream to be ("diversions from [the] usual twitter fare"). Some related this to a "personal investigation" and a quest for "personal development" and they may see social media as a means by which to integrate such enlightening information easily into their daily lives—so that they can "learn something new everyday". The final two reasons for following museums based on their collections information are founded on the museum being a resource. Firstly, a small number of people aim to utilise online museum collections for various personal research purposes (Facebook: 1.5%, n=22; Twitter: 1.1%, n=36) and very few use collections as resources for teaching or for passing on to others (Facebook: 0.3%, n=5; Twitter: 0.3%, n=10).

7.5.3.3. *Museums as a Hub of Information*

A small number of people specifically see museums as hubs of information, seeing them as a way to discover further information beyond the museum itself (Facebook: 1.4%, n=21; Twitter: 3.3%, n=112). This includes information hosted on external sites as well as information on other museums' social media pages or websites. People desire to receive "their recommendations" and follow them to "see what other things they suggest", which seems to be driven by the notion that museums are trusted sources of information.

7.5.3.4. Professional Reasons

A number of professional reasons influence many in following museums on Twitter and Facebook. Again, sub-categories can be identified: 1) professional interest/work in a museum; 2) museum studies; 3) jobs; 4) general interest in museum issues, and; 5) other, related professional interest. There is in fact a surprising difference in the percentage of people following museums on Twitter (14.7%, n=496) and Facebook (7%, n=102) for professional purposes. The reason for this may be indicated by the sub-categories seen on Twitter whereby 8.5% (n=288) of people following museums as they work in museums in some capacity, and a further 3.4% (n=116) of people who desire job opportunity announcements. This compares to 4.5% (n=66) and 1.4% (n=20) of people following museums on Facebook for the same reasons. This suggests the existence of a larger community of museum professionals and those in related professions on Twitter. A smaller number of people follow museums owing to involvement in museum studies (Facebook: 0.5%, n=7, Twitter: 1.1%, n=38) and interest in museums owing to having a profession in a related area (Facebook: 0.6%, n=9; Twitter: 1.6%, n=54).

Where people follow because they work in museums, they "want to know what is going on" generally in the museums sector, and to be informed to aid "professional" or "career development". They wish to learn to help their career, gain knowledge about professional practices, and read news from the sector and about specific museums. Other specific reasons include following in order to gain examples of work conducted in other museums to influence their own work: to "get ideas" or "steal ideas" about "other museums' social media projects", and "how they interact with people on Twitter". A few also use social media to communicate with other museum professionals and current colleagues, either for personal "professional networking" or to forge links between institutions. A significant further sub-category relates to those who are following museums, as they are involved in museum studies or related fields. Again, they wish to keep track of professional museum developments as well as to communicate ("to discuss museum theory and news with others"). Another sub-category comprises those who follow museums as they work in closely related fields, such as archaeology, businesses that serve museums, and includes: artists seeking

"information about opportunities related to their work" or to get their "names out as artists", teachers looking for "possible school trip" ideas, and academics.

7.5.3.5. A Show of Support

Many on Facebook follow museums in order to show support for them (7.9%, n=116), which may involve expressly following museums in order to promote their posts to others or simply following them in order to show their support to the museum itself and demonstrate their approval of various museum initiatives. Surprisingly, this is much higher than Twitter where only 2.1% (n=70) follow museums in order to show support. For some, liking or following a museum on Facebook or Twitter results in a feeling that they are genuinely doing something good for the museum; their like results in tangible and effective support. Phrases such as "for moral support" and a "sense of loyalty" show the personal level that this support can have. A few expressly follow museums in order to help promote them: they want to help spread their news and aid their publicity. This further supports the idea that liking a museum equates to the belief that they are helping out the museum. Others are less concerned with showing their support to others and rather prefer to affirm the museum: they want the museum to know it is appreciated.

7.5.3.6. Enjoyment

Related to the previous category, but not included in the category of 'support', is the small number of people who follow museums simply due to simply 'liking them' (Facebook: 3.2%, n=47; Twitter: 3.2%, n=107). The more vague answers included in this category show a simple enjoyment of museums without necessarily showing a desire to support them.

7.5.3.7. Engaging in Conversation

Contrary to the literature's focus upon encouraging interaction a small percentage of museum followers express a desire to engage in conversation either with the museum or with other museum followers (Facebook: 3.1%, n=46; Twitter: 3.4%, n=115). Of course, other reasons for following may not preclude some form of conversation. However, the overwhelming impression when asked for reasons for following museums is that of being informed rather than engaging in conversation. Where people do wish to engage in conversation, they are actively seeking to network either with the museum or with other people. They enjoy the social aspect of social media and may aim to hold "debate and conversation", also aiming to establish a two-way or multi-way conversation; to 'talk back' to the museum and to discuss issues with other followers. A few see this as becoming "part of a community" of like-minding people and even to "get to know" others—creating a feeling of engagement and connection.

7.5.3.8. Bookmarking

Both Facebook (4%, n=59) and Twitter (1.6%, n=53) can be seen to enable a kind of bookmarking activity, whereby people can mark their past or future attendance of a museum or an event. This is related to actions such as retweeting on Twitter or sharing on Facebook, allowing followers to easily re-access information. However, it also can be seen that following more generally enables people to organise their lives—they follow in order to plan their attendance of events and respond to things they plan to do by retweeting, sharing, or liking.

7.5.3.9. Phatic Posts

The reasons given by 5.6% (n=191) of people following museums on Twitter and 2.3% (n=35) on Facebook can be categorised as 'phatic posts'. This refers to a general interest in museums but particularly a desire to feel up-to-date and in touch with museums they may know personally or feel like they should know. Although responses coded to this category are often vague, for example the response "news",

the category is clearly belied by a general feeling of being informed and keeping up to date in a casual manner. This feeling of keeping in touch or "staying in the know" can be labelled phatic.

7.5.3.10. Personal Connection to the Museum

A personal connection with the museum influences a small number in following museums on both Facebook (3.1%, n=46) and Twitter (1.5%, n=51). This includes both a connection through knowing people that work in the museums (Facebook: 2.1%, n=31; Twitter: 1%, n=34) and knowing the museum as a local one (Facebook: 1%, n=15; Twitter: 0.5%, n=17). This also has a possible connection to nostalgia: for example to "feel closer" to the area where they once lived. The category includes those wishing to help out their friends or family members that work at the museum to "bump up their numbers" as well as perhaps including those who feel an obligation to support local institutions, and those with an active interest in the local area and in "local issues" generally.

7.5.3.11. Enabling Access

Only a small number of people have noted that their following of museums on Twitter and Facebook allows them to access collections in ways they would not have been able to without social media (Facebook: 2.9%, n=43; Twitter: 3.2%, n=109). This includes people who note that particular physical limitations are lifted, allowing them to view collections online (Facebook: 1.4%, n=20; Twitter: 1%, n=34) as well as, perhaps more importantly, people who note a perception that museums become more intellectually 'open' through social media (Facebook: 1.6%, n=23; Twitter: 2.2%, n=75). A few note the convenience of following museums on Twitter and their updates, which is "quicker than checking [their] websites everyday", and on Facebook, they may provide detailed information that for some can make up for not being able to visit. Perhaps more significantly social media enables access to further content, including "behind the scenes" or "insider" information about "what they do", which may be directly pertinent to museums' state aims of using social media: to

open up the museum. This content may give some insight into the processes that occur within museums and, referring to the museums literature, may open an avenue for people to question those processes. Others further note the ability of Twitter in particular to put a "human face on the museum" and to learn about the people "who work at the museum and give [it] life". Some noted that they feel "more connected" and included by the museum in this way.

7.5.3.12. Other Reasons

Perhaps owing to the greater visibility afforded to users' actions on Facebook compared to Twitter (e.g. Facebook 'friends' receiving notifications of actions), 2.7% (n=40) of Facebook museum followers do so as a form of personal show, a statement about oneself. This compares to 0.8% (n=28) of people on Twitter. These people are seeking to appear cultured or "show off" as educated or cultured, and more fundamentally use museum content as an expression of one's own interest. Also, they may aim to be a hub of information themselves, presumably to increase their own number of followers. A small number of people follow museums expressly for their various marketing initiatives beyond events and exhibitions promotions. This includes discount entry offers and competitions (Facebook: 1.2%, n=18; Twitter: 2%, n=67). Finally, a further 1.3% (n=44) on Twitter and 1.5% (n=22) on Facebook follow museums for practical visiting information, particularly about opening hours and unforeseen closures.

7.5.4. What Do Museums Tweet About?

Matching people's primary motivation for following museums, the overwhelming impression of most is that museums post about new events and exhibits, with 43.7% (n=627) of responses identifying these kinds of posts on Facebook and 40% (n=1344) on Twitter (Table 7.15, Table 7.16). In fact, this is substantially more than the approximately 29% desiring these kinds of posts. The second most common kind of post relates to the museum's collections or subject areas (Facebook: 30.5%, n=437; Twitter: 24.8%, n=814), which matches well with followers' expectations of

museums. This can be sub-divided into three areas: collections information, subject-related information, and visuals from collections. On Facebook (15.9%, n=228) the most common of these is collections information; that is information about the collections held by the museum, including artefact highlights, exhibition background information, and research conducted by the museum. These kinds of posts are also commonly seen on Twitter (11.3%, n=370), but subject-related posts are slightly more common (11.6%, n=379; Facebook: 9.3%, n=134). These are posts not directly related to the collections of the museum but are based upon the various subject foci of the museum, including recent findings within a field. Finally, a relatively small number of people see visual posts on Twitter (2%, n=65), including photographs of or from collections and artefacts. This percentage increases for Facebook (5.2%, n=75), probably due to the ease of showing multiple photos on Facebook compared to Twitter. Overall, this match with motivations for following suggests that museums reinforce their role as a hub of information about discipline-based knowledge, including the latest "news and updates" and "latest developments" from their field of study, and related professions such as archaeological excavations.

Although a clear motivation for following museums is because people are related to the museum profession in some way, there are very few posts about professional issues in museums. This would suggest people do not necessarily expect insightful posts about museum issues, but rather follow just to keep up with the 'goings on' at other museums. Though no one categorically pointed towards professional interest posts on Facebook, 1.6% (n=52) of responses pointed towards such posts on Twitter, lending support to the notion that there is a greater professional community on Twitter compared to Facebook. For Facebook 0.9% (n=13) of responses reported seeing job postings compared to 1.6% (n=51) for Twitter. A related category is the reporting of general museum issues (Facebook: 4.8%, n=69; Twitter: 4.2%, n=138), although these are belied by a seemingly more general interest. For example, museums posted news about their staff and personnel changes, with spotlights or highlights of particular members of staff, information about renovations and the museum building. It also involved reporting awards the museum had been nominated for and reporting that they had been mentioned in local or national news media. The focus here is on self-reporting rather than encouraging a broader awareness of professional issues or "behind the scenes" views.

Twitter is perceived as a more interactive medium than Facebook, as 5.6% (n=184) of responses reported posts directly eliciting responses from followers. This is compared to just 1.9% (n=27) of Facebook posts. This is commensurate with the small percentage of followers expecting such posts and, importantly, suggests that people are not expecting overt interaction with museums and they are not provided with it. Few Facebook respondents note that museums do explicitly solicit opinions and aim for interactivity, and some in fact note these as unwanted, "stupid… questions" that just "attract attention". Many more noted interactivity on Twitter, perhaps because the platform enables the museum to more easily share and interact with others with actions like retweeting, whereas Facebook privacy restrictions and the fact that pages do not follow individual users prevents this. Some note "live tweet Q&As", that is real-time question and answer sessions with museum staff, which the Facebook platform would not so easily allow. Many interactions were noted to be customer service and business orientated: respondents reported posts about "impressed visitors" and "visitor experiences" retweeted by museums. This stream of retweets (a form of interaction) does not necessarily equate with the deeper forms of interaction espoused by museums. More overt engagement seems to be lacking but this does not suggest engagement and interaction is not occurring in a less visible form, though further investigation about the nuances of following and social media actions like 'sharing' or 'commenting' would elucidate such issues (see below).

Surprisingly few responses noted links to content produced by the museum but hosted on other social media platforms or their websites, such as podcasts and videos (Facebook: 1.3%, n=18; Twitter: 1.3%, n=44). It might have been expected that museums use their social media accounts to push such content. Other behind the scenes content, such as photographs or 'day in the life' material are reported by an additional 2.3% (n=33) of respondents from the Facebook survey and an additional 2.1% (n=69) of respondents from the Twitter survey. External content not produced by the museum or hosted on its webpages seem slightly more common (Facebook: 2.6%, n=37; Twitter: 3.6%, n=117) and includes blogs, podcasts, videos, apps, and reviews of exhibitions or collections.

Table 7.15. What do museums tend to tweet about? (1020 respondents)

Category	Responses (n)	Responses (%)
Events and exhibitions	1344	40%
Jobs	51	1.6%
Marketing (e.g. offers, discounts, shop)	125	3.8%
Further content (e.g. podcasts, videos)	44	1.3%
'Behind the scenes' info	69	2.1%
Reporting museum news and activities	138	4.2%
Collections info (research, new objects, new findings)	370	11.3%
Collections info (photos)	65	2%
Subject related news	379	11.6%
Interactive posts	184	5.6%
Visiting information	69	2.1%
Links to other resources	117	3.6%
Professional issues	52	1.6%
Phatic posts (e.g. general news)	205	6.3%
Uncategorisable	67	2%
Total	3279	

Table 7.16. What do museums tend to post about on Facebook? (430 respondents)

Category	Responses (n)	Responses (%)
Events and exhibitions	627	43.7%
Jobs	13	0.9%
Marketing (e.g. offers, discounts, shop)	43	3%
Further content (e.g. podcasts, videos)	18	1.3%
'Behind the scenes' info	33	2.3%
Reporting museum news and activities	69	4.8%
Collections info (research, new objects, new findings)	228	15.9%
Collections info (photos)	75	5.2%
Subject related news	134	9.3%
Interactive posts	27	1.9%
Visiting information	32	2.2%
Links to other resources	37	2.6%
Phatic posts (e.g. general news)	69	4.8%
Uncategorisable	30	2.1%
Total	1435	

The number of posts considered to be phatic (i.e. 'keeping in touch') posts were broadly similar to those expected by museum followers, with 4.8% (n=69) of Facebook followers' responses reporting these along with 6.3% (n=205) of Twitter followers. Finally, marketing posts (such as shop merchandise, competitions and offers) are reported in 3% (n=43) of responses by Facebook followers and 3.8% (n=125) of Twitter followers. This is almost double those expecting such posts and again reinforces the idea of a 'push' mentality amongst many museums. Practical visiting information in addition is perceived to make up a small percentage of museum posts (Facebook: 2.2%, n=32; Twitter: 2.1%, n=69)

7.5.5. Summary

It seems evident that a predisposition to visiting museums and engaging with discipline-based knowledge heavily influences social media users' decision to follow museums on Facebook or Twitter. This is a significant finding as it directly challenges a primary claim of museums: that social media enables a wider audience to engage with them. Even more significant is the observation that around three-quarters of followers are women, and around four-fifths have at least a bachelor's degree. Moreover, just under a third have a master's degree, and the mean age is around forty years old. The typical museum social media follower can be characterised as highly educated, middle-aged, and a woman. This is only indicative, but it is unlikely museum followers are the more diverse audiences they espouse in the literature. The significant number of followers who are also museum professionals further adds further to the evidence that a social media following is not the utopian, broader public expected by museums.

The primary reason people follow museums on Facebook and Twitter is to be informed. This is either to be informed about upcoming events or exhibitions at the museum or to be provided with discipline-based information from the museum, about their collections or the subject more generally. What underlies many people's motivation for following is a feeling that they want to feel 'in touch' as well as to be informed. Thus, those following museums for subject-based information want to be

inspired or stimulated, and receive 'diversions' from the usual, presumably banal, fare they feel they encounter on Twitter. Similarly people want to be in touch with ongoing events and exhibitions, possibly so that they do not miss out. Therefore, followers treat museum content in a rather phatic way, contributing to a feeling of culture and staying in touch rather than a deeper engagement that reaches the situation of co-creation espoused in the literature. Social media followers' perceptions of what museums post on social media seems to match broadly with their motivations for following. The one major discrepancy is within the number of responses that note museums post about their events and exhibitions. This suggests a major focus of museums is to push content to followers. However, this is largely what museum followers' expect from museums.

There are only a few differences evident between Facebook and Twitter, but the most important is that museums are subject to more competition on users' news feeds on Twitter. This is because users tend to follow a greater number of accounts on Twitter than on Facebook, and as a result there is a greater amount of content presented to them when they visit Twitter. This means that museums will need to post much more often on Twitter to be noticed, further challenging their chances of engaging with social media followers. Facebook users tend to use the platform more heavily, so the chance of engaging may be higher on that platform. One difference is the small discrepancy seen in posts suggesting 'engagement' or 'interaction', and this is likely a result of the increased ease on Twitter for museums to see and retweet the posts of their followers. It is essential to look at the nuances of particular actions, specifically tweeting and retweeting on Twitter and sharing, liking, and commenting on Facebook, to further investigate such nuances. The survey questions soliciting information about the nuances of particular actions also indicate further what followers expect of museums when they choose to overtly interact in certain ways, and will elucidate questions regarding the extent to which museums actually manage to participate with online audiences.

7.6. The Nuances of Interaction

7.6.1. Twitter

7.6.1.1. Why Do Followers Send Tweets to Museums?

54% (n=577) of respondents report having sent a tweet to a museum. Of these, the mean number of tweets sent to a museum over the last 12 months is approximately five, and most people (72.8%, n=420) do so no more than 10 times over a year. Less than a quarter regularly send tweets to museums with 25.3% (n=146) of people who have sent a tweet to a museum sending more than 10 and just 13.9% (n=80) sending over 20 tweets over the past year. This means that of all survey respondents, 30.6% irregularly send tweets to museums up to five times per year, and 39.5% irregularly send tweets to museums up to 10 times in a year. Only 13.7% of all respondents regularly send tweets to museums; that is over ten times per year, so approximately a little less than once a month.

About a quarter of the reasons proffered (24.9%, n=315) for why followers have sent tweets to museums relate to pointing something out to the museum (Table 7.18). This includes correcting the museum on the information they have posted or something someone else has said (e.g. in one of the museum's retweets). Other reasons include a desire to add content to the museum, such as submitting content like photographs of their visit or responding to a request for information from the museum. The submission of photographs is not seen to such an extent on Facebook, possibly due to the nature of the Facebook Pages platform, which often encourages interaction in the form of comments or likes around existing Page content. Moreover, Facebook Pages often hide user-submitted content in a separate section, and the ability to submit content beyond commenting on existing Page content may not even be enabled by the Page owner. The focus of followers who submit content to museums on Twitter does not seem to be towards establishing longer-term interactions: they are "commenting" on, "telling", or "pointing something out", rather than "discussing". This is a one-way committal of conversation. Many comments refer to feedback about visitation, and may be a more public form of complaint.

Just over a fifth of responses relate to asking something of the museum (21.5%, n=272). Rather than being related to questioning or correcting the museum about their content, with an eye to challenging them, this tends to be related to seeking customer-service oriented details. For instance, some ask about exhibition opening times and whether they would "open in the snow" or "welcome primary school groups on a trip". Other questions seek further details or ask subject-related questions with an eye to the museum providing an answer rather than engaging in discussion. Social media certainly enables a questioning of museums, but these demand specific answers rather than beginning discussions about the nature of museums or the contingency of their content. A similar number of survey responses (20.9%, n=265) stated a wish to send messages of approval or support the museum. This includes agreeing with statements made by the museum, as well as expressions of support or approval of content which was enjoyed. This category comprises preference statements, such as letting the museum know they would like to receive similar content. It also contains approval about physical visits to the museum, and specifically congratulations and reports of positive experiences in the museum.

Fewer than 10% of responses (9.1%; n=115) referred to directly answering questions proffered by the museum. Though some felt they could "add a useful direction/insight" to the museum many responses indicate that followers tend to encounter and respond to trivia-style questions, such as "name your favourite…" or "what was your favourite object", games, questions or polls. Very few responses (5.8%, n=74) suggested a desire to engage directly in conversation or discussion with the museum or other followers who have been retweeted. However, some aim to engage in ongoing discussions on a particular topic. Where this was the case, a major reason for doing so is that the follower feels they have some knowledge to contribute, and importantly they felt they could usefully contribute. Others clearly used the opportunity to attract attention and to raise their online profile in some way (to "let them know I am there").

Just fewer than 5% (4.6%, n=58) of tweets are geared towards engaging on a professional or personal level. That is, they are sending tweets to a museum because they are professionally involved with the museum, or an exhibition or event that has been mentioned. Alternatively, they have some form of personal connection to the

museum, for example they know someone there. This includes simply saying "hi" to colleagues, but also chatting about academic or professional matters. This professional chat includes discussion about professional programmes, jobs and volunteering, and is geared towards building professional networks. Further, a small number of people are concerned with promoting their work or businesses.

Other reasons for sending tweets to museums include sharing information with their followers (3.5%, n=44). As such, people are 'mentioning' (or tagging) museums thus alerting them to the message but primarily directing it towards others. Respondents' reasons for doing so include "bringing the museum to the attention of twitter followers" and publicising or promoting events. Therefore, respondents are concerned with aiding the museum. Finally, a small number of responses refer to sending tweets to museum in order to participate a competition (3.3%, n=42), responding because something was 'fun', 'enjoyable' or 'silly' (2.1%, n=26), and to create a form of bookmark for the tweeter to refer to at a later time (2.7%, n=34).

Table 7.17. Why do you sent tweets to museums? (542 respondents)

Category	Responses (n)	Responses (%)
Engage in conversation or discussion	74	5.8%
Point something out or add content (i.e. not expressly conversing)	315	24.9%
Respond to a question	115	9.1%
Ask something	272	21.5%
Responding to something interesting or fun	26	2.1%
Show approval or support	265	20.9%
Professional or personal connection to museum	58	4.6%
Share with and inform others	44	3.5%
Bookmarking	34	2.7%
Competition entry	42	3.3%
Uncategorisable	22	1.7%
Total	1267	

Table 7.18. Why don't you send tweets to museums? (446 respondents)

Category	Responses (n)	Responses (%)
Did not feel the need to (e.g. did not think to, no reason to)	325	53.5%
Felt it would have no impact	89	14.6%
Like to be informed	72	11.8%
Did not want to comment (e.g. intimidated, privacy)	65	10.7%
Lack of opportunity (e.g. do not use Twitter often)	37	6.1%
Uncategorisable	20	3.3%
Total	608	

7.6.1.2. Why Don't Followers Send Tweets to Museums?

The most commonly cited reason for not sending tweets to museums is that the follower did not feel the need to (53.5%, n=325) (Table 7.18). This broad category encapsulates both the general response of it simply "did not occur" to send a tweet, but also those who were not moved to share ("no reason to"). Therefore, they variously did not have any questions or response to a museum. Others more actively took a decision not to tweet, feeling they could obtain answers elsewhere such as the museum's website. Others, however, felt that Twitter was too impersonal to ask questions and clearly preferred other forms of communication, while others, contradictorily, did not want to create a personal connection with the museum.

Surprisingly, many responses about the reasons for not sending tweets to museums referred to a perception that a tweet would have no impact (14.6%, n=89). Again this relates to a more active decision not to tweet; despite museums attempting to be more personal, many choose to reject this, feeling that their tweets would either be ignored or that other people do not desire their opinions ("probably won't reply"). Some see museums as not having the time to respond to messages and that "institutions don't follow individuals", whilst others think that the account is not actively managed and see it as a broadcasting account. This speaks to a belief that one's views are not significant, and serves to reaffirm those of the museum. Indeed many felt themselves to be "not qualified to have a say", perhaps because they felt to be not as deeply informed as the museum (their messages might be "bit low brow" for the museum).

Others noted a desire to be informed (11.8%, n=72): they choose not to send tweets, but rather lurk or simply follow museums as "an information source". A further 10.7% of responses (n=65) referred to a feeling of intimidation about tweeting. Many of these did not want to comment as they explicitly felt intimidated by the personal nature of the message. They felt there was a lack of privacy—perhaps referring to being monitored by Twitter and other organisations, but mainly due to a perception that other people were monitoring them (i.e. they feel "shy" or "silly" when interacting in a public forum). They prefer a more direct form of two-way interaction, rather than being involved with multiple others, instead preferring interaction via email or telephone. Finally a small number (6.1%, n=37) noted a lack of usage of Twitter and are therefore rarely presented with an opportunity to respond.

7.6.1.3. Why Do Followers Retweet Museums?

A greater number of people have retweeted museums on Twitter, with 78% (n=826) ever having retweeted a museum's tweet. The number of retweets also has a greater mean of between 11–15 retweets in the past 12 months. Of those that do retweet, most (54%, n=443) retweet between one and 10 times over the course of a year and 70% (n=576) retweet between 1 and 20 times in a year. 22% (n=174) of respondents retweet museums over 30 times in a year. Of all respondents, then, the majority are retweeting museum up to 20 times per year (54.7%), with a few retweeting many more times. This suggests that museum Twitter followers are more inclined to pass along museum content than respond to it.

The most common response for retweeting is to inform others (38.7%, n=592) (Table 7.19). By sharing information with others many hope to direct attention to something they think "would be of interest to [their] followers", or think that they should like. They desire to pass on information for "the benefit of others" or as a call for action, such as finding someone to visit the museum with. This includes content from the museums' collections but also practical information such as job listings and visiting information and special events. The content may be considered to be of specific interest to particular groups of friends, such as those with subject-based interests or

those local to the museum. However, there is also an impression that many feel they are doing a good deed—they know their friends would like specific events, so are informing them in order to please. Moreover, retweets often share "something I [they] think everyone should know"—they are therefore doing a good deed to edify others. On the other hand, they may wish to become a hub of information for others.

Table 7.19. Why do you retweet museum posts? (777 respondents)

Category	Responses (n)	Responses (%)
Like it personally (e.g. amusing)	577	37.8%
Message about self	72	4.7%
To show support	144	9.4%
Professional or personal connection to museum	83	5.4%
Share with and inform others	592	38.7%
Encourage discussion	24	1.6%
Bookmarking	20	1.3%
Competition entry	8	0.5%
Uncategorisable	8	0.5%
Total	1528	

Table 7.20. Why don't you retweet museum posts? (188 respondents)

Category	Responses (n)	Responses (%)
Did not feel the need to (e.g. did not think to, no reason to)	92	40.7%
Did not want to share (e.g. intimidated, privacy)	9	4%
Lack of opportunity (e.g. do not use Twitter often)	27	12%
Not interested in content (e.g. friends would not be interested, not interested personally)	92	40.7%
Uncategorisable	6	2.7%
Total	226	

Others simply post messages because they like it personally (37.8%, n=577), as a kind or stamp of what they like—they personally feel it is interesting, humorous or informative. This may be less explicitly about passing on information to directed

groups of followers about museums, but a message about themselves. A small number state a clear desire to pass on a message about themselves (4.7%, n=72): they approve of the content and wish others to know about what "they believe in", that they are "doers" and have an "interest/involvement in the arts". Furthermore, just fewer than 10% of responses refer to supporting the museum as a reason to retweet (9.4%, n=144). They believe that they are doing a good deed by helping promote the museum, as "a sign of solidarity". It is believed that this may help the museum to gain "good attendance figures and stay open", based on a feeling that others should be supporting the museum as they do. Thus, they use retweets to become advocates for the museum.

Surprisingly few (1.6%, n=24) respondents mentioned retweeting in order to encourage discussion amongst their followers. This suggests that where discussion does occur, it tends to be centred on the museum, rather than discussing centring elsewhere. Around 5% of responses mentioned retweeting because of a personal or professional connection to the museum (5.4%, n=83). The follower may have been mentioned by the museum and wish to retweet it, or the tweet may have been something they have been professionally involved with. A small number (1.3%, n=20) use retweeting as a way to bookmark that content as it appears on their feeds and they can re-access it from there at a later date. This may relate to a future visit to the museum or previous attendance of the museum, and they wish to mark it in some way. Finally a very small number retweet as part of a competition (0.5%, n=8).

7.6.1.4. Why Don't Followers Retweet Museums?

Reasons for not retweeting largely fell into two broad categories (Table 7.20). Firstly those who did not retweet simply because they did not find the content interesting (40.7%, n=92). This includes those who were not moved by the content and thus did not share it, and also those who felt that that their friends would not be interested in the content ("anyone who wants to know will follow anyway"), which acts as a converse to those who felt they should retweet because their friends *should* be interested. Secondly were those were felt they did not need to retweet (40.7%, n=92). This includes those who would rather tweet their own content, as well as those who

felt a retweet would have little impact upon their followers. Fewer people (12%, n=27) do not retweet because they do not use Twitter often and thus are not presented with the opportunity to retweet museum content. Finally, a small number of responses (4%, n=9) referred to not wanting to retweet to avoid being drawn into a public forum.

7.6.2. Facebook

7.6.2.1. Why Do Followers 'Like' Facebook Posts?

The majority (90%, n=405) of people who follow museums on Facebook have liked a post made by a museum on Facebook, which indicates at least a minimal level of basic measurable or recorded interaction with museum content. Of these people the mean amount of times followers have 'liked' posts in the past twelve months is 21–25 times, which suggests that around two posts a month elicit a liking response from a follower. Most people who do like museums on Facebook have done so over 10 times in the past 12 months (53.3%, n=216). Around one-fifth (19.8%, n=80) of people like posts over 50 times in a year. This indicates that there are a greater number of prolific 'likers' than 'retweeters' or Facebook 'sharers'. This may be a function of the action of liking being less public—a like on Facebook does not appear on one's profile page as a retweet would on Twitter.

Around another quarter of responses (26.5%, n=258) for why followers like Facebook posts could be classified under the category of 'general appeal' (Table 7.21): they liked a post as they appreciated or agreed with its sentiment. They may also be responding to their interest in a particular topic and approved of its mention in their newsfeed. This is something that drew their attention and elicited a positive reaction: perhaps something "heartwarming", inspiring or "significant". Furthermore, they may have further "found meaning in it" indicating a like can represent a level of engagement beyond a mindless click, and also implying that non-response does not mean non-engagement. Just over 5% (5.4%, n=53) of responses specifically referenced the amusing nature of a Facebook post as a reason to like it. This was something the respondent found "funny" or "witty" and elicited a response in the

form of a like. About a fifth of responses (21.2%, n=207) specifically mentioned the content being interesting, insightful or educative rather than generally appealing. As such this tended towards "learning something" or being "shown something [they] didn't know about". As such they felt they had 'discovered' something through the museum's posts.

Many related their like to showing a clear statement of support for the post or for the museum (14.6%, n=142). This was a demonstration of their approval of a museum's views about something rather an action elicited through interest or enjoyment. For instance, this enabled people to "show support for the museum mission", or "for a cause" and to show the museum that "their posts are read and appreciated". It conveyed a positive sentiment to the museum. Showing a slight divergence from the Twitter responses, a larger number of people mentioned the visual aspect of posts on Facebook, with 8.5% (n=83) of responses referring to the visual nature of the content. Thus, it may have depicted a "beautiful" object or was visually appealing or interesting in some way. A similar number of responses (8%, n=78) referred to the action of liking as a way to share and inform others. They used the like function to make a post appear in others' news feeds (i.e. the fact that they liked something would appear on someone else's newsfeed). They believe they were "spreading news about a museum", as an alternative to using the share function. A feeling that "others should know" about something and that the information was worth passing on underlay this.

The like function also served as a kind of 'bookmark' or 'stamp' in 6.5% (n=63) of responses. These people used a like because they were planning on doing something in the future or had done it already, and may want to be reminded of it or go back and read the content later (perhaps through receiving notifications about the post after liking it). A small number of responses (6.4%, n=62) referred to liking a post as a result of a professional or personal connection to it: a friend may have been involved with the content, or they may have been involved in it themselves, or responded because of a feeling of nostalgia about their local museums. Some working in other cultural institutions felt "inclined to exhibit the behaviour I [they] would like to receive". Finally a couple of responses (0.2%, n=2) referred to entering a competition via a like.

Table 7.21. Why do you like museum posts on Facebook? (360 respondents)

Category	Responses (n)	Responses (%)
Liked it personally (e.g. amusing)	53	5.4%
Agreed with content	258	26.5%
Interesting or insightful content	207	21.2%
To show support	142	14.6%
Professional or personal connection	62	6.4%
Share with and inform others	78	8%
Bookmarking	63	6.5%
Visual appeal	83	8.5%
Competition entry	2	0.2%
Uncategorisable	27	2.8%
Total	975	

Table 7.22. Why don't you like museum posts on Facebook? (40 respondents)

Category	Responses (n)	Responses (%)
Did not feel the need to / Felt it would have no impact	16	34%
Did not want to (e.g. intimidated, privacy)	12	25.5%
Lack of opportunity (e.g. do not use Facebook often)	6	12.8%
Not interested in content (e.g. friends would not be interested, not interested personally)	10	21.3%
Uncategorisable	3	6.4%
Total	47	

7.6.2.2. Why Don't Followers 'Like' Facebook Posts?

This question received answers from only a few respondents so it is harder to make conclusions about the non-use of the liking function. However, a few categories were identified (Table 7.22). Firstly, are those who felt they did not need to like a post (34%, n=16). This is variously due to not liking posts in general, or the thought just did not occur, possibly due to the content not soliciting a reaction. Secondly, several (25.5%, n=12) mentioned not wanting to share owing to privacy concerns—they did

not want to share in order to avoid the personal nature of the resulting activity appearing on others' news feeds. Some further felt intimidated or "shy" in participating. Others were not moved by or interested in the content and thus did not 'like' it (21.3%, n=10). Finally, six responses (12.8%) referred to a lack of opportunities to like posts, either because they did not use Facebook very often or they failed to see the museums' posts for some other reason (e.g. not noticing the post within their news feed).

7.6.2.3. Why Do Followers Share Facebook Posts?

Three-quarters (75%; n=327) of Facebook museum followers have shared a post by a museum, with the mean number of shares lying between 6–10 times in the past 12 months. 38.8% (n=127) of people have shared posts over ten times in the past year, with most people (60.9%, n=199) sharing up to 10 times over the past year. There are a few prolific sharers with 10.4% (n=34) sharing over 50 times during the course of the past 12 months.

Just under a half of responses (47.3%; n=318) about why museum Facebook posts are shared predictably referred to sharing on Facebook as a way to pass information on to their Facebook friends (Table 7.23). This involved directing attention to something they felt others would like, but also content they believe their friends should like—so that "friends can benefit". This includes targeting certain groups of friends who have particular interests but also a belief that they are doing a good deed for their friends, perhaps enlightening them about a particular topic in the hope that they may approve as well. A desire is evident that they would like their friends to be interested in the same things they are and by sharing this information they are perhaps encouraging this. Sharing on Facebook can be compared to retweeting on Twitter as a call to action for others, perhaps encouraging friends to come with them to an event but also to discover new things. Importantly, few in this category aimed to spar discussions or interaction. Only 14 responses (2.1%) explicitly mentioned a desire to start a dialogue or elicit responses from their friends. This may indicate that sharing tends to be a broadcasting method, perhaps a form of identity work rather than to elicit responses or dialogue from friends.

12.3% (n=83) of responses mentioned sharing as a sign of approval or support for the past. Rather than intending to inform others, the act of sharing was to state their support for something. Some see this as a way of supporting the museum: to "help to support the work being done by the museum" by promoting and aiding their publicity. By sharing the post they are attempting to widen the audience for the museum, using their position amongst their friends to do a good deed for the museum. A few responses (3.4%, n=23) reflect the idea that a shared post says something about them. It is something they personally "identify with" and they want to change the opinions of their friends about themselves: for example to "appear more cultured".

Around a quarter (25.7%, 173) referred to sharing a post because it was something that they personally found interesting. This was something that resonated and caused a response, thinking it was "amazing", "thought provoking" or "uplifting" for example. Just fewer than 6% (5.8%, n=39) share the post due to professional or personal reasons. The mentioned content is something they have worked on or have a personal connection with, either through colleagues or knowing someone that works there as a friend or family member. Finally, a small number (2.4%, n=16) use sharing as a form of bookmarking. This may relate to the fact that they have attended the museum or a particular event or plan to in the future, and simply want to have a mark of this on their profile. Others use the action of sharing so that they can easily revisit the post on their profile, using the function to enable future reference to the post.

Table 7.23. Why do you share museum posts on Facebook? (305 respondents)

Category	Responses (n)	Responses (%)
Like it personally (e.g. amusing)	173	25.7%
Message about self	23	3.4%
Agreed with content	83	12.3%
Professional or personal connection	39	5.8%
Share with and inform others	318	47.3%
To encourage discussion	14	2.1%
Bookmarking	16	2.4%
Uncategorisable	7	1%
Total	673	

Table 7.24. Why don't you share museum posts on Facebook? (89 respondents)

Category	Responses (n)	Responses (%)
Did not feel the need to / Felt it would have no impact	48	39.7%
Did not want to (e.g. intimidated, privacy)	15	12.4%
Lack of opportunity (e.g. do not use Facebook often)	8	6.6%
Not interested in content (e.g. friends would not be interested, not interested personally)	46	38%
Uncategorisable	4	3.3%
Total	121	

7.6.2.4. Why Don't Followers Share Facebook Posts?

Non-use responses largely group within two categories (Table 7.24). Firstly, are those who did not feel a need to share (39.7%, n=48). Within this broad category responses referred to the impotence of the act of sharing—they did not see the point in doing so. For instance, they felt that those interested would have already seen the content. Others felt it would have had no impact and would be ignored. Secondly were responses that suggested the content was simply not interesting and "not worth sharing" (38%, n=46). They were not moved to share the post, feeling it did not appeal to them and harbouring a perception that it would "not be of interest" to their Facebook friends. A further 12.4% (n=15) mentioned not wanting to share as a result of wishing not to enter a public forum. This involved avoiding negative opinions from friends and others, but also a wish to retain a low public profile more generally. A few mentioned not wanting to offer free advertising to the museum. Finally, eight (6.6%) responses referred to a lack of opportunity to share due to infrequent use of Facebook or a lack of attention paid to museums' posts.

7.6.2.5. Why Do Followers Comment on Facebook Posts?

The percentage of respondents who have commented on posts made by a museum on Facebook is comparable to the percentage of respondents who have sent tweets to museums on Twitter, with 53% (n=228) of Facebook museum followers having commented on post made by a museum. Of those, the mean lies between 6–10 times during a year. 32% (n=73) have commented more than 10 times over the course of the past 12 months, which means that there are slightly more regular commenters than those tweeting to museums on Twitter. Consequently, there are slightly fewer irregular commenters on Facebook, but still most comment up to 10 times per year (66.7%, n=152).

Many (28.1%, n=116) have commented on Facebook posts in order to demonstrate their approval or support of a particular post to a museum (Table 7.25). This often involves praising, thanking or congratulating the museum on an exhibit or event that they attend. It also seems to serve as a way to encourage the museum to post similar content. Thus, commenting provides feedback to the museum about the tastes of its followers. Around a fifth of responses (21.1%, n=87) referred to wanting to point something out to the museum. This often takes the form of adding information to the content, for example, something extra that they have overlooked. It may also be the addition of their thoughts or to express their opinions about the post, thus adding content to the original post. Some believe that they "enhance others' enjoyment" of the content as a result, thus believing that their comments are important and provide additional value. Others use commenting in order to correct or disagree with the museum on a particular post.

While just under 10% (9.2%; n=38) of respondents mentioned commenting on posts as a form of direct response to a question posed by a museum, 16.9% (n=70) felt that the post elicited a response as it was interesting or fun rather than specifically asking for information. Those who responded to a specific question often did so as it was related to a quiz or competition, but also saw it as a means to contribute to exhibitions and ongoing work in the museum. Where the response was unsolicited, this was because the content was considered particularly interesting or fun, related to a subject they already had an interest in, or something that had moved or excited them.

Surprisingly few responses (9.2%, n=38) noted commenting as a means to ask something of the museum. This is a much smaller percentage than those asking museums through a tweet on Twitter. Where they do ask questions, these seem largely to be customer service style inquiries, such as the hours or cost of an exhibition, with a few asking subject-based questions. It may be that Facebook concentrates commenting around existing content (e.g. provision for commenting may only be enabled under particular posts, whereas sending tweets to museums is not constricted in such a way). Further, the amount of comments already visible on a Facebook post may be off-putting for followers. Few (6.5%, n=27) noted that comments related to a desire to directly engage in conversation, such as discussing with the museum or others about a particular topic. These people wanted to "join in" conversations and engage with the various other commentators. This goes beyond the implication of a simple one-time response in the other categories of response for commenting.

Table 7.25. Why do you comment on museum posts on Facebook? (205 respondents)

Category	Responses (n)	Responses (%)
Engage in conversation or discussion	27	6.5%
Point something out or add content (i.e. not expressly conversing)	87	21.1%
Respond to a question	38	9.2%
Ask something	38	9.2%
Responding to something interesting or fun	70	16.9%
Show approval or support	116	28.1%
Professional or personal connection to museum	23	5.6%
Share with and inform others	5	1.2%
Bookmarking	5	1.2%
Uncategorisable	4	1%
Total	413	

The remaining reasons for commenting fall under three further categories. Firstly professional or personal reasons (5.6%, n=23) wherein comments are made as a means to support colleagues or friends that work in the museum, or the content

mentioned involved them or their particular profession. Some (1.2%, n=5) used commenting as a means of stating their attendance of an event, thus acting as a personal 'bookmark' or stamp. Finally, a few (1.2%, n=5) used commenting, probably after sharing the post, as a means to inform others of some information and pass along the post to a wider audience.

7.6.2.6. Why Don't Followers Comment on Facebook Posts?

Those who do not comment on Facebook posts primarily do not feel the need to (55.2%, n=116) (Table 7.26). This is variously because they prefer to be informed by posts on Facebook rather than comment and inform others: they are "after news rather than interaction". A further few do not comment as a rule—they prefer to "lurk" and read the posts of others generally and this is not specific to museums. Others feel that that they have nothing to add to the comment, and thus do not see the need—they would only comment if they "had something special to say" or "only if it seemed appropriate". However, a number do not post as they play down the importance of their opinions—they feel they have no "earth-shaking insights".

Table 7.26. Why don't you comment on museum posts on Facebook? (168 respondents)

Category	Responses (n)	Responses (%)
Did not feel the need to (e.g. did not think to, no reason to)	116	55.2%
Felt it would have no impact	24	11.4%
Did not want to comment (e.g. intimidated, privacy)	52	24.8%
Lack of opportunity (e.g. do not use Facebook often)	13	6.2%
Uncategorisable	5	2.4%
Total	210	

Around a quarter (24.8%, n=52) of responses noted an unwillingness to post messages. They did not want to comment as they found it intimidating and preferred not to participate in a "public" forum and would rather avoid being drawn in. For some there was the issue of privacy. This was related to a concern with Facebook

generally—they "don't want to leave a trace" by which they could be tracked. Yet they also wanted to avoid intrusion from other users who may be "rude" or "ill-informed" in their responses. They therefore want to avoid harassment. Further, some find the comments of others annoying and as a result do not want to contribute themselves to this irritation. Many also do not want to contribute to avoid the hassle of receiving notifications from the post, which further suggests an avoidance of a longer-term conversation and that some simply want to comment and exit the public conversation if they even comment at all

Just over one in ten (11.4%, n=24) responses referred to a perception that their posts would have no impact. Many felt that the museum would not read their posts, existing as an "impersonal entity" which fails to engage with the "personal". Others felt that their opinions were irrelevant as they "are not experts in the field" and thus social media did not enable them to make comments about various topics. Finally, a further 13 responses (6.2%) mentioned that they do not use Facebook as a means of conversation. This is variously because they are not presented with the opportunity to do so as they are not active on Facebook, or prefer other methods of interaction.

7.6.3. Summary

The questions inquiring into specific actions—tweeting, retweeting, liking, sharing and commenting—have provided data that elucidates some of the nuances of online engagement with museums. Many do not wish to engage in long-term conversations or interactive relationships with museums or other followers. This also seems to be the case where people are contributing content, in the form of corrections or photographs. A one-off participatory event may be seen to be occurring. Social media certainly enables a questioning of museums, but these demand answers rather than beginning discussions about the nature of museums or the contingency of their content. Moreover, questions often seem to be of a customer service nature, and as a result it is not surprising this matches well with the marketing discourse adopted by museum social media managers. Furthermore, many reasons given for not interacting with museums relate to a perception that the museum is impersonal, and as a large

institution will not respond. This speaks to a belief that one's views are not significant, and serves to reaffirm those of the museum.

The role of phatic communication should also be highlighted. Many acts such as liking are a simple response of enjoyment or approval, and deeper levels of engagement or interaction often seem to be lacking. At whatever level, however, communicative acts are occurring where social networking actions are used. This may be directed towards the museum, in the form of feedback (e.g. letting the museum know the content is appreciated by liking or retweeting it). Yet respondents are often motivated to communicate expressly to their own followers. Rather than simply responding to content that they like, it was noted that many respondents use retweeting and sharing functions in order to pass on information to their own followers and friends. This information may be a message about themselves, their desired identity, or simply what they enjoy and what they would like their friends to join them in doing. More significantly, this also takes the form of passing on the museum content to their followers as they feel it is important for their followers to know about. Thus, they may be seeking to edify their followers or friends, as well as co-opting the support of their followers or friends, in turn adding support to the museum. In a sense, they become advocates for the museum. The communicative acts, importantly, are all occurring around the museum and the content it provides. Few aim to strike up discussions with other followers, and relatively few aim to provide new content or insights to the museum. Rather, people react and comment on the content provided by the museum.

7.7. Conclusion

This chapter presented a critical discourse analysis of the social media managers' survey completed by 145 respondents, alongside a qualitative analysis of this data and the data collected from 2039 museum followers. The analysis elucidated the extent of social media usage amongst museums and identified, through critical discourse analysis, that social media usage is framed within discourses drawn from new media as well as the new museology and other disciplinary discourses. It drew particular attention to the structures of authority and disciplinary expertise that museums rely

on, and highlighted three significant recurring themes within the discourse about social media usage: 'expertise', 'inclusion', and 'innovation'. The analysis also indicated that non-discipline based communities (i.e. the general online public: individuals and groups who are not based within academic departments and cultural institutions) are ultimately not afforded an equal platform, meaning collaborative relationships are not established successfully.

The analysis of survey answers from social media followers, framed by the finds of the social media managers' survey, was also essential to this study. This analysis addressed the interrelated questions of whether or not the expectations of followers match those of the museums in the use of social media, and for whom the presumed benefits of social media usage accrue. Significantly, the surveys indicated that the typical ('average') follower of museums is a middle-aged, highly educated woman, with a predisposition for visiting museums. In addition, the qualitative analysis of data from the social media followers' surveys importantly showed the motivations for interacting with museums, and the nuances of particular actions (such as 'liking' and 'retweeting') further indicated the reasons for following museums. Individuals communicate through the use of museum content, but tend to direct these communicative acts towards their friends and followers rather than museums. Phatic communication and a feeling of keeping 'in touch' are also of importance. Where interaction with museums does occur, it seems to be related to customer-service style enquiries, or one-off questions or comments. In the next chapter, these findings will be subject to further analysis and discussion, informed by the theoretical frameworks of critical discourse analysis, media archaeology, and collaborative archaeology. The implications of this research for the success of museums' attempt to collaborate with the public through social media will also be discussed.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION:

TOWARDS THE COLLABORATIVE MUSEUM

8.1. Introduction

The results of the social media managers' survey indicated that the use of social media, and especially social networking sites, is ubiquitous amongst museums. Yet the critical discourse analysis highlighted that discourse about social media relies upon three significant and recurring themes: expertise, inclusion, and innovation. The analysis also indicated that non-discipline based communities (i.e. the general online public: individuals and groups who are not based within academic departments and cultural institutions) are ultimately not afforded an equal platform. This was largely the result of marketing being a primary motivation for social media usage, as well as a lack of critical reflection on existing structures of disciplinary authority and wider sociopolitical contexts, which results in a lack of effective action. The social media followers' surveys also revealed that the characteristics and expectations of followers did not match those of the museum. Communication was highlighted to be important. However, this did not seem to be directed at the museum so much as the followers' own friends or followers. Where interaction with the museum did occur, it seemed to be related to customer-service style enquiries or one-off questions and comments.

This chapter presents a discussion of the importance of these findings, referring to the critical work conducted in collaborative archaeology, museum studies, social media studies and media archaeology. The discussion is initially structured around the three *topoi* identified and frames social media usage in museums within existing models of participation. This discussion has important applications for museums attempting to collaborate with the public with the aim of democratising cultural authority and the benefits that accrue from it.

8.2. The Expert Museum

The *topos* of expertise revolves around the argument that museums contain disciplinary experts, and as a consequence, if something threatens their expert status, acts should be taken to help retain that status. This necessarily relies upon the idea that discipline-based knowledge is in fact expert. It is therefore superior to other forms of knowledge and lived experiences, which must be measured against the truths of the central discipline. This *topos* implies social media to be a threat to the status of museums as valued and central cultural authorities. The museum must therefore educate audiences about their value, thus reaffirming one of the essential, historical functions of the museum and establishing itself as an important place (see Bennett 1995: 59–88; Duncan 1995: 8–17; Hooper-Greenhill 1999a, 2007: 3–13). Indeed, the majority of museums saw social media as essential for educational initiatives and outreach, but its assistance for marketing initiatives was identified as the most important function. This is more akin to the 'deficit' model in public archaeology, in which the public is seen as lacking in understanding and requiring education (Merriman 2004: 5–6). Social media is seen to help the museum achieve a more pervasive profile: reaching wider, more diverse audiences than existing offline visitors. Moreover, the use of marketing and business-oriented discourse revealed the intention of museums to convert people to become fans and advocates of the museum whilst being provided with their products (i.e. 'content', such as news about exhibitions, and information about collections). This is in opposition to deeper engagement with audiences in a way that allows the discipline-based knowledge and aims of museums to be challenged and debated, for the benefit of others who had been previously excluded (e.g. Lonetree 2012: 24; Sleeper-Smith 2009; Peers and Brown 2003; Phillips 2003).

Challenging the notion of radical trust posited by proponents of social media in the museum studies literature, which comprises ideas like audiences co-opting authority and ownership of museum content (Carnall et al. 2013: 67; Chan and Spadaccini 2007; Russo and Peacock 2009), many museums see themselves as necessarily authoritative. They position audiences in an adjunct position, so they may inform the museum or comment on social media content, but they are certainly not integral to

disciplinary practices. If audiences were afforded radical trust then the contingency of museums' collections knowledge would be highlighted more often in the survey responses, and it would be evident more widely that museums seriously consider user-generated content as harbouring expert knowledge. Instead, user-generated content is evidently more often than not discarded and effectively devalued in the long-term. Indeed archiving or curation is a powerful act—a form of ownership and control, affording the ability to authorise what happened in a certain place or time (Povinelli 2011; also see Bowker and Star 1999; Cameron and Mengler 2009; Lampland and Star 2009). The fact that user-generated content is devalued and contributions to challenging collections are not more actively sought indicates a lack of commitment on the part of museums to the collaborative relationships they espouse. Instead, social media interaction appears to take the form of ephemeral and temporary interaction between various individuals with the disciplinary centre. By comparison, true collaborative practice not only actively recognises the contingent nature of archaeological knowledge, but also positions disciplinary experts as one expert community amongst others (e.g. Ames 1999; Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010; Jasanoff 2003; Smith and Waterton 2009: 139). Indeed, the sociology of scientific knowledge has for decades indicated that knowledge is produced and distributed within social environments (see Latour and Woolgar 1986), and what is considered to be expertise is usually a reflection of the social and material positions of those involved in a dispute, and is therefore a product of both politics and culture (Haraway 1989, 1991: 4; Jasanoff 2003).

Collaborative practice highlights the benefits of the collaborative act not only for the disciplinary centre but also for other communities. The various cultural, social, political, and other factors that prevent equal inclusion of various groups or individuals should be ascertained and taken into account. Critical reflection is thus demanded on how past disciplinary practices prevent equal inclusion of others, the features of social media that prevent people participating equally, as well as those who actually participate on social media. In addition, it should be stated more specifically what benefits are sought for the museum and what particular benefits are sought or desired by the participating communities. As such, museums should be deconstructing the foundations and taken-for-granted practices of their disciplines in order to work for more democratic futures—if that is what they truly aim for. This is

both ethical and political work. Where sociopolitical contexts are not taken into account and disciplinary bases of work are not critically analysed, a risk of continuing to exclude others is brought to the fore. This is a form of 'violence' especially where non-disciplinary communities are thought to hold valuable knowledge and input for museums (see Fricker 2007; Wylie 2008). However, true collaboration involves a 'synergy' of community contributors and scholars, working with shared concerns, towards a jointly produced product, which could not have been otherwise achieved (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008b: 1). Power redistribution is essential to ensure that projects are mutually beneficial. Indeed, one of the primary contributions of this thesis has been its application of the critically engaged work of collaborative archaeology and critical social media studies to museum work. It has also shown a media archaeological approach, in the sense of uncovering recurring museum themes and *topoi*, to be essential to the critical analysis of whether or not museums have been successful in realising the unique benefits they consider social media to offer.

Museums, by claiming a need to reach new or diverse audiences, are implying an ethical need to make museum practice more inclusive. However, a recurring theme of making the discipline anew appears—one that also appears in the 'new' museology. This ethical need is highlighted explicitly within collaborative museology and archaeology, particularly within indigenous approaches (e.g. Lydon and Rizvi 2010; Zimmerman 2013; also see Black 2010). For collaborative and activist archaeology especially, the awareness and provision of defined or possible benefits is essential. Activist archaeology positions experts to use a discipline as a tool of emancipation, transforming it so that it can serve others and to help solve specific contemporary problems in society (e.g. Atalay et al. 2014; Little 2007; McGuire 2008; Sabloff 2008; Stottman 2010). Praxis is essential for this: fully comprehending the situation at hand, critiquing it, and then taking action as a result of that comprehension (McGuire 2008: 51–53). Beyond reaching 'new' or 'wider' audiences, specific problems are not defined and the tangible contributions of social media usage are not evident. Only when research is consciously and actively implicated with social concerns does it become meaningful. Good and sincere intentions on the part of museum staff cannot be necessarily denied, yet it is not clear that museums are clearly defining their problems, more than transposing views exposed within the museum literature and recurring themes. Without clear aims and awareness, research may in fact result in

various unanticipated consequences, including pernicious ones such as reinforcing existing inequalities (also see Atalay 2012: 111–113; Onciul 2013). The fact that many followers are highly educated and already visit museums serves as a strong suggestion that social media usage to date has reproduced a number of inequalities.

8.3. Inclusion: The Passive Public?

The *topos* of inclusion comprises the assertion that some people are not included in museums and, as a result, measures should be taken to include them. This relies upon the assumption that museums have to date been exclusionary since their disciplinary focus has only interested a limited section of the population. It also relies on the idea that the museum has a responsibility to actively include others in order to become a relevant, modern institution. Museums have clearly expressed a desire to make themselves appear 'human' and 'approachable'. By also becoming more open they claim that ownership can be built amongst online audiences. Related to the above deconstruction of museums' claims of dispersing museums' traditional authority, the idea of inclusion has also been shown to be problematic. They rely on particular concepts such as 'fluid dialogue', 'engagement', 'co-creation' and 'radical trust', yet in reality seem to simply encourage advocacy amongst social media followers for the museums collections and 'what they do'. They are not clearly seeking to be challenged by these online publics, but to be supported by them. Indeed, such positive outcomes like 'co-creation' and 'engagement' are rarely evaluated by museums, and very few use measures beyond quantitative ones (e.g. follower counts, number of comments).

Museums further consider their followers to be receptive to their content, as 'audiences', 'fans' and 'supporters'. This contradicts the assertions made within the scholarly and professional literature wherein social media is considered to establish audiences as partners or collaborators (e.g. Cairns 2013; Davies et al. 2015; Kelly 2010, 2013). Followers are thus not considered as active agents, and the museum is not clearly committed to an ongoing collaborative relationship with them. Yet this does not contradict the perceptions of museum followers; the primary reason people follow museums on Facebook and Twitter is to be informed. This is largely related to

exhibitions and events but also due to a genuine interest in discipline-based information drawn from museums' collections or subject remits. This is a crucial observation, as it would indicate museums' use of social media is not necessarily pernicious: it matches their followers' motivations. However, when the latent discourse about the need to democratise the benefits of museums is coupled with the observation that many museum followers are already interested in museums, this becomes highly problematic.

A key motivation for many followers is a feeling that they want to be 'in touch' with museums and culture. This suggests that the followers treat museum content in a rather phatic way, contributing to a feeling of culture and staying in touch rather than a deeper engagement, which reaches the situation of co-creation espoused in the literature (e.g. Carnall et al. 2013; Phillips 2013). Further, many do not desire long-term, more deeply interactive relationships with museums or other followers. Where followers do more obviously interact with museums, such as through commenting, it is usually a one-off communicative event of a customer-service nature or a query. The cumulative effects of these may make the museum more accountable to the public at large, but this does not equate with the claimed establishment of collaborative relationships.

When discourse is subjected to critical analysis it is clear that museums conceptualise the public as passive. However, museum social media followers are in fact very active, appropriating museum social media content for their own purposes. Acts such as tweeting, retweeting, liking, sharing, and commenting do not only function as a communicative act towards the museum. They are also directed towards the follower's own friends and followers. They may be passing along information about themselves, their desired identities and preferences, including what they like doing and what they agree or disagree with. Moreover, they may be passing on disciplinary information from the museum as they wish to edify their followers or friends. In this sense they co-opt the authority of the museum for their own purposes. In turn, they become advocates for the museum in unexpected ways, not only supporting it as an institution they enjoy, but also its aims to educate and edify. Followers demonstrated a degree of anxiety about their desire to be established as interesting within their social media networks. In this way, social media spaces may be forged as a

Foucauldian 'panopticon' as Bennett (1995: 69) identified museums' 'exhibitionary complexes' to be.[1] Museums are ultimately reasserting their disciplinary functions, while these are being reinforced by their followers, who are already motivated to learn from museums and publicly broadcast museum content because they feel their followers or friends should learn too.

8.4. Innovation: Social Media as 'New'

The third *topos* highlighted was that of innovation. In this, museums are seen as exclusionary spaces. Hence, something innovative should be implemented in order to rectify this situation. This also appeals to background knowledge that certain groups of people have been excluded from museums. Exclusion is also a tenet of the new museology and public archaeology, although this is not necessarily explicitly linked to the 'innovative' act of adopting social media. This relies upon the technologically determinist assumption that social media does enable democratisation, as has been argued within the more utopian social media polemics (e.g. Bruns 2008; Shirky 2008). Social media is often seen as the enabler for democratisation; it is social media that offers the greatest potential reach to new audiences, for instance. Here, an influential recurring theme is that an innovation or theoretical development allows a break from the new (as in the 'new' museology). The analysis indicated that museums assume they reach 'new' and 'diverse' audiences through social media, but specifics are rarely provided. In many cases they refer to everyone, seemingly at once local, national, and international. These new audiences seem to be those new audiences assumed to participate in social spheres by the new media utopians. Yet it seems evident that a predisposition to visiting museums and engaging with discipline-based

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[1] The panopticon is a circular building design comprised of cells with a watch house at the centre. Conceived by the philosopher Jeremy Bentham in the late eighteenth century it was considered to be especially applicable to institutions like prisons or asylums. It allowed a watchperson to keep an eye on all within the building without necessarily being seen, so that at any given time a person did not know whether or not they were being watched (see Božovič 2010). Michel Foucault (2012 [1975]) adopted the term to refer to the social desire to discipline, so that all become normalised. The panopticon has been invoked within discussions of other institutions like schools, hospitals, and museums (e.g. Bennett 1995).

knowledge heavily influences social media users' decision to follow museums on Facebook or Twitter. Perhaps even more significant is the observation that around three-quarters of followers are women and over four-fifths hold a bachelor's degree or higher. Far from being 'new audiences', these observations indicate that the 'old', exclusive museum is reinforced, and new inequalities may be enforced.

The notion of breaking from the old implies that museums accept that prior to social media usage they were exclusive, elitist, and intimidating. Social media is essential to their offering of 'radical trust' to audiences. However, the reliance upon technology to simply usher in change again reflects the broader failure to engage in critical reflection. Technological determinism is evident, which means the sociopolitical contexts within which social media is used are not considered, and the continuing influence of longer discipline-based histories, which determine who are considered experts and who effectively benefits from various initiatives, are not borne in mind. Earlier proponents of social media argued that the social web empowers people generally, and the previously marginalised in particular, to participate more equally in culture and politics (see Castells 2007, 2009; Jenkins 2006; Shirky 2008). Polemics about the potentials of the social web have, however, been imported into the discourse of museums and the web with social media seen to represent a fundamental shift in the production, ownership and dissemination of content. Such thinking is characterised by Wong's (2012: 281; also see Kelly 2010, 2013; Mann et al. 2013) assertion: "Facing the continuing need to address and correct the historical roles museums have played in the oppression and exclusion of disenfranchised populations, social media even offer museums potential to democratise their practices. Their myriad forms and promising reach may help expand and diversify audiences, make museums more responsive and transparent, and acknowledge and incorporate the knowledge of audiences into practice".

By decentring the museum in terms of the geographical locations from which the museum is now considered accessible, as well as its cultural authority, several main positions have been advanced. Firstly, that museum content is more accessible to existing audiences before, during or after a visit to a museum, as well as to those previously marginalised. Secondly, that museums can effectively achieve educational missions, allowing people to approach museum collections in a way that suits them,

connected with constructivist theories of learning. Thirdly, museums can accrue resources. This is framed in such a way that there is a 'lack' in the sense of the museum needing audiences to add knowledge to its collections, and that the authority to interpret collections is shared. And, fourthly, that museums can broadly aid a shift towards a more egalitarian society in allowing itself to become a hub for participation between diverse groups and individuals. Fundamental to these claims is the assumption that museums have moved towards abandoning their traditional authority in the adoption of social media. However, as the discussion in previous chapters has indicated, this argument is unsustainable. Social media is not 'new' in the sense that it can actually enable people to challenge those in existing positions of power, such as museums, if they are not willing to work more actively with specific groups to cede their power (see Fuchs 2014b; Morozov 2011, 2013). It is not enough to assume that technology will act for us and make us "feel political" (Dean 2005: 70). Even within social media studies, critical analyses of how technology interacts with existing power asymmetries have been lacking (Fuchs 2014b: 185–187). In this way, this thesis acts as an important challenge to museums but also contributes significantly to the wider media studies field as a study indicating that existing power asymmetries may be strongly reinforced (also see Walker 2014b).

Social media followers use museum content in a number of different ways. Many acts such as liking are a simple response of enjoyment or approval communicated to the museum. Deeper levels of engagement with the content and its possible contingencies seem to be lacking. However, respondents are often motivated to communicate to their own followers and pass on museum content. This information may be a message about themselves, and serve as a means to make their own identities, as well as expressing what they enjoy to their friends or followers (also see Boyd 2014: 29–53; Chambers 2013: 162–170; Papacharissi 2010, 2012). It is essential to take people's motivations into account, as those working within the areas of museum learning and sociocultural theory have done (Falk and Dierking 2000; Leinhardt et al. 2002). This argues that the material provided by the museum, such as the content posted online, interacts with the personal context of followers' motivations and prior experiences, as well as sociopolitical contexts. Similarly in constructivist learning theory, audience members' personal experience and social positioning is essential to their interpretation of a message communicated by a museum (see Hooper-Greenhill 1994,

2000; Hein 1998). Importantly in sociocultural learning theory, these factors impact how someone encountering museum content perceives themselves and their world (Falk and Dierking 2000: 38–39; Leinhardt et al. 2002; Paris 2002). Thus, museum content can impact on someone's sense of self and in turn lead to changes, revisions or reaffirmations of their identity (Falk 2006; Kelly 2007; Rounds 2006).

Moreover, followers' use of museum content also takes the form of passing on the museum content to their friends or followers in order to edify or educate them, and to garner support for the museum. As such they position themselves as advocates for the museum and its educational messages. Thus, through the use of social media, museums have only seen some demonstrable success in delivering their educational missions. However, in a way, this is quite unexpected as it is not necessarily the individuals engaging with the museum content directly but indirectly through their social networks. Yet, importantly, these communicative acts are still occurring around the museum and its content, placing the cultural institution at the centre. This is not a sharing of authority, and in fact the museum's authority is co-opted by its followers when they in turn attempt to pass on information to their friends or followers. The role of phatic communication should also be highlighted as something that is 'new' about new media. Phatic communications attempt to establish a mood of sociability, maintaining imagined social connections rather than actually allowing for the meaningful exchange of information (see Miller 2008; Vetere et al. 2005). An important aim of this type of communication is a 'feeling' of participation by reading messages (Boyd et al. 2010). Phatic communication works in multiple directions, within networking composed of museums, its followers and their friends. Thus, many people already motivated by culture and museums aim to 'keep in touch' with the museum, whilst others aim to use museum content for their own communicative purposes, including keeping in touch with their friends. This means museum content is unexpectedly appropriated for other purposes, although this does not necessarily challenge the museum's cultural authority, but rather reinforces it.

Indeed, the prevailing and persistent cultural authority held by museums should be highlighted. Although constructivist learning theorists argue that museums actually provide various 'entry points' in their exhibitions, and do now recognise the various identities and statuses of their visitors, in turn allowing them to more easily negotiate

the information provided by the museum, many point towards the unwavering authority museums still hold (e.g. Ames 2005; Boast 2011; Duncan 1995; Hein 2006; Lonetree 2012; Mason 2006). The uncritical use of social media by museums seems to aid in this reinforcement. This includes co-opting support from many thousands of social media followers. Critics of crowdsourcing and similar activities point towards the ethical issues involved in gathering resources at others' expense. Although perhaps not intentional, the uncritical use of social media essentially means that the crowd ultimately becomes a "mere pawn in the organisation's overall goals" (Brabham 2013: 2–3). This is a more pernicious unintentional consequence, which goes against the hope of democratising museums.

8.5. The Spectrum of Participation

To redress the concerns that museums have excluded particular communities, and in response to the increasing amount of scholarship encouraging striving towards more democratic and just societies, museums have increasingly positioned themselves to become more democratic. As highlighted throughout this thesis, the adoption of social media has been considered a significant means of achieving this. However, the positive discourses surrounding the use of social media have tended to prevail in museums at the expense of sustained critical and empirical analyses of the effective impact of social media on cultural institutions, related disciplines like archaeology, and their various publics. Museums have presumed particular outcomes, drawing from the interrelated discourses of utopian social media polemics and the new museology in particular. A key feature of these discourses is the concept of 'participation', a notion which has seen particularly little critical reflection. Yet a number of academic fields have subjected participation to the scrutiny it demands as the underlying tenet of many of the positive discourses: including collaborative and indigenous archaeology (e.g. Dawdy 2009; McGuire 2008; McNiven and Russell 2005; Smith and Waterton 2009; Wylie 2008), the more critical museum studies and social media studies scholars (e.g. Ames 1994, 2005; Golding 2013; Lonetree 2012), and related fields like the sociology of expertise and critical pedagogy (e.g. Couldry 2009, 2010; Fricker 2007; Tacchi 2011). As such, the concept of participation has received particular attention in this thesis in order to elucidate the extent to which

museums have actually achieved collaborative relationships or other forms of participation in their aim to achieve more equal participation in cultural institutions.

The spectrum of collaboration developed by Chip Colwell and T.J. Ferguson (2008b) pointed towards the differing extents of power redistribution across the various collaborative projects which have been seen in archaeology. The spectrum progresses from an initial stage wherein there is no redistribution of power and archaeologists merely communicate research to communities. This can represent a lack of commitment from archaeologists as they would tend to be short-term partnerships, and may also represent a lack of willingness to cede authority about the interpretation of the past. In such projects, the benefits may flow towards the disciplinary centre as they aim to gain support for their endeavours while teaching others the 'correct' way to interpret the past. On the other end of the spectrum are more significant (and long-term) collaborations between archaeologists and communities that aim to produce pre-defined benefits for both parties. Here, the objectives of a project are negotiated between the various parties in order to ensure all accrue benefits equally (or perhaps the non-disciplinary community more so than the archaeologists). Thus, depending on a project's position along the spectrum, the authority to define that project's aims and objectives resides variously amongst the discipline or institution-based professionals or the collaborating community. Importantly on the far end of the spectrum, sociopolitical contexts are engaged with. The particulars of the project, the appropriate aims, and the intended outcomes for the various parties depend upon the sociopolitical context of the work. Sound ethics are thus essential; factors like long histories of exclusion and reparation for past wrongs, especially with regards to the historically marginalised, must be considered in such collaborative projects (also see Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010; Nicholas 2008). Moreover, collaborative projects may resemble the disciplinary centre working on behalf of another community, which may not want to commit time and resources to a project. The ethical obligation in such cases may be the archaeologists working *for* another community (also see Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Nicholas et al. 2011).

Similarly Carpentier's (2011a, 2012) model of online participation conceptualises participation as representative of minimalist participation at one extremity, which involves great inequalities between the various actors, and is characterised by the

centralised nature of decision-making in which participation is controlled and limited to particular places and times. At the other end, maximalist participation demands more egalitarian relationships, ceding a degree of control and therefore allowing for shared decision-making. Such a model takes into accounts the opportunities for communities and individuals to have their voices heard, but also valued (see Couldry 2010; Fricker 2007; Tacchi 2011). Pertinent to this thesis, and related to Colwell and Ferguson's (2008b) 'collaborative continuum', the factors that prevent social media ushering in collaborative, democratising partnerships are taken into account. This would include an in-depth awareness of the historical aims of the museum that prevent others being included equally, the kind of people who use social media, and the particular groups who need or desire inclusion in partnerships with cultural institutions. Rather than simply allowing for the possibility of access through social media platforms, the ability of the previously marginalised to speak and be heard must be given particular scrutiny. This means the possibility of 'access' does not automatically equate with 'participation' (Carpentier 2011a: 66–70). Museums must take into account their persistent authority, the particular features of various social media platforms, and the sociopolitical contexts that impact their possible success, in their efforts to achieve aims like establishing 'collaborative relationships'.

Truly collaborative projects, redistributing power and benefits in society, are guided by co-constructed research designs, in which benefits are negotiated in advance of participating, and ensure that during and after participation the benefits are in fact shared and distributed. Some form of actual social transformation is demanded (see Kincheloe and McLaren 2000; Pyburn 2009; Robinson 1997; Schensul et al. 2008). Yet what is observed in museums' participatory relationships is certainly not collaborative in the sense described by proponents of the democratising and redistributive impact of social media. Museums do not appear to be actively seeking out particular groups of people who have been marginalised from communities and (may) wish to become included. They are instead passively relying on utopian discourses about the impact of social media. Moreover, they do not seem to be guided by sound ethics as the renewing impact of social media is again depended upon as a solution to appropriative and exclusionary disciplinary histories. The damaging possible impact of such uncritical work is that societal inequalities are reinforced, where those already interested in participating in culture and visiting museums are

offered an alternative way to do so, whereas particular excluded groups continue to be excluded. Unfortunately, social media platforms have been observed in this study to largely bring in those already willing to participate with museums: they visit often and have exceptionally high levels of educational attainment. It is significant in this study that the number of people holding at least a bachelor's degree (85.6%) is well above the percentage of people who have attended university in the UK and USA (approximately 40%: Ball 2013; Calvert 2014). This follows observations made in other online activities, such as the ability to participate in online political activities and being able to find cheaper or better healthcare through online resources (see van Deursen and van Dijk 2010). Pointing towards the existence of structural inequality can lead us to recognise that those who are participating online may be those who are already advantaged, and thus reinforces the argument that uncritical use of internet cannot alone foster a more equitable society.

As the critical discourse analysis in this thesis has emphasised, the criticism of collaboration in museums has pointed towards the failure of many to recognise the persistent effect of appropriative disciplinary histories. Museums have promised the redressing of their exclusive nature through social media participation, but instead they have evidently reinforced their position, accruing support, reaffirming themselves as disciplinary centres, and keeping others outside the centre. User-generated content often seems to hold minimal impact for museums as it is not archived nor included within permanent catalogues. The museum does not seem to directly offer participating individuals anything in return for the accrual of mass support they receive from social media activities. The acts of users remain temporary spectacles. As others within museum studies have also argued, museums can use a facade—the discourse of new museology and 'social inclusion'—to protect themselves from criticism while failing to truly redistribute resources (e.g. Ames 1994, 1999, 2005; Boast 2011; Clifford 1997; Hein 2006: 117). Moreover, the disciplinary knowledge of museums has not become a point of discussion in terms of their knowledge being held as contingent by social media followers and social media followers and museums working together to co-construct knowledge. Instead, social media content is supported through actions like 'retweeting' and 'liking' and amplified to others. Thus, social media followers, who may already support museums as 'important institutions', spread content to their own friends and followers and

further increase the support of the museum. To some extent, followers are communicating personal messages about their own likes and preferences, but by aiming to edify or enlighten their friends, the cultural authority of the museum is not challenged. Rather, it is reinforced.

True collaboration, by comparison, involves "in a real sense, a certain loss of power and privilege" (Ames 1994: 15). What is seen through social media is instead an 'enforced' state of affairs, where no real power is afforded to others (see Cornwall 2006, 2008)—cultural authority instead seems to propagate through the museum to its followers and beyond. Followers, and those considered excluded, who museums aim to reach through social media, and who may not already be followers, are unable to determine agendas and therefore they are unable to address their needs and concerns. These arguments return us to the idea that many participatory projects actually represent a neoliberal kind of consultation—a management of diversity.

8.6. Conclusion

The situation that many museums describe as participation or collaboration is simply broadening the possibility of access. Significantly, museums cannot be seen to exist on the truly 'collaborative' or 'maximalist' end of participatory continuums. We do not see defined aims and outcomes determined for the museum and for particular groups, which are discussed or negotiated. Instead, museums have adopted the assumption that a broader democratisation process will occur through their adoption of social media. This depends upon a number of recurring discourses. Firstly that of innovation, where social media and new online practices are seen as 'new' and necessarily involving a split from the old exclusive museum practices. Secondly, that of inclusion, wherein there are particular publics that need to be involved in museums as they have been marginalised, and museums can enable their inclusion through the use of social media. However, a third, contradictory and persistent theme exists within museums: that of expertise. In this discourse, the museum is seen as necessarily expert and needs to establish itself as such under the threat of participation in new media.

Qualitative and critical discourse analysis in particular has shown that museums are concerned with including new audiences but ultimately do so in a passive way, relying on technologically determinist arguments and uncritically considering the disciplinary and sociopolitical contexts within which they act. In order to actually include people previously marginalised from participating in or simply visiting museums, museums clearly need to apply resources to approaching particular groups, asking if they want to participate and critically debating the ways in which they may be included effectively. Current social media followers' motivations indicate they are already interested in museums and support their aims. A small sub-section does attempt to question museums, but these are one-off communicative events geared towards clarification of points rather than a challenge of existing disciplinary practices. Instead, much communication seems to be on a more personal level. Where individuals are either not enabled or not interested in participation, even the more minimal levels of collaboration may not be achieved. This assertion is supported by the fact that most museums are expressly interested in marketing and broadcasting, and many followers are interested in receiving, rather than conversing.

As the more activist forms of archaeological and museum collaboration indicate, the centre (i.e. the museum and the discipline aligned with it) needs to aim towards defined and real-world benefits if it is to be truly collaborative. Critical pedagogy, one of the more activist forms of participation (e.g. Freire 1996 [1970]; Giroux 2005; Kincheloe 2008; also see McGuire 2008), rightly emphasises that the powerful should become critically conscious of how they can support others, in turn enabling equal participation for defined groups in society. This needs to go beyond hegemonic forms of broadcasting content (i.e. doing little to enact change) and accommodating other points of view (e.g. through simply allowing the possibility of conversation; see Aronowitz and Giroux 1993). Instead, museums need to abandon a view that social media enables blanket participation amongst its followers. Failing to do so may mean museums gain advocates and broad online support, centralising themselves within social media spheres. It may also mean that many current followers enjoy the content that is posted. Yet, it would mean that communicative acts continue to occur around museums, not within it, and not clearly resulting in disciplinary or societal change. This does not help the marginalised as museums aim to do, and it is not recognisable as 'collaboration'.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS

9.1. Summary and Significance

This thesis has highlighted that an uncritical consideration of the concept of participation has underlain museums' use of social media. Social media has been conceptualised as necessarily participatory in nature, in the sense of allowing diverse and new audiences to participate with museums in online spaces. In doing so, museums have drawn on various discourses from the new museology, public archaeology, and the more utopian new media studies. The latter comprises a number of technologically determinist arguments which have been transposed into the arguments of both museum scholars and professionals about the use of social media in cultural institutions (see Adair et al. 2011; Allen-Greil 2013; Carnall et al. 2013; Chan and Spadaccini 2007; Clough 2013; Kelly and Russo 2010; Proctor 2013). The programmatic debates regarding collaboration with groups beyond disciplines seen in museology and archaeology, as well as related fields like heritage studies, emphasise sociopolitical awareness, the pernicious ongoing and historical impacts of disciplinary practice, and in some cases the need for sociopolitical activism. These debates have been driven by the impulse to explore the possibilities for putting the discipline and its institutions to work for others. Within museum studies, these debates have attempted to position museums in particular as important and socially relevant cultural institutions, involving diverse sociopolitical considerations and ethical obligations, some of which may be contradictory to the traditional aims of the discipline. In response to such assertions, museums have seen social media as enabling these more participatory and collaborative relationships with the online public.

It has been demonstrated in this thesis that social media is widely considered to afford interpretive authority to groups and individuals beyond the museum. In some cases this extends to a belief that these people are afforded 'radical trust', whereby the museum abandons its traditional authority over culture. In doing so, it allows the public to utilise museum resources like its collections data, to reinterpret it, and to

benefit from it in various ways. In this way, the failures of older disciplinary practices can be transcended. Beyond the need simply to collect, preserve artefacts, and educate, this sees museums as actively positioning themselves to become relevant to society (see Cairns 2013; Dunn and Hedges 2012; Proctor 2013; Ridge 2013). They now interpret their mission as including the need to collaborate with, to educate and to inspire others, and to learn about the various economic, cultural, social and political needs and desires of others. However, this thesis has presented significant critical perspectives on this posited new mission, using theoretical frameworks drawn from multiple disciplines and based upon an in-depth and broad empirical study of museums' and their followers' use of social media.

Surveys distributed to museum social media managers and to followers of museums on two social networking sites enabled a large amount of qualitative as well as quantitative data to be analysed. This data indicated the extent of usage, as well as the nuances of social media interaction. The importance of critical discourse analysis for analysing the various positive discourses that surround the use of new technologies was highlighted. Using the methods of critical discourse analysis alongside a critical theoretical orientation (e.g. Fairclough 2010; Huhtamo 2011; Wodak 2011), the recurring themes and features of museums' social media discourses were presented and analysed. In doing so, museums were shown to be persistent disciplinary-based spaces, which continue to uphold the traditional aims of museums: to accrue resources and to inform others. As such, the disciplinary histories and expectations of museums structurally limit the extent to which other communities or individuals may be equally included (see Bennett 1995, Duncan 1995; Lonetree 2012). A fundamental shift in authority cannot be seen to have occurred.

The in-depth qualitative and quantitative analyses of museum followers' use of social media further determined that museums have failed to engage with their supposed diverse, new audiences on a level equating with collaborative and shared authority. The motivations of followers show that communication tends to occur around marketing content, such as social networking site posts about forthcoming events and exhibitions. Moreover, followers often direct their communication towards their own friends and followers, in a way co-opting the authority of museums and directing it to others. Many followers feel that in this way they can become important hubs within

their own social networks. Phatic communication (e.g. a feeling of staying 'in touch') with culture and museums, is an important motivation for many, probably a result of those individuals already being active audiences of culture and museums and interested and engaged with discipline-based content—they are not motivated by the lure of sharing authority with museums.

This thesis highlighted three important, inter-related discourses that surround social media usage in museums. These pertain to the primary aim to establish how well museums have involved and offered benefits to the public through social media. Firstly is the idea of innovation, wherein social media and other internet technologies are conceptualised as 'new' in the sense of involving a split from the old, exclusive museum practices. Of particular concern within this discourse is the acceptance of technological determinism, where social media is seen to be the harbinger of democratising change despite prevailing disciplinary and sociopolitical contexts. Museums should pay particular critical attention to this discourse. The second theme is that of inclusion. Here, it is considered that particular publics need to be involved in museums as they have been marginalised, and museums can enable their inclusion through the use of social media. However, the third and contradictory theme of expertise also prevails and is perhaps the most significant in this thesis. Within the discourse of expertise the museum establishes itself as expert under the threat of new media. The first discourse of innovation and the second of inclusion both intersect here, as the argument that new media transcends existing offline contexts and subsequently enables broader participation contains the idea that traditional authorities can be challenged. Thus, by not paying particular attention to the longer historical disciplinary contexts which establish museums as expert with regards to other communities, the first two discourses are contradicted. By positioning themselves as expert, and failing to engage in critical and reflexive practice, museums can offer little and temporary authority to the public, if at all. This results in a failure to establish participatory relationships. In this sense, new media cannot be considered the panacea for the issues raised by the new museology.

This thesis highlighted the factors that constrain the extent to which social media can enable participatory relationships between the previously unequal actors of the museum and the public, and aimed to inform future and ongoing collaborative

projects in museums and archaeology more broadly. The taken-for-granted practices and foundations of participation in museums were deconstructed while outlying the approaches that can be taken for more democratic approaches to collaboration. This was informed by theory emerging from the sociologies of expertise and science and technology studies (e.g. Fricker 2007; Wylie 2008), alongside the critical stances adopted by indigenous and other more activist forms of public archaeology (e.g. Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010; McDavid 2007; McGuire 2008; Nicholas 2008; Stottman 2010). This thesis developed the idea of ethical expertise, whereby the sociopolitical contexts within which museums act are paid particular attention, alongside a critical awareness of how discipline-based cultural authority may be reinforced. Indeed, participatory projects are necessarily diverse and some demand more truly collaborative approaches, in the sense of aims and outcomes benefitting all parties. Others are further still more activist where the elite party works on behalf of others. In other cases, approaches akin to 'outreach' and 'educating' may be more appropriate. However, these are not what museums strive for in social media projects. They have expressly sought to create more egalitarian online spaces.

Importantly, truly collaborative projects see full engagement with sociopolitical contexts, and the intended aims and outcomes of a project debated amongst the various parties. Sound ethics are essential to this process—factors like the long histories of exclusion and reparation for past wrongs, especially with regards to the historically marginalised, need to be considered in such collaborative projects. The ethical obligation may be that the archaeologists must work *for* another community (Nicholas 2008: 1665). To date, museums have retained authority and evidently also the benefits of online participation. They continue to dictate what is worth curating or archiving, even if they make museum collections hypothetically more accessible through online platforms. User-generated content often seems to hold minimal impact for museums as it is not archived nor included within permanent catalogues (also see Cameron 2008; Srinivasan et al. 2009b, 2009c). By accruing support through their approach to social media, which is largely informed by marketing and business concerns, they continue to appropriate resources, namely the support and time of their followers. As previously noted, it is significant that museum followers' also inform their own followers about the content provided by the museum. It is not clear that the museum directly offers anything tangible for participating individuals in return for the

accrual of mass support they receive. The damaging possible impact of such uncritical work is that societal inequalities may be reinforced, where those already interested in participating in culture and visiting museums are offered an alternative way to do so, whereas particular excluded groups continued to be excluded. Significantly, museums reinforce their own authority and position in society whilst claiming to do otherwise.

9.2. Concluding Remarks

To move towards situations resembling 'collaboration', museums should reflect critically upon their persistent authority, and aim to define the particular sociopolitical contexts within which they act. Sharing data and insights between museums should be encouraged, but museums should pay particular attention to their own contexts of practice. This thesis could be usefully extended by future research adopting an in-depth ethnographic approach to studying one particular museum or a few museums, assessing the various offline contexts and sociopolitical imperatives that intersect with those museums' online work. Similar work has been successfully conducted in ethnographic approaches to museum practice generally (e.g. Bhatti 2012, Butler 2007; Macdonald 2002; also see Kreps 2003) and similarly ethnographic work has been conducted within case studies of archaeological practice (e.g. Edgworth 2003, 2006; Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009). Museums should abandon the prevailing view that social media enables blanket participation amongst its followers. Instead they should accept that social media is a very useful marketing and broadcast channel for those already interested. Indeed many followers are interested in receiving information, and do not desire to enter into situations resembling shared interpretive authority over museum knowledge.

Targeted collaborations should be adopted where particular communities, groups or individuals are particularly in need or want of 'inclusion'. Currently, museums do not appear to be actively seeking out particular groups of people who have been marginalised from communities and (may) wish to become included. Archaeologists have been more successful in engaging particular communities and conducting activist projects (see Atalay et al. 2014; McGuire 2008; Stottmann 2010). This does not imply that those working in museums are insincere in their desire to create a more

inclusive museum, but should indicate the pressing need for more critical work and empirical studies. The damaging impact of uncritical work is that societal inequalities may be reinforced, where those already interested in participating in culture and visiting museums are offered an alternative way to do so, whereas particular excluded groups continued to be excluded

We should continue to bear in mind what is 'new' about social media: it can more easily enable access to content, for those who are motivated to access it. It is a valuable marketing tool, which can potentially reach new audiences. However, this potential can only become a reality upon critically informed action. Within the literature, exceptions and good practice of participation in museum have been highlighted, and used as examples that equality and social justice has in fact become a central part of museum thinking and practice. However, we cannot afford to simply pay attention to case studies that are probably exceptions, yet claim broader collaborative success amongst museums. Unsustainable discourses have been relied on, but once these are deconstructed it is evident that museums have not clearly enacted disciplinary or social change. If museums are to move towards situations resembling collaboration, and towards becoming more socially aware, relevant, and responsive institutions, then their practices must be critically informed and guided by sound ethics.

CHAPTER 10

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APPENDIX 1

SOCIAL MEDIA MANAGERS' SURVEY

Welcome screen

Thank you very much for participating in this survey about social media usage in museums. The survey will take about 10 minutes to complete, so please start the survey when you have this time available.

This survey is intended for completion by the person in charge of social media at your museum.

All completed surveys will be very valuable for my PhD research which is being conducted at the University of Cambridge. I also hope to widely disseminate the results of this research.

Some personally identifiable information will be requested but will only be used in statistical summaries. Quotations may be used in my thesis and future papers and/or presentations, but personally identifiable information will not be included in these.

Please try to answer questions as accurately and as detailed as possible.

If you have any questions about this survey, please email me at dw374@cam.ac.uk. Many thanks again for your participation and for helping my research.

Page 1

Please state your name and email address. This information will only be used for tracking completion of the survey.

Name:

Email:

What is the name of your museum?

Page 2

Which social media tools does your museum use? Please check all that apply.

○ Blogs   ○ Commenting functions on museum webpages

○ Tagging   ○ Personal collections or bookmarking functions

○ Wikis   ○ Other

○ Social networking sites   ○ None of these

○ Sharing buttons on museum webpages

Which social media platforms are used by your museum? Please check all that apply.

○ Facebook   ○ Tumblr

○ Twitter   ○ Pinterest

○ Google+   ○ Reddit

○ YouTube   ○ Foursquare

○ Vimeo   ○ Wikipedia

○ Vine   ○ Other

○ Instagram   ○ None of these

○ Flickr

In which of the following activities does your museum participate using social media? Please check all that apply.

○ Marketing or event production   ○ Monitoring discussions or feedback about the museum

○ Education   ○ Conversation or discussion with online audiences

○ Outreach   ○ Requesting contribution of content from online audiences

○ Fundraising campaigns   ○ Other

○ Driving traffic to main museum website   ○ None of these

○ Posting or highlighting content from online audiences

Page 4

The following questions are about the purposes of social media usage in your museum. Please answer in as much detail as possible.

In your museum, what are the overall goals in using social media?

Do the goals differ between social media platforms? If so, how?

What do you consider to be the advantages of your museum using social media?

What do you consider to be the disadvantages of your museum using social media?

Page 5

The following questions are about social media strategies and evaluation. Please answer in as much detail as possible.

What kind of social media strategy document does your museum have?

O A formalized social media strategy document

O A broader digital media strategy document which incorporates social media

O Informal guidelines for social media usage

O No strategy document or guidelines

If 'No strategy document or guidelines' is not selected:

Is your museum's social media strategy linked to your museum's overall mission statement?

O Yes

O No

Page 6

Does your museum evaluate its use of social media?

O Yes

O No

If 'Yes' is selected:

Which methods does your museum use to evaluate its use of social media? Please select all that apply.

O Tracking follower or fan growth

O Tracking comments about the museum

O Tracking replies to the museum's posts on social media

O Web analysis tools (e.g. Google Analytics, Twitter analysis tools)

O Comparison to other museums' data

O Reporting to other departments

O Reporting to senior management

O Qualitative methods (e.g. sentiment analysis) (please state)

O Other

Does your museum share its evaluation data with other museums?

O Yes

O No

Page 7

The following questions are about user-generated content (the contribution of content by online audiences to your social media channels, including written posts, photographs, and other audio-visual material). Please answer in as much detail as possible.

Does your museum archive user-generated content?

○ Yes

○ No

Does your museum include user-generated content in its permanent collections database?

○ Yes

○ No

Does user-generated content inform future research, evaluation or exhibitions in your museum? Please describe.

Does your museum actively encourage contributions of user-generated content from particular individuals, communities or groups? If so, please provide examples.

If 'Yes' if selected on this page:

Please describe what criteria are referred to when deciding what to archive or catalogue. Also state who makes these decisions.

Page 8

The following questions are about crowdsourcing (gaining content/resources from online audiences) and crowdfunding (requesting contributions of money from online audiences for a specific purpose). Please answer in as much detail as possible.

Has your museum run, or been a partner in, any crowdsourcing or crowdfunding projects? Check all that apply.
○ Crowdsourcing
○ Crowdfunding
○ Neither

If 'Crowdsourcing' or 'Crowdfunding' are selected, the following questions appear:

Please state the name(s) of the project(s)

For what reason(s) does your museum run or participate in crowdsourcing projects?

How are individuals encouraged to participate in your museum's crowdsourcing project(s)?

Page 9

Has your museum made any content 'open'? 'Open content' is digital content that can be used freely (or with limited usage restrictions) by individual internet users.
○ Yes
○ No

If 'Yes' is selected, the following questions appear:

Please provide details of the content your museum has made 'open'.

For what reason(s) does your museum provide open content?

APPENDIX 2

TWITTER FOLLOWERS' SURVEY

Welcome screen

Thank you very much for participating in this survey. It should not take more than 10 minutes to complete. All completed surveys will be very valuable for my research.

This survey is about your personal experience of museums on Facebook. Please answer with reference to your personal Facebook account.

Please try to answer questions as accurately and as detailed as possible.

No identifying information will be sought and all answers will remain confidential. Data will be kept securely. You will not be contacted for any further research as a result of participating in this survey.

The results of this survey may be used in future presentations and/or papers, and also in my PhD thesis which is being completed at the University of Cambridge.

If you have any questions about this survey, please email me at dw374@cam.ac.uk.

Many thanks again for your participation.

Page 1

Do you have a personal Twitter account?

O Yes

O No

Contingent: No – exit survey

Page 2

Do you follow any museums on Twitter?

O Yes

O No

Page 3

Approximately how many Twitter accounts do you currently follow?

O 0–25   O 351–500

O 26–50   O 501–750

O 51–100   O 751–1000

O 101–150   O 1001–1250

O 151–200   O 1251–1500

O 201–250   O 1501–1750

O 251–300   O 1751–2000

O 301–350   O More than 2000

Page 4

In the past week, how many hours have you spent using Twitter?

O 0–5 hours

O 6–10 hours

O 11–15 hours

O 16–20 hours

O 21–25 hours

O 26–30 hours

O 31–35 hours

O 36–40 hours

O More than 40 hours

Page 5

Approximately how many museum pages do you follow on Twitter?

○ 1	○ 6–10	○ 31–35	○ 61–70
○ 2	○ 11–15	○ 36–40	○ 71–80
○ 3	○ 16–20	○ 41–45	○ 81–90
○ 4	○ 21–50	○ 46–50	○ 91–100
○ 5	○ 26–30	○ 51–60	○ More than 100

Using the sliding scale below, please indicate approximately what percentage of the museums that you follow on Twitter you have visited.

```
        0  5  10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 60 65 70 75 80 85 90 95 100

Percent  |
```

Page 6

Please list up to 5 reasons why you follow museums on Twitter.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Page 7

And what do the museums that you follow on Twitter tend to Tweet about? Please list up to 5 things.

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

Page 8

Have you ever sent a Tweet to a museum? Please do not count Retweets.

O Yes
O No

Page 9

Contingent: Presented if 'yes' answered on Page 8

In the past 12 months, approximately how many Tweets have you sent to a museum?

O I haven't	O 11–15	O 46–50	O 126–150
O 1	O 16–20	O 51–60	O 151–175
O 2	O 21–25	O 61–70	O 176–200
O 3	O 26–30	O 71–80	O 201–225
O 4	O 31–35	O 81–90	O 226–250
O 5	O 36–40	O 91–100	O More than 250
O 6–10	O 41–45	O 101–125	

Page 10a

Contingent: Presented if 'yes' answered on Page 8

Please list up to 5 reasons why you have you sent a Tweet to a museum.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Page 10b

Contingent: Presented if 'no' answered on Page 8

Please list up to 3 reasons why you have not sent a Tweet to a museum.

1.

2.

3.

Page 11

Have you ever Retweeted a Tweet that was posted by a museum?

O Yes

O No

Page 12

Contingent: Presented if 'yes' answered on Page 11

In the past 12 months, approximately how many times have you Retweeted a Tweet that was posted by a museum?

○ I haven't	○ 11–15	○ 46–50	○ 126–150
○ 1	○ 16–20	○ 51–60	○ 151–175
○ 2	○ 21–25	○ 61–70	○ 176–200
○ 3	○ 26–30	○ 71–80	○ 201–225
○ 4	○ 31–35	○ 81–90	○ 226–250
○ 5	○ 36–40	○ 91–100	○ More than 250
○ 6–10	○ 41–45	○ 101–125	

Page 13a

Contingent: Presented if 'yes' answered on Page 11

Please list up to 5 reasons why you have Retweeted a Tweet that was posted by a museum.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Page 13b

Contingent: Presented if 'no' answered on Page 11

Please list up to 5 reasons why you have not Retweeted a Tweet that was posted by a museum.

1.

2.

3.

Page 14

Which of the following activities can you remember doing because of a Tweet that you read which was posted by a museum? Please select all that apply.

O Visited a particular exhibition at a museum

O Visited a museum but not to see any exhibition in particular

O Attended an event a museum

O None of these

Page 15

In the past 12 months, approximately how many times have you visited a museum?

O I haven't	O 5	O 26–30	O 71–80
O 1	O 6–10	O 31–40	O 81–90
O 2	O 11–15	O 41–50	O 91–100
O 3	O 16–20	O 51–60	O More than 100
O 4	O 21–25	O 61–70	

Page 16

What was your age on your last birthday?

[Drop box: 18-100; Prefer not to answer]

What is your gender?

○ Female

○ Male

○ Transgender

○ Prefer not to answer

What is the highest level of education that you have achieved?

○ No high school

○ High school

○ Some college, university or higher educational degree

○ Undergraduate or Bachelor's degree (e.g. BA, BSc)

○ Taught postgraduate degree (e.g. MA)

○ Research postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil)

○ Prefer not to answer

APPENDIX 3

FACEBOOK FOLLOWERS' SURVEY

Welcome screen

Thank you very much for participating in this survey. It should not take more than 10 minutes to complete. All completed surveys will be very valuable for my research.

This survey is about your personal experience of museums on Facebook. Please answer with reference to your personal Facebook account.

Please try to answer questions as accurately and as detailed as possible.

No identifying information will be sought and all answers will remain confidential. Data will be kept securely. You will not be contacted for any further research as a result of participating in this survey.

The results of this survey may be used in future presentations and/or papers, and also in my PhD thesis which is being completed at the University of Cambridge.

If you have any questions about this survey, please email me at dw374@cam.ac.uk.

Many thanks again for your participation.

Page 1

Do you have a personal Facebook account?
O Yes
O No

Contingent: No – exit survey

Page 2

Do you 'like' any museums on Facebook?

O Yes

O No

Contingent: No – exit survey

Page 3

Approximately how many Facebook pages do you currently like?

O 0–25   O 351–500

O 26–50   O 501–750

O 51–100   O 751–1000

O 101–150   O 1001–1250

O 151–200   O 1251–1500

O 201–250   O 1501–1750

O 251–300   O 1751–2000

O 301–350   O More than 2000
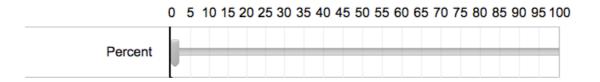
Page 4

In the past week, how many hours have you spent using Facebook?

O 0–5 hours

O 6–10 hours

O 11–15 hours

O 16–20 hours

O 21–25 hours

O 26–30 hours

O 31–35 hours

O 36–40 hours

O More than 40 hours

Page 5

Approximately how many museum pages do you 'like' on Facebook?

O 1	O 6–10	O 31–35	O 61–70
O 2	O 11–15	O 36–40	O 71–80
O 3	O 16–20	O 41–45	O 81–90
O 4	O 21–50	O 46–50	O 91–100
O 5	O 26–30	O 51–60	O More than 100

Using the sliding scale below, please indicate approximately what percentage of the museums that you 'like' on Facebook you have visited.

```
        0  5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 60 65 70 75 80 85 90 95 100

Percent |
```

Page 6

Please list up to 5 reasons why you 'like' museums on Facebook.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Page 7

What do the museums that you 'like' on Facebook tend to post about? Please list up to 5 things.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Page 8

Have you ever 'liked' a post made by a museum on Facebook?

○ Yes

○ No

Page 9

Contingent: Presented if 'yes' answered on Page 8

In the past 12 months, approximately how many times have you 'liked' a post made by a museum on Facebook?

○ I haven't	○ 11–15	○ 46–50	○ 126–150
○ 1	○ 16–20	○ 51–60	○ 151–175
○ 2	○ 21–25	○ 61–70	○ 176–200
○ 3	○ 26–30	○ 71–80	○ 201–225
○ 4	○ 31–35	○ 81–90	○ 226–250
○ 5	○ 36–40	○ 91–100	○ More than 250
○ 6–10	○ 41–45	○ 101–125	

Page 10a

Contingent: Presented if 'yes' answered on Page 8

Please list up to 5 reasons why you have you 'liked' a post made by a museum on Facebook.

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

Page 10b

Contingent: Presented if 'no' answered on Page 8

Please list up to 3 reasons why you have you not 'liked' a post made by a museum on Facebook.

1.

2.

3.

Page 11

Have you ever 'shared' a post made by a museum on Facebook?

O Yes

O No

Page 12

In the past 12 months, approximately how many times have you 'shared' a post made by a museum on Facebook?

O I haven't	O 11–15	O 46–50	O 126–150
O 1	O 16–20	O 51–60	O 151–175
O 2	O 21–25	O 61–70	O 176–200
O 3	O 26–30	O 71–80	O 201–225
O 4	O 31–35	O 81–90	O 226–250
O 5	O 36–40	O 91–100	O More than 250
O 6–10	O 41–45	O 101–125	

Page 13a

Contingent: Presented if 'yes' answered on Page 11

Please list up to 5 reasons why you have 'shared' a post made by a museum on Facebook.

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

Page 13b

Contingent: Presented if 'no' answered on Page 11

Please list up to 3 reasons why you have not 'shared' a post made by a museum on Facebook.

1.
2.
3.

Page 14

Have you ever 'commented' on a post made by a museum on Facebook?

O Yes
O No

Page 15

In the past 12 months, approximately how many times have you 'commented' on a post made by a museum on Facebook?

○ I haven't	○ 11–15	○ 46–50	○ 126–150
○ 1	○ 16–20	○ 51–60	○ 151–175
○ 2	○ 21–25	○ 61–70	○ 176–200
○ 3	○ 26–30	○ 71–80	○ 201–225
○ 4	○ 31–35	○ 81–90	○ 226–250
○ 5	○ 36–40	○ 91–100	○ More than 250
○ 6–10	○ 41–45	○ 101–125	

Page 16a

Contingent: Presented if 'no' answered on Page 14

Please list up to 5 reasons why you have 'commented' on a post made by a museum on Facebook.

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

Page 16b

Contingent: Presented if 'no' answered on Page 14

Please list up to 3 reasons why you have not 'commented' on a post made by a museum on Facebook.

1.
2.
3.

Page 17

Which of the following activities can you remember doing because of reading a post made by a museum on Facebook? Please select all that apply.

○ Visited a particular exhibition at a museum

○ Visited a museum but not to see any exhibition in particular

○ Attended an event a museum

○ None of these

Page 18

In the past 12 months, approximately how many times have you visited a museum?

○ I haven't	○ 5	○ 26–30	○ 71–80
○ 1	○ 6–10	○ 31–40	○ 81–90
○ 2	○ 11–15	○ 41–50	○ 91–100
○ 3	○ 16–20	○ 51–60	○ More than 100
○ 4	○ 21–25	○ 61–70	

Page 19

What was your age on your last birthday?

[Drop box: 18-100; Prefer not to answer]

What is your gender?

○ Female

○ Male

○ Transgender

○ Prefer not to answer

What is the highest level of education that you have achieved?

○ No high school

○ High school

○ Some college, university or higher educational degree

○ Undergraduate or Bachelor's degree (e.g. BA, BSc)

○ Taught postgraduate degree (e.g. MA)

○ Research postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil)

○ Prefer not to answer

APPENDIX 4

LIST OF RESPONDING MUSEUMS

Note: this thesis has not named responding staff members and has not attributed statements to specific museums in order to maintain anonymity.

Australia

Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology

Art Gallery of South Australia

Australian National Maritime Museum

Canberra Museum

Ian Potter Museum of Art, University of Melbourne

Museum of Brisbane

Museum of Tropical Queensland

National Museum of Australia

Newcastle Museum, New South Wales

Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney

Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery

RD Milns Antiquities Museum

South Australian Museum

Sydney Living Museums

Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery

Western Australian Museum

Canada

Art Gallery of Hamilton

Art Gallery of Ontario

Canadian Museum of Nature

Canada Science and Technology Museum

Glenbow Museum

Manitoba Museum

McCord Museum

Museum of Natural History, Nova Scotia

National Gallery of Canada

Royal British Columbia Museum

Royal Ontario Museum

Science World, Vancouver

Vancouver Museum

New Zealand

Canterbury Museum

Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna o Waiwhetu

Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

North Otago Museum

Southland Museum and Art Gallery Niho O Te Taniwha

Waikato Museum

United Kingdom

Ashmolean Museum

Birmingham Museums

Brighton Museum

Bristol Museum and Art Gallery

British Museum

Cambridge University Museums

Dorman Museum

Glasgow Museums

Horniman Museum

Hull and East Riding Museum

Hunterian Museum

Imperial War Museum

International Slavery Museum

Leeds City Museum

Leicester Arts and Museums Service

Manchester Art Gallery

Manchester Museum

Mary Rose Museum

Merseyside Museum

Museum of Liverpool

Museum of the University of St Andrews

National Galleries of Scotland

National Gallery, London

National Maritime Museum

National Museum Cardiff

National Museum Wales

National Railway Museum

National Space Centre

Portsmouth Museum

Potteries Museum and Art Gallery, Stoke

Reading Museum

Scottish National Gallery

SeaCity Southampton

Swansea Museum

Swansea University Museum of Egyptian Antiquities

Tate

Tate Liverpool

Thinktank

Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums

UCL Grant Museum of Zoology

UCL Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology

Ure Museum of Classical Archaeology

Victoria and Albert Museum

United States

Amerind Museum

Arizona Museum of Natural History

Art Museum of the University of Memphis

Baltimore Museum of Art

Brooks Museum of Art

Brown University Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology

Carnegie Museums of Art and Natural History

Cincinnati Art Museum

Cleveland Museum of Art

Columbus Museum of Art

Connecticut State Museum of Natural History

Dallas Museum of Art

Denver Art Museum

Exploratorium

Field Museum

Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, De Young

Florida Museum of Natural History

Harvard University Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology

Heard Museum

Holocaust Memorial Museum

Houston Museum of Fine Art

Houston Museum of Natural Science

Illinois State Museum

Indiana State Museum

Indianapolis Children's Museum

John Hopkins Archaeological Museum

LA County Museum of Art

LA Museum of Contemporary Art

Maxwell Museum of Anthropology

Minneapolis Institute of Arts

Mint Museum

Museum of Northern Arizona

National Air and Space Museum

National Gallery of Art

National Museum of American History

National Museum of the American Indian

Newark Museum

Pacific Science Center

Perot Museum of Nature and Science

Philadelphia Museum of Art

Phoebe A. Hearst Museum

Princeton University Art Museum

Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History

San Antonio Museum of Art

San Diego Natural History Museum

San Francisco Museum of Modern Art

San Jose Museum of Art

Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History

Smithsonian American Art Museum

St Louis Science Center

Tennessee State Museum

University of Alaska Museum of the North

University of Chicago Oriental Institute

University of Colorado Museum of Natural History

University of Illinois Spurlock Museum

University of Maine Hudson Museum

University of Michigan Kelsey Museum of Archaeology

University of Missouri Museum of Art and Archaeology

University of Oregon Museum of Natural and Cultural History

University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology

University of Tennessee Frank H. McClung Museum

University of Washington Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture

Utah State University Eastern Prehistoric Museum

Virginia Museum of Fine Arts

Wake Forest University Museum of Anthropology

Walker Art Center

Yale University Peabody Museum of Natural History

APPENDIX 5

CODING SCHEME FOR SOCIAL MEDIA MANAGERS' SURVEY