

Museum Promotion on the Web: A Comparative Study

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Master's Thesis
26th of June, 2015

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Abstract

This thesis explores the tensions that occur when museums that traditionally hold authority in matters of knowledge face the democratic nature of the Web 2.0. Indeed, nowadays cultural institutions are compelled to go online since it provides them with opportunities to unprecedentedly extend their reach and promote themselves. Nonetheless, in order to succeed, their communication and promotion have to engage online users and be adjusted to the participatory culture of the Web 2.0. A range of studies points out that museums from English-speaking countries are more successful in coping with these challenges comparing to their European counterparts. Researchers explain this by the fact that cultural context in which museum operates influences on the level of its online value creation. Additionally, researchers state that the type of institution also impacts its performance the Web. Although few studies that illuminate the topic of museums' promotion on the Web have recently emerged, there is a considerable lack of academic literature that covers the questions of how does these Internet practices differ based on institutions' type and location. Furthermore, since these studies are western-centric, to date there is a gap in knowledge about the promotional strategies conducted online by museums from Russia. Therefore, this study aims to examine the way promotional strategies on the Web differ based on the type and location of the museum, and the impact of these two factors on online practices of user engagement. Overall, the thesis explores websites and Facebook posts of six different in terms of type (established versus emerging) and location (USA, UK, Russia) museums via qualitative content analysis and answers on the following research question: 'How do different museums use diverse promotional strategies online to engage their audiences?' Results of the thesis extend the current academic inquiry by revealing that museums from the USA are leading in strategies of online user engagement. Further, findings show that Russian institutions are generally weaker in strategies of online user engagement and promotion than museums from English-speaking countries. Importantly, the results of the study partially contradict the claims that the bigger cultural institution is, the more effective it is in terms of strategies of online user engagement. In addition, factors that make museums' content effective in social media have been found. Summing up, this study fills the gap in knowledge about online communication and promotion conducted by Russian museums and extends the existing literature about museums' strategies of user engagement by providing the insights on how does institution's type and location influence on its online communication. Besides, it expands on works that delve into the question about the ways museums are adapting to the democratic environment of the Web 2.0.

Key words: museum, democratization, user engagement, Web 2.0, Russia

1. Introduction

During the last few decades modern museums have been going through major changes. Wide range of different factors – from societal to technological – have affected cultural institutions all over the world and significantly changed their performance on the market. Firstly, ideas expressed by the ‘new museology’ have changed the underlying principles of museums’ functioning. Secondly, both global decrease in museums’ funding and increase of competition within the leisure industry have resulted in commercialization of cultural institutions. Thirdly, the development of new information and communication technologies (ICT) has transformed the communication between cultural institutions and their audiences.

To begin with, the ‘new museology’, a critical thinking within the museum studies that emerged in the 1960s, encouraged the general democratization of museums’ practices (Kreps, 2008; Burton & Scott, 2003). The ideas expressed by this philosophical movement contradicted the traditional perception of museums as cultural authorities that are mainly focused on artefacts they preserve (Harrison, 1993 as cited in Burton & Scott, 2003). In contrast, the ‘new museology’ claimed that cultural institutions have to shift their attention from objects to ideas (Weil, 1997 as cited in Burton & Scott, 2003) and adopt new models of communication and expression (Mairesse & Desvallees, 2010). Importantly, the ‘new museology’ stressed the need to redefine and democratize the relationship between museums and people.

Furthermore, various global trends have pushed modern museums to commercialize and employ a market-oriented approach. Firstly, museums have become players of leisure industry and, thus, were forced to compete with other leisure providers such as entertainment districts in big cities, sport arenas, restaurants etc (Burton & Scott, 2003; Kotler & Kotler, 2000). Secondly, general decrease of funding, which affects both privately and publicly funded institutions, is one of the most prominent trends in modern museum domain (Bearman & Geber, 2008). Therefore, both the need to survive in a highly competitive environment of the leisure market and the shortage in funding have motivated cultural institutions to implement diverse marketing techniques. As a result, nowadays a completely different management principle prevails in this realm: a new cohort of museums’ managers are focused on entrepreneurship rather than on traditional gatekeeping function (Volkerling, 1996 as cited in Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002). One of the brightest examples of this trend is Thomas Krens, the former director of the Guggenheim Museum, who is often called 'Donald Trump of the museum world' for his business-rhetoric and unprecedented strategy of institution's expansion. Under Krens’ governance the museum adopted a ‘Global Guggenheim’ strategy, and, consequently, opened branches in different cities all over the world, including Bilbao, Las-Vegas and Berlin (Mathur, 2005). In sum, the changing environment induced cultural institutions to emphasize their focus on marketing.

Finally, the development of new media technologies is another powerful factor that has transformed museum's industry. Worth mentioning is how this prominent trend intertwines with the previous two and can partially solve challenges posed by them. Indeed, new media technologies profoundly democratise museums' relationship with the audience (Loran, 2005) and establish a two-way communication with the public instead of the traditional one-way communication (Russo, 2011). Further, nowadays through the internet museums have the possibility to reach unprecedented amount of people. For instance, online visits to MoMA, Getty or Tate greatly outnumber physical attendances to any of these institutions and have figures higher than 1 million visits per month (Barry, 2006 as cited in Bartak, 2007). Accordingly, apart from entertaining and educating their online audiences museums can promote and market themselves on the Web.

However, solely the presence on the Web does not bring a lot of benefits to the museums. Indeed, usually only those institutions that understand the underlying principles of efficient new media use can achieve online visibility. For example, a website that simply provides basic information about the museum can barely attract wide audience and, as a result, efficiently promote the institution. It can be explained by the fact that in our «age of engagement» (Meeker, 2005 as cited in Bartak, 2007) the core principle of Internet usage has shifted from passive information seeking to active participation and engagement of audiences (Carey & Jeffrey, 2006). Therefore, in order to be noticed on the Web, cultural institutions have to engage their audiences through new media technologies and, further, to strategically plan their online communication (Russo, 2011; Kidd, 2011; Padilla-Melendez & Aguila-Obra, 2013). Instead, researchers claim that sometimes cultural institutions misuse the potential given by the new media technologies and establish initiatives such as 'build it and they will come' that are harmful for their brand images (Russo, 2011; Kidd, 2011).

Nonetheless, it is important to note that different museums (in terms of their type and location) cope with these online challenges differently. Various studies point out that cultural institutions based in the English-speaking countries are generally more successful in the implementation of online participatory technologies and strategies of user engagement than museums based in Europe (Lopez et al., 2010; Padilla-Melendez & Aguila-Obra, 2013). This can be explained by the fact that cultural policy conducted in the country influences on the level of museums' investment in innovative use of new media technologies and thus on its success (Camarero, Garrido & Vicente, 2011). Indeed, museums based in the US are regulated by the market and, consequently, are more open to different innovations (Zimmer & Toepler, 1999). Therefore, it is not surprising that American museums are leading in the implementation of innovative practices on the Web (Toepler & Dewees, 2005). In contrast, majority of European museums are generally controlled by the state (Vicente et al., 2012), which implies that they are

dependent on bureaucratic machine and less maneuverable in terms of new media practices. In addition, along with the cultural policy, the size of the museum also impacts its ability to take innovative steps (Vicente et al., 2012). Indeed, Camarero et al. (2011) claim that the bigger cultural organization is, the more resources it spends on new technologies. Thus, the implementation of innovative online practices of audience reach in museums is impacted by their size and cultural context.

Nevertheless, one should not underestimate the profound impact of globalisation on museum industry all over the world (Young, 2000). In other words, even though cultural institutions from different countries traditionally operate differently, nowadays they have to act globally in the international network of cultural organizations, which results in the standardization of some of their practices (Günther, Pioch, Sahnwald, & Schmidtsdorff, 2005). Furthermore, besides museums are prominent symbols of nations (Kidd, 2011), they have to cope with the rise of international tourism (Herreman, 1998) and therefore diminish some of their local peculiarities to meet interests of global audience. However, in order to preserve their unique identities, cultural institutions engage in the process of glocalization (Robertson, 2012). Therefore, the question is whether these trends (standardization of practices as well as orientation on global audiences and involvement in glocalization processes) are reflected in strategies of online communication conducted by different types of museums situated in different countries.

Even though the phenomenon of museums' online audience engagement is relevant in the modern society, the research on this topic still remains scarce (Gladysheva, Verboom, & Arora, 2014). However, in the recent years a few studies that explore this topic were published. Firstly, Kidd (2011) researched communication strategies established by cultural organizations in social networks. Padilla-Melendez and Aguila-Obra (2013) published the article where they examine museums' communication strategies on the Web in general. Interestingly, both researches distinguish three common types of museums' online strategies, and both base this differentiation on the level of audience engagement. Although these few studies illuminate the topic of museums' promotion on the Web, there is a considerable lack of academic literature that covers the questions of how does these Internet practices differ on the base of institutions' size and cultural context. Indeed, Vicente et al.'s (2012) pioneering research of the cultural policy and museum's size impact on innovation does not focus on institutions' promotional strategies online. Thus, a comparison of these strategies conducted by different types of museums in different countries can be scientifically relevant. Furthermore, to date there is a gap in literature covering the online strategies conducted by museums in countries with developing economies, precisely in Russia. In addition, one of the main trends in the museum realm - institutions' global orientations— still remains understudied (Karp, 2006). Finally, since not all cultural institutions

use the opportunity to engage audiences on the Web equally well, a proper study of the way different museums all over the world deal with this issue can benefit a wide range of cultural institutions.

The main aim of this thesis is to approach the question of museums' online audience engagement from a comparative perspective. Hence, the study examines the way engaging strategies on the Web differ based on the type and location of the museum, and the impact of these two factors on online practices of user engagement. In general, this thesis is interested in the extent to which there is a convergence or divergence in the ways museums are democratizing themselves based on their status and location. Therefore, the research question posed in this study is:

'How do different museums use diverse promotional strategies online to engage their audiences?'

Respectively, the sub-questions addressed in the study are:

Sub-question 1: *In what ways do promotional strategies online differ based on the location of the museum?*

Sub-question 2: *In what ways do promotional strategies online differ based on the type of the museum?*

Furthermore, in order to find out the similarities and differences in factors that influence the effectiveness of online promotional campaigns across the museum's contexts (type and location), the research will strive to answer on the following sub-question:

Sub-question 3: *What makes an effective promotional campaign online across the museum contexts?*

2. Theory and Previous Research

This section is comprised from three sub-sections that cover different aspects of museum functioning today: Democratization, Commercialization and Globalization. Accordingly, each sub-section consists from themes that cover key theoretical debates within this field. The overview of the themes is provided before the sub-sections.

2.1 Museums: Democratization

Starting from broad and fundamental changes that pushed museums towards general democratization, the text moves to the topic of new media technologies' adoption in the museum realm since they are perceived as one of the factors that profoundly change communication between cultural institutions and their audiences. In this vein, the next theme is dedicated to the challenge brought by new media technologies to the traditional notion of museum authority. Finally, the last part of the text elaborates on the question of museum inclusivity.

From Modernism to Post-Modernism

Some researchers state that a shift from the modern period to the post-modern period occurred at the end of the 20th century and was characterised by large political, cultural and social changes (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). This transition has inevitably challenged museums along with other social institutions. Indeed, post-modernism has questioned the authority of cultural organizations, which induced museums to redefine their relationship with the audience. Thus, a new model of communication between museums and people has superseded a traditional one. Conventionally, in a modernist museum a communication was seen as a linear process of information sending from an authoritative source to a passive recipient who could just absorb the message without modifying it. In contrast, the post-modernist museum does not send any fixed meanings, instead it invites the audience to create its own meanings (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). Therefore, in a post-modern period the knowledge mediation in museums has been displaced by the meaning making and audience interaction (Russo & Watkins, 2005).

It is worth to mention that the need to reconsider museums' relationship with the audience was articulated by the 'new museology', which evolved in the second part of the 20th century (Mairesee & Desvalles, 2010). This movement manifested that knowledge about collection should be constructed from multiple narratives rather than from the one created by museum experts (Verboom & Arora, 2013). Accordingly, this new museological discourse became one the factors that caused the democratization of museum realm (Weil, 1997 as cited in Burton & Scott, 2003).

New Media Technologies As a Factor of Museum Democratization

Furthermore, the introduction of new media technologies has reinforced these processes since web platforms established by museums have profoundly democratized their relationships with the audience (Verboom & Arora, 2013; Loran, 2005; Kolb, 2013; Kidd, 2011; Lopez, Margapoti, Maragliano, & Bove, 2010). Indeed, ICTs are seen as means of establishing a two-way communication instead of the traditional one-way (Kolb, 2013). In this vein, Lopez et al. (2010) claim that it is Web 2.0 tools that have turned internet into the place where social exchange is happening. The originator of the term Web 2.0, Tim O'Reilly, defines it as the phenomenon of personalization, collaboration, active participation, involvement and content sharing among a broad online audience (O'Reilly 2005 as cited in Lopez et al., 2010). In turn, Blank and Reisdorf (2012) approach this concept from the user perspective and state that Web 2.0 has two major components: the 'network effect' and the 'platform'. Accordingly, Web 2.0 is a platform through which network effects may emerge if a lot of users will find it valuable. Overall, Web 2.0 tools, which encourage sharing, participation and collective knowledge construction, are actively implemented by modern museums (Lopez et al., 2010; Russo, 2012).

However, the democratization brought by new media technologies has also challenged museums' authority: nowadays cultural institutions have to revise their traditional functions of gatekeeping and interpretation in order to coexist with audience's active participation online (Carey & Jeffrey, 2006; Fletcher & Lee, 2012).

Museum Authority vs. Web 2.0?

In order to begin, one should note that traditionally museums have been one of the key cultural gatekeepers that selected, collected and preserved objects (Verboom & Arora, 2013). With the rise of the new museology education has become museums' core mission, therefore from 'academic gatekeepers' they have turned into 'educational gatekeepers'. Nevertheless, this shift haven't influenced the fact that museum still remains an authority in matters of knowledge (Roberts, 1993 as cited in Schweibenz, 2010).

However, the nature of Web 2.0 technologies, which is based on the idea of trust and equal participation, deeply contradicts traditional notion of museum authority (Schweibenz, 2010; Walsh, 1997). While Trant (1998) claims that museums should establish trusted cultural networks on the Web in order to make their collections and the way they are communicated relevant and accessible in the modern world, both Schweibenz (2010) and Walsh (1997) point out that the majority of cultural institutions are reluctant to share the control over their content

with online audiences. Indeed, Russo et al. (2008) as well as Walsh (1997) point out that mostly museum web platforms embrace one-to-many communication models instead of establishing many-to-many communication models that go in line with democratic values of the Web. Admittedly, museum hesitance can be explained by the fear of the unpredictable nature of user generated content, which can be of low quality or, further, can lead to digital vandalism. These both notions can diminish the trustworthiness of institution. Schweibenz (2010) claims that this threat can be minimized by the quality control that nevertheless has to provide audiences with a certain degree of trust, which is central for encouraging user participation on the Web. In addition, it is also important to note that the hierarchy of expert knowledge has been challenged by amateur experts since the rise of Web 2.0 platforms has profoundly lowered the barriers of entry into the circle of traditional cultural gatekeepers (Verboom & Arora, 2013). Indeed, Verboom and Arora (2013) found out that nowadays the major experts in museum blogosphere are mainly amateurs.

Nonetheless, there is an evidence that museums shift towards providing their public with a certain degree of control over the content. For instance, Trant (2006) examined the implementation of ‘social tagging’ by The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accordingly, ‘social tagging’, which is defined as assignment of keywords to resources by online users, can be considered as an example of museums’ move towards the democratization of their Web spaces and involvement of audience in the process of expertise. Indeed, ‘social tagging’ complements ‘expert tagging’ and can provide museum with a new insight on the collection by diminishing the semantic gap between professional museum discourse and language of museum public.

Overall, it can be concluded that museum authority is challenged by the rise of new media technologies. Further, whereas the majority of cultural institutions defend their traditional superior roles some actors of museum community are establishing online initiatives that adapt them to the novel democratic environment of Web 2.0. In addition, it is important to stress that the questioning of museum authority is rather a result of the influence of post-modernists discourse that seek ways to share power between cultural institutions and their audiences than an outcome of the rise of Web 2.0 (Schweibenz, 2010). Summing up, this thesis aims to address the question whether museums are adapting to the democratic environment of the Web 2.0 and embracing many-to-many communication models, or whether they are transferring traditional power relations to their online spaces.

Museums: Towards the Inclusion

Museums have been traditionally considered as institutions that exclude certain groups of people from cultural and social life of the society (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1969; Sandell, 2007;

Duncan, 1995; Kawashima, 2006; Jensen, 2013). Moreover, researchers state that museums are bulwarks of exclusivity that legitimise social inequality (Duncan, 1995; Kawashima, 2006). Indeed, it is widely argued by both museum practitioners and researchers that cultural institutions are far from being neutral (Kawashima, 2006). This can be explained by the fact that they are based on ideology that serves interests of core-groups in the society. Furthermore, Sandell (2007) states that those who are not participating in political, economic and social systems of the society are likely to be excluded from museum programmes. Accordingly, cultural institutions promote dominant values and subordinate from alternative ones, which prevents access for the minority groups. This cultural exclusion has three features: excluded groups are not represented in the museum collection, cannot participate in different activities and have no access to the institution. Importantly, whereas the most represented group of museum audience today is comprised from well-educated and well-do people (Coffee, 2008; Kawashima, 2006), the under-represented and thus excluded groups consist of people who for a variety of reasons are unable or feel unable to fully participate in the economic, social, political and cultural life of their community or country (MacKeith & Osborne, 2003; Kawashima, 2006). According to Sandell (2007), museums do not function as institutions of homogenization since they still continue to differentiate 'others' from the 'elite' (Sandell, 2007). Worth noting that such exclusionary practices are either sanctioned by the dominant group of the society or self-generated by the museum staff in order to maintain an in-group identity. Additionally, in order to find out whether there is a group stratification in the museum one should explore ideological performance of the institution (Coffee, 2008; Sandell, 2007). Indeed, museum collection, activities, presence or absence of specific interpretations and overall curatorial judgments along with selective targeting of audiences show which social groups are excluded or included to the museum agenda.

However, nowadays museums are seeking the ways to democratize and promote cultural equality. Therefore, the idea of inclusive museum has enthralled the museum industry (Sandell, 2007; Jensen, 2013; Kawashima, 2006; Belfiore, 2002). Furthermore, governments widely encourage the movement towards inclusivity in cultural institutions (Jensen, 2013; Kawashima, 2006). For instance, in Great Britain social inclusion is one of the key terms in government agenda and museums are identified as organizations that can significantly contribute to this issue. Indeed, since four dimensions of exclusion (social, political, economic and cultural) are interrelated, the inclusion of certain groups of society to cultural domain can improve their representation in social, political and economic domains (Sandell, 2007). Therefore, nowadays in order to fulfill their social missions museums strive to support co-existence of different groups in the society and thus become more inclusive (Coffee, 2008). In this vein, cultural institutions are also challenged to avoid advocative practices because they can serve opposing audiences.

According to Sandell (2007), inclusive museum aims to remove various barriers (e.g. physical, economical, geographical, psychological, intellectual) that hinder the access for particular groups. Respectively, by removing these barriers museums broaden their audiences, therefore policy of social inclusion overlaps with the strategy of audience development in the museum realm (Kawashima, 2006; Sandell, 2007). Worth noting that intention to include new audiences inevitably impacts marketing practices embraced by museums (vom Lehn, 2010; Kawashima, 2006). Kawashima (2006) distinguishes four strategies of audience development implemented in cultural institutions: extended marketing, taste cultivation, audience education and outreach. Respectively, strategy of extended marketing targets potential audiences, whereas both taste cultivation and audience education strategies mainly target existing audiences and aim to reinforce the relationships with them. On the contrary, strategy of outreach, which aims to diminish causes of social exclusion, strongly emphasises on social goals and targets those who have little or no access to the arts sector. Further, Sandell (2007) claims that the latter strategy can be conducted in two ways: cultural institutions can act either as agents of social regeneration (directly contacting with excluded groups of people) or as vehicles for social change (operating on the macro level by using the opportunity to influence public opinion). In addition, one should note that while targeting groups of people that are not a part of museum community institution can slightly adjust presentation and packaging of its offerings. Hence, museums can simultaneously provide the public with refined art and popular artefacts in order to attract new groups of audience. Accordingly, this approach protects the core museum product and attracts new audiences. Dewhurst et al. (2014) also focus on the way museums can effectively cover excluded groups in their programmes and state that inclusivity can be cultivated through co-creation of work or inclusive collections. Respectively, co-creation involves all stakeholders in work on museum offers while strategy of inclusive collection engages communities to participate in the documentation of local cultures.

It can be stated that the measure of museum's quality today lies in the level of its inclusivity (Dewhurst et al., 2014). However, Kawashima (2006) claims that the shift from exclusivity to inclusivity challenges museums. Firstly, in order to become inclusive and reflect interests of under-represented social groups museums have to review the whole system of their practices (from acquisition of objects and research to programme of exhibitions). Secondly, cultural institutions have to consider the risks of audience development. Indeed, as more audiences are brought to the museums, the core groups can move to different venues where they can remain exclusive.

It is important to highlight that the widespread idea of inclusive museum contradicts the traditional notion of museum as exclusionary institution. For instance, Jensen (2013) states that Bourdieu and Darbel's (1969) assertion about museums as engines of ideology and exclusion

should be reconsidered. Indeed, researcher argues that nowadays museums can succeed in involving excluded communities into cultural life of the society.

In the context of this study it is also important to consider how museums are approaching the issue of inclusion in their Web spaces. Both Constantine (2007) and Walters (2009) state that while the majority of museums devote significant amount of attention and resources to make their physical facilities inclusive, the question of accessibility of their Web content (particularly to the group of disabled people) still plays secondary role. Walters (2009) states that generally museum websites are not adapted to the needs of the disabled people and do not provide essential for this group of audience information. Further, Constantine (2007) claims that the level of museum's website accessibility depends both on institution's size and the policy conducted by the government. Firstly, the smaller museum is the lowest is the chance that it will implement diverse technologies for user access due to limited resources. Secondly, researcher revealed that museums in the UK are more successful in adaptation of their web spaces to the needs of the disabled than institutions from the USA. He explains it by the fact that British legislation is more enforceable and less ambiguous than that in the US. Importantly, Sandell et al. (2010) and Walters (2009) also highlight the difference between UK and US' government policies towards the issue of disability in museums, and state that since the former policy is more elaborate cultural institutions in the UK cope with this question more effectively. Overall, the issue of accessible web content still remains relevant in the museum realm. Summing up, this paper approaches different aspects of museum democratization from the global perspective. Particularly, along with other questions raised in the previous sections it examines museums' shift towards the online inclusivity.

2.2 Museums: Commercialization

This section elaborates on various questions of museums' commercialization and marketing. Firstly, museums' shift towards marketing is illuminated. Accordingly, different techniques for successful business performance in this realm are examined. Further, the text delves into the topic of online museum marketing and its interconnectedness with innovative participatory media technologies. In addition, strategic online communication conducted by museums is discussed. Finally, the section ends up with the overview of academic literature covering the influence of institution's size and location on its adoption of new media technologies and thus level of its online strategies of audience engagement.

Shifting the emphasis: The Role of Marketing

Both the high level of competition within the leisure industry and the general decrease in funding have pushed museums towards the implementation of marketing techniques (Kotler & Kotler, 2000). Indeed, modern museums have to prove their value to government or private donors by reaching high level of visibility, evolving broader publics and increasing incomes. Thus, visitor attraction is the essence of achieving these goals. As a result, traditional museum's function of gathering, preserving and studying objects is supplemented by the need to attract audiences (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002).

The shift from custodial to marketing approach in the museum field occurred gradually and, according to Gilmore and Rentschler (2002), can be divided in three periods: foundation (1975-1983), professionalization (1988-1993) and entrepreneurial period (from 1994). Respectively, from the initial stage of audience research museums have moved to the establishment of marketing departments and, finally, came to the current stage where museum managers are focused on the entrepreneurship rather than on cultural gatekeeping.

It is worth to mention that there is a large body of academic research covering various aspects of museum marketing. For instance, Neil and Philip Kotler (2000) have developed special marketing strategies that aim to achieve three most common goals of museum industry: audience extension, reinforcement of community ties and increase of income. Accordingly, in order to increase visitor numbers museums are advised to research their audience's expectations and, considering the results, redesign their offerings. However, the improvement of museum's image among the local community needs another strategy. In this situation Kotler and Kotler (2000) recommend museums to target specific groups within the existing community (e.g. to design special services for families with children). Finally, increase of museum's competitiveness on the leisure market leads to higher incomes, therefore researchers suggest that museums should reposition themselves from the education institutions into the entertainment providers. Summing up, Kotler and Kotler (2000) name marketing techniques that are essential for the implementation of the proposed strategies: audience and market research, targeting specific groups, promotion, strategic planning and service marketing.

The latter technique, services marketing, is especially relevant in the museum industry. Rentschler and Gilmore (2002) explain its importance in the museum context by the fact that it is services (or experiences) the museum provides are central today, not collections. Indeed, Neil Kotler (2001) states that nowadays the concept of experience has generally enthralled the museum realm, and modern public expect from the museum visit a 'wow' experience rather than a traditional aesthetic pleasure or education.

Services marketing is defined as a set of decision-making activities involved in the delivery of a particular service, furthermore it is a recognized tool for attracting wide audiences (Rentschler & Gilmore, 2002). Researchers divide museums' services in two groups: tangible (architecture) and intangible (programs, accessibility and communication). Indeed, tangible services such as the architecture of museums' physical facilities, along with the intangible services such as the collections management (programs), education function (accessibility) and museums' ability to construct its image, transmit information and engage visitors (communication) seriously contribute to the development of customer experience, which has become extremely relevant in the museum industry (Kotler, 2001).

In addition, one of the core components of services marketing is branding (McNichol, 2005). It is worth to mention that the concept of museum branding is extensively studied in the academic literature. Indeed, Caldwell (2000) states that nowadays museums aim to cultivate their identities to brands. One should note that brand is comprised from institution's name and personality, which in turn consists from museum's perceived attributes, products and services (Scott, 2000). Further, researcher claims that museum brand is a value brand. In other words, these brands are based on strong missions; therefore people wish a lasting future for them and are loyal to their values. In order to build a strong brand museum has to focus its attention on the following dimensions: visitor satisfaction, name awareness, perceived quality, brand associations and other assets (e.g. locations or curators) (Caldwell, 2000). Accordingly, the indicators of these dimensions can be improved by the audience research, specific targeting, advertising, word of mouth etc.

Finally, a range of researchers states that museums face the challenge of remaining mission-driven while implementing marketing strategies (Kolb, 2013; Kotler & Kotler, 2000; Scott, 2000). Indeed, Scott (2000) and Kotler and Kotler (2000) claim that the organization's core identity (as a collecting, preserving, research, and educational institution) may contradict its extended identity (new products or services that increase museum's competitiveness). In this vein, opponents of museums' commercialization argue that it may diminish primary objectives of cultural institutions (research, education etc). As a consequence, cultural institutions will be left face to face with professional leisure providers that have more solid financial base, whereas the society will lose a specific type of recreational activity that can be provided only by museums (Kotler & Kotler, 2000). In order to avoid this scenario, Scott (2000) claims that museums have to correlate their new offerings with institution's core identity and long-term objectives.

While comparing promotional strategies conducted by various institutions online, this thesis will be interested in the ways the above mentioned marketing strategies are translated to

museums' online contexts, as well as whether these techniques influence on effectiveness of promotional campaigns employed by museums in social media.

Online Museum Marketing in the "Age of Engagement"

It is worth to mention that nowadays museums are compelled to go online and apply marketing techniques there (Rentschler & Gilmore, 2002). Indeed, the amount of internet users is constantly increasing worldwide, and researchers predict that in the coming years people's perception of online experience will evolve from the stage of 'going online' to the stage of 'being online' (Pinto, 2006, as cited in Bearman & Geber, 2008). In this context museums along with other organizations have to follow their publics online unless they want to become outdated. Furthermore, once established, new media platforms can help cultural institutions to reach various goals. Firstly, by going online museums can profoundly extend their audience. Inter alia, the establishment of museums' Web platforms can attract the so-called 'digital natives', a generation of young people who are both familiar with information and communication technology (ICT) and dependent on it (Prensky, 2001; Bennett, Maton, & Kervin, 2008). Accordingly, besides improving online visitors' experience, new communication technologies also broaden museums' audience (Loran, 2005). Secondly, the implementation of new media technologies can encourage people to participate in the cultural exchanges, which become the main focus of museums during the last few decades (Russo & Watkins, 2005). Finally, while entertaining and educating their audiences in the Internet, cultural organizations have the possibility to promote and market themselves (Bartak, 2007). Additionally, innovative new media technologies increase museums' competitiveness on the market, since innovation is central in gaining the competitive advantage (Bakhshi & Throsby, 2012). Overall, a wide spectrum of advantages provided by both the internet and new media technologies encourage museums to go online. Thus, it is not surprising that a vast majority of modern cultural institutions can be found on the Web. Moreover, Bearman and Geber (2008) claim that nowadays a museum without the website can hardly be considered as professional.

However, in our 'age of engagement' (Meeker, 2005 as cited in Bartak, 2007), when Internet users aim to actively participate rather than passively consume (Carey & Jeffrey, 2006), solely the online presence cannot attract broad audiences and thus bring a lot of benefits to museums. Therefore, cultural institutions have to implement information and communication technologies (ICTs) that engage online users and encourage their participation (Russo, 2011). Further, this trend signalizes about museums' shift from online marketing and promotion towards the development of networking opportunities for audiences that can lead to innovative outcomes in the future.

Bakhshi and Throsby (2012) name three main characteristics of ICT employed by museums: interactivity (two-way communication between the museum and public), connectivity (direct and frequent communication between museums and their public) and convergence (users can access information at any time from any convenient and appropriate device). Researchers further state that among the most frequently established ICTs online are digitized collections, virtual exhibitions, interactive maps, games, personalised spaces (tagging objects), social media networks and online shopping. Importantly, a range of researches concludes that museums benefit from the implementation of various ICTs (such as social media or web 2.0 technologies) since they are triggering audience engagement (Russo, Watkins, & Groundwater-Smith, 2009; Marty, 2008). Hence, modern trends in the Internet usage (precisely the ‘age of engagement’) push cultural institutions towards the adoption of various engaging ICTs.

Museums’ Online Strategies

Even though the majority of cultural institutions realize the importance of being online and, furthermore, the value of participatory media technologies, Russo (2011) claims that many of them fail to develop sustainable online strategies. Indeed, in order to succeed on the Web, museums have to strategically plan their online communication (Russo, 2011; Kidd, 2011; Padilla-Melendez & Aguila-Obra, 2013). Recently a relatively small body of research covering the issue of museums' strategic online communication emerged (Gladysheva et al., 2014).

Kidd (2011) explored museums' communication strategies on social media and revealed three general types of strategies established by modern museums in social networks: marketing, inclusion and collaboration. Respectively, a marketing strategy provides basic information about the museum and promotes the ‘face’ of the institution, an inclusion strategy strives to create a participatory space, whereas a collaboration strategy encourages audiences to co-produce narratives with the museum. A year later Hausmann (2012) highlighted the importance of online word of mouth in social media and suggested museums to implement various techniques for its facilitation. Accordingly, cultural institutions are advised to apply the following techniques: use of technology (e.g. platforms should technically support interaction), provision of content (the content of posts should offer added value), stimulation of interaction (museums have to interact with their audiences).

In the context of this study it is important to delve into the question of social media content that offers an added value to the audience. Indeed, by sharing publications of this type museums engage users, stimulate an online word of mouth (Hausmann, 2012) and thus conduct effective online campaigns. Both Fletcher and Lee (2012) and Hausmann (2012) examine this topic: the former study claims that messages shared on the social media should be humorous, intriguing, entertaining and avoid being too promotional, while the latter state that potentially

viral and engaging online publications should impact users' emotions. In addition, it is also important to note that museums' social media profiles should be constantly updated in order to attract the public (Fletcher & Lee, 2012; Lopez et al., 2010).

Finally, Padilla-Melendez and Aguila-Obra (2013) are more general in their focus on museums' strategies on the Web since they examine both the use of social media and communication on websites. According to researchers, there are three most common online communicational strategies employed by cultural institutions today: a defender strategy (online space is seen as a complement and informational brochure), an analyser strategy (the interactivity of such media is used as an expansion strategy, but museum does not take in an online leadership position) and a prospector strategy (makes high efforts in creating high online value for visitors). Interestingly, both researches conducted by Kidd (2011) and Padilla-Melendez and Aguila-Obra (2013) distinguish three common types of museums' online strategies, and both base this differentiation on the level of audience engagement. For instance, by implementing Marketing strategy (Kidd, 2011) or Defender strategy (Padilla-Melendez & Aguila-Obra, 2013), museums use their online platforms as simple information brochures. However, by establishing an Analyzer strategy (Padilla-Melendez & Aguila-Obra, 2013) or Inclusion strategy (Kidd, 2011) cultural organizations interact with their audiences and create a dialogic space. Finally, both Prospector strategy (Padilla-Melendez & Aguila-Obra, 2013) and Collaboration strategy (Kidd, 2011) strive to create a high online value for the online public.

Similarly to the researches conducted by Kidd (2011) and Padilla-Melendez & Aguila-Obra (2013) this thesis aims to explore Web strategies employed by different museums. However, it also hopes to complement these studies by examining the impact of museums type and location (cultural context) on the online communication, moreover by researching online communication in museums from developing countries, precisely from Russia.

Museums' Web Performance: The impact of institution's size and location

One should note that various ICTs adopted by cultural institutions online are defined as innovation in audience reach (Bakhshi & Throsby, 2012). Furthermore, researchers state that this type of innovation is one of the most prevalent in the museum industry. As mentioned above, these new practices give museums the possibility to broaden their public, achieve high level of audience engagement, and, therefore, efficiently promote themselves online. In addition, generally innovation is believed to be a keystone in gaining competitive advantage and increasing growth prospects in the creative industry. Hence, it is not surprising that modern museums incorporate new media technologies into their online practices.

However, the level of investment in new media technologies varies in different cultural institutions, which impacts the success of their online communicational strategies. Indeed, the more a cultural organization invests in innovative online practices, the more online visibility it gets. According to Camarero, Garrido & Vicente (2011), the extent to which institutions invest in innovations depends on both the cultural policies that are conducted in the country and the size of cultural organization.

To begin with, Vicente, Camarero and Garrido (2012) distinguish three main types of cultural policy: the American model, the continental European model and the British model. It is worth to mention that this differentiation is based on both the level of government's intervention in museums's work and the way public funds are allocated (Vicente et al., 2012). According to Zimmer and Toepler (1999), museums based in the US are regulated by the market and, consequently, are more open to different innovations. Therefore, it is not surprising that American museums are leading in the implementation of innovative practices on the Web (Toepler & Dewees, 2005). In contrast, majority of European museums are generally controlled by the state (Vicente et al., 2012), which implies that they are dependent on bureaucratic machine and less maneuverable in terms of new practices. In the same position are museums in Central and Eastern Europe (including Russia) where the government is the main source of funding (Toepler, 2000; Muzychuk, 2012). Finally, the British museums lie in between: they are funded by the state only partly (Vicente et al., 2012). Camarero et al. (2011) state that museums funded by private donors are more business-oriented, and, as a result, more open to innovations than museums that are mainly supported by the state.

Furthermore, along with the cultural policy, the size of the museum also impacts on its ability to take innovative steps (Vicente et al., 2012). Some researchers point out that the bigger the firm is, the more capabilities it has to establish diverse innovative practices. Though their opponents argue that small organizations are more flexible while employing innovations (Camisón-Zornoza, Lapiedra-Alcamí, Segarra-Ciprés, & Boronat-Navarro, 2004). However, Camarero et al.'s (2011) study shows that the bigger cultural organization is, the more resources it spends on new technologies. Thus, the implementation of innovative online practices of audience reach in museums is impacted by their size and cultural context.

Importantly, both studies conducted by Padilla-Melendez and Aguila-Obra (2013) and Lopez et al. (2010) show that museums' location and, thus, cultural context impacts on the level of adoption of participatory technologies on the Web. Indeed, Lopez et al. (2010) examine the extent to which museums from different countries (England, USA, Italy, Spain and France) employ web 2.0 technologies on their websites and conclude that the most actively these novel tools are used by museums based in the English-speaking countries, precisely in the UK and USA. Similarly, Padilla-Melendez and Aguila-Obra (2013) claim that online strategies that aim

to engage audiences through the active use of web 2.0 technologies are mainly conducted by museums from the USA and UK. Importantly, Crenn and Vidal (2007) as well as Lill and Schweibenz (2009) came to similar conclusions while researching the level of Web 2.0 adoption in institutions from France and German-speaking countries respectively. Overall, these findings illustrate previously discussed statement that museums from Europe (except of UK's institutions) are less innovative than their counterparts from the English-speaking countries because of their traditional dependancy on the state (Vicente et al., 2012).

This thesis aims to complement few studies discussed in this section. Firstly, researches conducted by Camarero et al. (2011) and Vicente et al. (2012), which examine the impact of museum's size and cultural context on the innovation adoption, approach the question of innovation in general, while this study narrows down the focus to the innovation in audience reach (e.g. participatory technologies) and explores the ways it is used by different museums. Secondly, while researches by Padilla-Melendez & Aguila-Obra (2013) and Lopez et al. (2010) focus on online audience engagement they do not examine the impact of institution's size and location on it. Furthermore, these studies are western-centric since they ignore museums from developing countries. Thus, this thesis intends to address this gap in the academic literature by analyzing online communication established by Russian museums.

2.3 Museums: Globalization

Finally, it is important to consider the fact that modern museums all over the world are profoundly influenced by globalization (Young, 1999). Indeed, museums' orientations have been influenced by the globalization, which has weakened the link between the identity and local place (Gonzalez, 2008) and enabled the contact between previously separated groups of people (Kratz & Karp, 2006). Before delving into the challenges posed by this worldwide trend in front of various cultural institutions this section provides an overview of academic literature dedicated to globalisation. As a point of departure, researchers highlight the complexity and ambiguity of this phenomenon and thus stress that there is no single and generally accepted definition of the term 'globalisation' (Bartelson, 2000; Robertson, 2012; Young, 1999). Nonetheless, this phenomenon has a number of features that can be identified in the majority of studies: the compression of the world by means of travel and new technologies of communication, constant contact between separated individuals and groups of people, flow of impact from centre to brink and vice versa (Young, 1999).

Some researchers state that the response to globalisation is homogenisation (Lui & Stack, 2009 as cited in Tong, 2011; Liu, Guillet & Law, 2014). In this vein, globalisation is seen as a westernization or americanization since it is believed that countries from the West with the US in the forefront have spread their influence to other parts of the world (Tong, 2011; Young, 1999).

However, this point of view is contradicted with an argument that even though globalisation is an outcome of western capitalist expansion, there is no evidence that all countries will become capitalist (Young, 1999; Robertson, 2012). Furthermore, Robertson (2012) claims that global does not diminish local and proposes the term 'glocalization', which refers to the notion that globalisation involves the incorporation of locality. The concept 'glocalization' originated in business terminology as a definition of a large-scale micro-targeting towards increasingly differentiated markets, however from a broader perspective it intends to show that globalization is rather a heterogeneous than homogeneous process (Robertson, 2012) and thus rejects the assumption that Western countries spread political, cultural or economical homogenisation (Ritzer, 2003). Ritzer (2003) further proposes to complement glocalization with the concept 'globalization'. While the former term refers to the interpenetration of local and global, the latter indicates "imperialistic ambitions of organizations to impose themselves on various geographic areas, with the interest to see their influence and profits grow" (Ritzer, 2003, p. 194). Respectively, glocalization usually proposes to global audiences something (a social form rich in distinctive content) whereas globalization is associated with nothing (a social form devoid of distinctive content). Overall, various academics claim that globalization simultaneously contains both universal and particular (Ritzer, 2003; Robertson, 2012; Young, 1999).

Approaching museum industry from the perspective of globalisation it is worth to highlight several challenges that this complex trend poses in front of cultural institutions all over the world. Firstly, museums have to simultaneously preserve their local identities and act globally in the international network of cultural organizations (Günther et al., 2005). In other words, by adjusting to a globalized world and designing standardized experiences museums can lose their unique identities. However, Günther et al. (2005) claim that various types of institutions perceive this challenge differently. Indeed, well-known museums with strong brands (that are mainly based on the West) see globalization in a positive light since it gives them the opportunity to expand and set up their cultural hegemony. Therefore, large established institutions employ standardized practices in order to enlarge. One of the forms of such expansion is blockbuster exhibition, which is designed to meet popular tastes. Usually displays of these art-shows are comprised from famous masterpieces as well as ancient and valuable objects (Young, 1999). Accordingly, globalization threatens institutions by diminishing their uniqueness and unifying their practices. On the contrary, less established institutions choose different scenario and engage in the process of glocalization, which aims to support local peculiarities from a global flow of the standardized development (Günther et al., 2005).

In the context of this thesis it is also important to situate in these processes cultural institutions from developing countries. Muller (2005b) in his research of museum practices employed by museums from the Eastern and Central Europe states that today it is realized that

standardising Western practices, which were firstly eagerly embraced by Eastern-European institutions, are not always an essence of success in this part of the world. Therefore, museums are starting to implement a 'Speaking English' strategy: they take into the account the role of globalization and simultaneously emphasise on their local peculiarities. Hence, museums in Central and Eastern Europe are moving towards the process of glocalization.

Furthermore, another challenge that globalisation has brought to the museum realm is international tourism (Muller, 2005; Günther et al., 2005, Herreman, 1998). Indeed, this world's largest growth industry challenges museums of all kinds since it imposes them to satisfy visitors with diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds (Muller, 2005a). On the other hand, tourism undoubtedly revivis cultural institutions (Young, 1999) and thus encourages them to attract voyagers.

Worth mentioning that nowadays tourism industry is one of the most promising realms for the innovative business technique - experiential marketing (Petkus, 2004). Further researcher claims that arts sector has unique advantages in the implementation of this technique since almost all its offers are experiential in nature. In their study Pine and Gilmore (1998) propose a framework that aims to help organizations to market their offerings in an experiential way, and, according to Petkus (2004), this strategy can be successfully applied in the art realm. Respectively, audiences can be engaged through four basic dimensions of experience: entertainment (involves sensing), education (involves learning), escapist (involves doing) and esthetic (involves being).

In this vein it is also relevant to mention the concept of 'authenticity' since it is claimed to be a basic factor for successful consumption of cultural products (Ramkissoon & Uysal, 2011). Importantly, museums stand in a favorable position among diverse providers of authentic experiences because they are built upon authentic objects preserved in their collections. Nevertheless, cultural institutions have to also compete with non-institutional facilitators of authentic experiences such as street markets. Alternatively, Prentice (2001) states that museums can benefit from their competitors by collaborating with them.

Overall, this thesis aims to contribute the question of globalization's influence on the museum realm. Precisely, the debate on homogeneity/heterogeneity of markets (in this context of museum market) is going to be addressed through the comparison of practices conducted by cultural institutions' from Western countries (USA and UK) and Russia. Furthermore, the impact of international tourism on museums' online communication is going to be examined.

3. Method

The following sub-sections explain the connection between research question and sub-questions, provide argumentation of the chosen method, describe research sample along with processes of data collection and analysis.

3.1 Research question and sub-questions

As it follows from the literature review, today museums are compelled to go on the Web and employ their promotional strategies in the online environment. However, it has also appeared that solely online promotion does not bring a lot of benefits to cultural institutions since nowadays people are not interested in passive information absorption. Instead, online users want to be engaged with museums' content and participate in the meaning making. Therefore, it is claimed that in order to become visible and successfully market themselves on the Web museums have to democratize their communication with the audiences and establish many-to-many communicational models. Importantly, new media technology is widely recognized as the factor that democratizes museums' online communication with the audience. In this vein, the study approaches the question of museums' democratization through the examination of various ICTs implemented by different cultural institutions online.

Further, researchers that compare online practices employed by museums' from different countries show that cultural institutions from the U.S. are leading in the implementation of innovative participatory technologies on the Web (Toepler & Dewees, 2005), which can be explained by the fact that they are historically more business-oriented and thus more open to innovations. In this context American museums are followed by British institutions whose online value creation is less advanced because they are partly funded by the state and thus are less manoeuvrable in terms of establishing new practices (Vicente et al., 2012). However, online performance of museums from the UK is higher than performance of institutions from other European countries that are traditionally fully dependent on state. Researchers also highlight that along with cultural context museum's size also impacts the level of innovation adoption and thus online performance. Accordingly, the bigger cultural organization is, the more resources it spends on new technologies (Camarero et al., 2011). Importantly, studies of this topic are western-centric since they do not examine museums from developing countries. Thus, it is interesting to analyze the understudied online performance of cultural institutions situated outside the Western world.

As it was previously mentioned, the research question posed in this study is "*How do different museums use diverse promotional strategies online to engage their audiences?*". Further, the sub-questions 1 and 2 are "*In what ways do promotional strategies online differ*

based on the location of the museum?” and *“In what ways do promotional strategies online differ based on the type of the museum?”* respectively. Hence, this thesis explores the extent to which there is a convergence or divergence in the ways cultural institutions are democratizing themselves based on their status and location.

Generally, in order to examine the ways cultural institutions adapt to the democratic nature of the Web 2.0 the study focuses on various engaging new media technologies established on museums’ websites. These can be either Web 2.0 tools (that facilitate active participation, exchange, collaboration and sharing) or non-Web 2.0 technologies that are also perceived as engaging (Lopez et al., 2010). A detailed list of these technologies (designed by Lopez et al. (2010)) was used during the exploration of museums’ websites to ensure that all important features are considered. Furthermore, the thesis not only examines the presence or absence of certain tools, but also delves into the question of how deep do they engage audiences.

Further, since this comparative study approaches the question of museums’ online democratization from the global perspective, the impact of institution’s location on its online practices is considered (RQ1). In this vein, the outcomes of globalisation are examined as well: are museums standardising their practices or participating in processes of glocalization (Robertson, 2012)? Finally, the analysis also delves into the question how does institution’s size impacts its online democratization and strategies of user engagement (RQ2).

The second aspect of this thesis aims to find out the factors that make museums’ online content effective. Accordingly, since social media platforms allow to measure the level of effectivity of online content (e.g. amount of ‘likes’), this study explores promotional strategies conducted by the sampled museums on Facebook. Therefore, the third sub-question is: *What makes an effective promotional campaign across the museum contexts?* Similarly, the study compares online communication conducted by different in terms of size and location museums on social media and reveals factors that make it effective. Further, divergencies and convergencies of these Facebook practices are revealed.

3.2 Research Design and Research Sample

A case study was considered as an appropriate methodological choice for this thesis. Indeed, case study provides with the opportunity to examine a contemporary phenomena in real-life context, study a set of decisions undertaken by museums while conducting their online communicational strategies and, finally, generate a broad understanding of the researched topic (Yin, 2013). Accordingly, the case study of six different museums was conducted in order to answer on the posed research questions.

The research sample consists of six cultural institutions, which are situated in different regions of the world (North America, Europe and Developing countries) and are either

established or *emerging*. Importantly, since there is no systematic database that contains the information about the actual size of different museums (their physical building, collection and staff) all over the world the institutions from the sample were defined not as ‘small’ or ‘big’, but as ‘*established*’ and ‘*emerging*’. Furthermore, it is assumed that members of BRICS-association can constitute the group of Developing countries.

The decision to compare online promotional strategies conducted by institutions from the USA and United Kingdom (Western countries) with strategies conducted by museums from Russia (member of BRICS) was made for two reasons. Firstly, to date there is a gap in academic literature covering online communication of cultural organizations from developing countries. Secondly, the fact that author can fluently speak both Russian and English diminishes language barriers and thus makes the study more feasible.

Further, worth mentioning that museums that represent the group of ‘established institutions’ are among the most visited cultural institutions of the world, which implies that they are large. On the contrary, museums that constitute the group of ‘emerging institutions’ were founded in the last decade, which assumes that they are relatively smaller than old and great museums from the first group. Accordingly, the sub-group of established institutions is comprised from the world’s top-visited museums. These units of analysis were selected from the annual AECOM Museum Index for the last year (TEA & AECOM, 2013). In turn, the sub-group of emerging institutions consists of museums that were founded a decade ago as the latest. Finally, only those cultural organizations that have a website and are active on social media sites were selected. Hence, the sample consists of:

Region: North America (USA)

Established institution: The Museum of Modern Art (New York, USA)

Emerging institution: The National September 11 Memorial Museum (New York, USA)
(opened in 2011)

Region: Europe (United Kingdom)

Established institution: British Museum (London, UK)

Emerging institution: The Museum of Liverpool (Liverpool, UK) (opened in 2011)

Region: Developing countries (Russia)

Established institution: State Hermitage (St Petersburg, Russia)

Emerging institution: Museum of Contemporary Art Garage (Moscow, Russia) (opened in 2008)

3.2 Data collection and analysis

In order to systematically address the topic the analysis consists of two parts: Museums' Websites and Facebook practices. Respectively, while the first part involves an in-depth observation of museums' websites, the second part analyses the most effective (in terms of the amount of 'likes') posts shared by cultural institutions on Facebook. Further, worth mentioning that a qualitative content analysis of museums' websites and Facebook posts was conducted. Accordingly, since the content analysis is defined as a technique, which helps to make inferences after systematic and objective identification of messages' characteristics (Holsri, 1968, p. 608 as cited in Berg, 2000), this approach fits the current research. Indeed, qualitative content analysis helps to reveal general patterns of museums' promotional strategies on the Web. The following text describes strategies of data collection and analysis.

Firstly, in order to find out how do different museums engage online audiences, six websites were analyzed. Accordingly, with the help of MAXQDA software each page on each sampled website was coded. Among the main codes created during this stage of analysis are:

Codes for museums' websites	
interactive educational project	interactive project that aims to educate online user about different topics (interactivity is approached through two dimensions: user have control over the tool, tool can be used to be productive or create (Shedroff, 2002))
digitized collection	museum's collection available on the website
personalized services	tools that allow to get personalized e-news, create a 'personal gallery' or a personal museum route
educational video	video with learning material
interactive digitized object	objects from the collection that are interactively visualized
collaboration with the audience	users can contribute to museum project
children	tools designed specially for children (e.g. online games)
disabled	tools designed specially for disabled (e.g. audio tours in the museum)
teenagers	tools developed specially for teenagers (e.g. blog)
entertainment	solely entertaining project

After all the codes were assigned, they were combined to categories that, in turn, revealed the general patterns of museums' strategies of online user engagement. Importantly, the

categories of analysis were derived from both the theory and empirical data. This mixed approach to the process of categories construction involves both induction and deduction (Strauss, 1987 as cited in Berg, 2000). For the websites, the main categories as 'Interactive education', 'Democratization of Knowledge', 'Inclusionary and Exclusionary practices' illustrate the aspects of museums' democratization or, on the contrary, maintenance of power relations with the audience. In order to see the full list of codes that comprise categories constructed during the analysis of the website platforms, see appendix A.

Secondly, to reveal the factors that make museums' promotional campaigns on social media effective, thirty most visible (in terms of the amount of 'likes') posts published by each institution on its Facebook page during three-months period were collected. Worth mentioning that special software was used. Firstly, in order to get all Facebook posts published by each institution from the sample between 1 January 2015 and 31 March 2015 the Netvizz application was used. Further, the derived data were opened in Tableau software, which sorted posts in descending order (from the most 'liked' to the least 'liked'). As a final stage of data collection, thirty most 'liked' posts shared by each museum (in total 180 posts) were extracted. Similarly to the previous stage, posts were opened in MAXQDA programme, where they were inductively coded. The main codes developed for museums' communication with the audience on Facebook are as follows:

Codes for museums' Facebook posts	
entertainment/education (national/international)	posts that provide online users with a mix of entertaining and educational information (either about national or international topic)
promotion/event	promotion of event hosted in the museum
promotion/exhibition	promotion of exhibition hosted in the museum
promotion/service	promotion of museum's services (e.g. shop, kitchen)
joke	humorous post
narratives of the city	museum situates its narrative in the broader narratives of the city
collaboration/popular culture	museum collaborates with entertainment provider
sad/tragic	post that arouses sadness (e.g. sad and tragic quotes)
encouraging the spirit	post that aims to encourage the spirit
question to the audience	museum poses a question to the audience
local interest	post targets local community
families with children	post promotes museum services for families with children

After the coding process was completed, the main categories were developed. Accordingly, among them are: 'Enjoyable Education', 'Equilibrium between local and global', 'Promotion', 'Inclusion/Audience development', 'Exclusivity', 'Emotions', 'Users' interaction', 'Serving different groups within the community'. In order to find out from which codes they are constructed see Appendix B.

4. Results and Discussion

This thesis is built upon two stages of analysis: firstly, the websites of museums from the sample were examined in order to find out how do they engage online audiences; secondly, thirty most visible Facebook posts published by each institution were studied to reveal factors that make them popular. In addition, since this is a comparative study, the convergence and divergence of museum practices was revealed. Accordingly, the following text is divided in two parts: Museums' websites and Facebook practices.

4.1 Museums' Websites

Starting with the results of the websites' analysis, it is important to highlight that all museums from the sample use various tools for user engagement. Indeed, since nowadays online users are not satisfied with passive information absorption cultural institutions have to engage their audiences in order to succeed on the Web (Carey & Jeffrey, 2006). Therefore, both established and emerging institutions from the sample employ Web 2.0 technologies on their websites. However, due to the notion that these institutions operate in different contexts, one should note that the extent to which they implement these innovative features and technologies is different. Moreover, the type of these technologies and the depth of engagement they provide also vary.

Indeed, both American institutions (MoMA and 11 September Memorial/Museum) provide online audiences with the richest variety of engaging tools (which are going to be discussed in the following sections) comparing to other museums from the sample. Further, comparing museums from the UK (British Museum and Museum of Liverpool) with their counterparts from Russia (Hermitage and Garage) it should be stressed that the former institutions are more advanced in terms of user engagement. This finding supports Toepler and Dewees' (2005) claim that American museums are leading in the implementation of innovative practices on the Web since they are historically more dependent on their public and thus more business-oriented. Indeed, considering the fact that innovative Web 2.0 features are key in getting the competitive advantage (Bakshi & Throsby, 2010) it is not surprising that both museums from the sample strive to implement them at full strength. On the contrary, European institutions get funding from the state and thus are less dependent on market situation. However, comparing cultural contexts in which British and Russian institutions operate worth noting that museums from the UK are historically closer to business-oriented American context, which again explains why British Museum and Museum of Liverpool provide their audiences with the wider amount of engaging tools than Russian Hermitage and Garage. In addition, considering the fact that Garage Museum is a private institution, it's reluctance in using innovative new media technologies can be also

explained by its size (smaller institution does not have enough of budget to innovate on the Web).

Accordingly, this section sheds light on the key findings and compares practices of online user engagement conducted by museums. The following text illuminates topics of Interactive Education, Inclusionary and Exclusionary Practices and Democratization of Knowledge. In addition, the themes of 9/11 knowledge making and Russia as grey area are going to be explored.

Interactive Education

It is widely recognised that museums' mission today is to educate their audiences (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). Accordingly, it is not surprising that all six institutions from the sample provide online users with learning materials. However, the engaging potential of these materials significantly varies. Importantly, researchers point out the relevance of designing engaging spaces for web learning since online audiences have intrinsic motives in their knowledge gaining (Lin et al., 2010), therefore study materials designed for extrinsic learning would not attract a lot of people to museum's website. In addition, enjoyable educational material encourages users to repeat learning experience and improves their knowledge absorption.

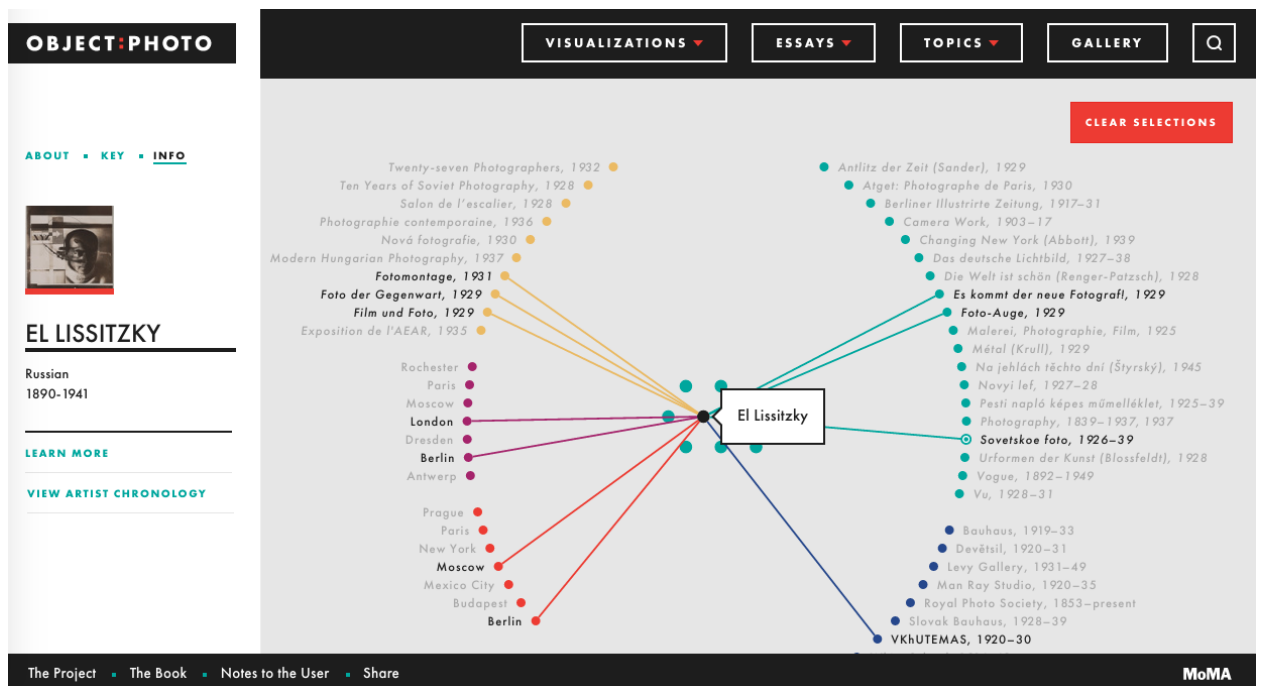


Figure 1, concerning interactive educational projects (MoMA, n.d.)

As it was mentioned above, American institutions lead in providing their audiences with engaging tools, which is also applicable to educational materials. Starting with MoMA, one should note that it has the richest variety of interactive educational projects out of all museums from the sample. Indeed, these interactive projects are designed per each new exhibition that is

held in the museum. Created to educate people and engage them with the collection these themed visualizations delve into the explored topics by presenting various multimedia materials. For instance, one of the last projects of this type - 'Object: Photo' - is devoted to the modern photography (see Figure 1). Visual tool created for this project gives users the ability to map and compare photographs, as well as connect prominent artists of that period and map their lives. For instance, the tool can illustrate different factors (publications, exhibitions, schools or cities) that linked photographers back those days. Another example of such interactive educational project is 'Louise Bourgeois: The Complete Prints', which provides users with a tool that builds comparative connections between Louise Bourgeois' artworks. Through these educational and interactive projects MoMA engages its online audience with new exhibitions.

Learning projects of this type engage public since they are based on the concept of interactivity and provide people with a rich variety of multimedia materials. However, Lin et al. (2010) supplement this basic feature of engaging learning with a range of other characteristics that are not identifiable in MoMA's content. For instance, among them are multisensory experiences, creation of storyline and fun in learning. In this vein, worth noting that another American institution, 11 September Museum, has designed learning environments in a more engaging way than MoMA since it incorporated additional features for user attraction to its educational content. Firstly, it provides users with three interactive timelines that chronicle events of 1993 World Trade Center Bombing, September 11 terrorist attack and the nine-months recovery at the ground zero. All these timelines offer detailed records of events that happened on those days and are illustrated by videos and photo documents, which implies that they provide multisensory learning experiences. In addition, these timelines create different storylines by featuring key events that occurred during these explored periods.

Another example of interactive learning material that creates a storyline by using multimedia materials is a project that tells about the group of U.S. militaries, and precisely about the operation they performed in Afghanistan straight after 9/11 attack. A user can click on the photo of one of the veterans and thus launch a tour, which visualizes key moments of military's work in Afghanistan (see Figure 2). Overall, both MoMA and 11 September Museum provide their audiences with engaging learning materials. However, the latter institution supplements its interactive projects with such features as storytelling and multisensory experiences and thus makes its content more engaging. In turn, due to the facts that MoMA has a rich collection and constantly hosts different exhibitions it provides users with a more diversified gallery of interactive educational materials.



Figure 2, concerning educational project that provides users with a storyline (11 September Memorial/Museum, n.d.)

Moving to the museums based in the UK (British Museum and Museum of Liverpool), one should note that they also provide audiences with interactive learning materials. However, the amount of these projects is way lower comparing to American institutions. In addition, interactive learning materials created by both British Museum and Museum of Liverpool cover relatively small amounts of information, while educational projects published by MoMA and 11 September Museum can be characterised as rather large-scale. For instance, one of interactive learning projects published on British Museum's website provides users with a map of the world, and by choosing the continent along with one of the proposed topics of interest (Religion, Trade, Technology, Cities, Buildings, Writings) user can explore world history from different perspectives. In turn, Museum of Liverpool creates less serious educational materials, which are, according to Lin et al. (2010), more engaging since they combine interactivity, fun and multisensory experiences. For instance, an educational quiz 'Why do Scousers talk Scouse?', which is dedicated to the Scouse accent, comprises all three features (see Figure 3). Indeed, apart from answering funny questions users can turn on the sound and explore this accent better. Turning to the websites of Russian institutions (Hermitage and Garage), one should note that they do not provide online public with any interactive educational materials. Therefore, it can be concluded that these museums are less innovative in terms of new media use.

Further, Lopez et al. (2010) state that even though videos are not Web 2.0 tools, they still raise the level of users' engagement with museum's website. In this vein, it is important to mention that almost all museums from the sample publish educational videos in their media galleries. For instance, MoMA provides its users with a rich variety of media materials about the

objects from the collection as well as about the processes of conservation. In turn, the 11 September Museum educates its online audience about the 9/11 attacks by publishing numerous video documents shot on that day, interviews with experts and politicians, as well as documentaries and animations. Moving to institutions from the UK, one should note that they both create videos in which they educate people about the collections. Finally, Russian institutions almost do not publish educational videos. Indeed, whereas Garage provides online public with few videos shot during lectures hosted in the museum, Hermitage does not have any videos on its website.

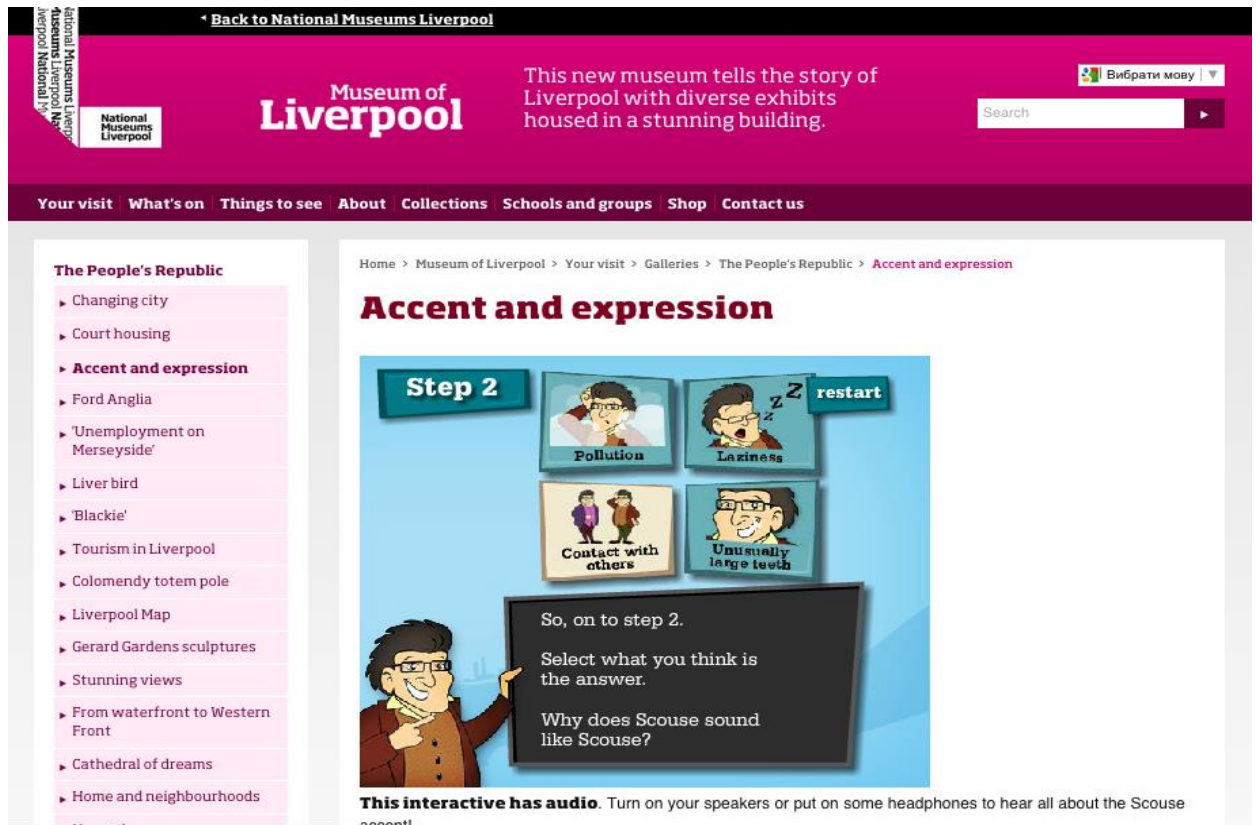


Figure 3, concerning educational project that comprises interactivity, fun and multisensory experiences (Museum of Liverpool, n.d.)

Also it is important to note that digitized collection is another museum resource of education that engages the audience and fosters relationships with it (Marty, 2008). Importantly, out of all museums from the sample only Established institutions (MoMA, Hermitage, British Museum) have digitized collections with enormous numbers of online objects. This can be explained by two notions: firstly, these grand institutions were built upon rich collections centuries ago, and their international fame is traditionally based on the objects they preserve; secondly, these large established institutions have more financial opportunities to digitize their collections. On the contrary, relatively smaller and emerging institutions (11 September Museum, Museum of Liverpool, Garage Museum) don't have big collections and, furthermore, were created after museum industry has shifted its focus from the preserved objects to the audiences, and thus the concept of people's experience has become central in the museum world

(Kotler, 2000).

As it was mentioned above MoMa, Hermitage and British Museum have fully digitized their collections, hence by using various search filters (artist, decade, type of work, department, themes and thumbnails) online users can find any artwork preserved in these museums. However, in the age of participatory culture an online collection is not involving enough (Geber, 2008), therefore both MoMA and Hermitage offer to their online users the ability to move any digitized art object into their personal collections. In this vein, it is important to stress that phenomenon of personalization is defined by researchers as a part of ‘interactivity’ (Thrumann, 2011). Worth mentioning that along with personal collection, MoMA provides its public with other personalised spaces: users can update their information preferences and thus receive personalised e-news, as well as send e-cards (photos of artworks preserved in MoMA) along with their comments. By providing the latter service MoMA not only engages users, but also promotes the collection and widens its reach since the receivers of these e-cards may not be a part of museum’s audience.

Moving to the Hermitage, the fact that it implements the richest variety of features of personalization comparing to other institutions implies that it emphasises on this type of technology in its user engagement strategy. Indeed, along with ‘personal collection’ and personal e-news Hermitage provides users with a distinctive personalization tool: a website can generate personal routes in the museum by using one’s selection of Hermitage’s artworks. In addition, users can access personal galleries of each other and ‘like’ them, which gives them the opportunity to interact and thus leads to the community building. The fact that while exploring museum’s digital collection online users have the ability to socialize makes the learning environments of the website more engaging (Lin et al., 2010). Worth noting that a range of Hermitage’s personalised technologies along with the digital collection adapt its website to the main motivations of media usage - learning and socialization (Gladysheva et al., 2013). Indeed, while learning about the objects from museum’s collection users can socialize and communicate through accessing personal collections of each other’s. However, the central motive for media usage – entertainment – is less identifiable on Hermitage’s website. In addition, personalised spaces are the only advanced Web 2.0 tools provided by this established Russian institution.

Moving to other museums from the sample, worth noting that they don’t have rich digitized collections. However, both 11 September Museum and Museum of Liverpool provide the public with few digitized objects that they preserve. Whereas the latter institution has published information about several artefacts (and their photos), the former has various interactive visualizations of objects from its collection. For instance, 11 September Museum provides a digitized replica of Lady Liberty Statue (which commemorates fifteen firemen who died on 9/11 while fighting the fire) that is covered with uniform patches, miniature American

flags and other mementos about these people (see Figure 4). Online users can zoom in and explore the story behind each object. By providing such interactive visualizations 11 September Museum engages online users with its collection. Moving to the Garage Museum one should note that institution does not provide online users with any information about the objects it preserves. It can be explained by the fact that this relatively small and new institution still doesn't have a lot of objects to digitize.

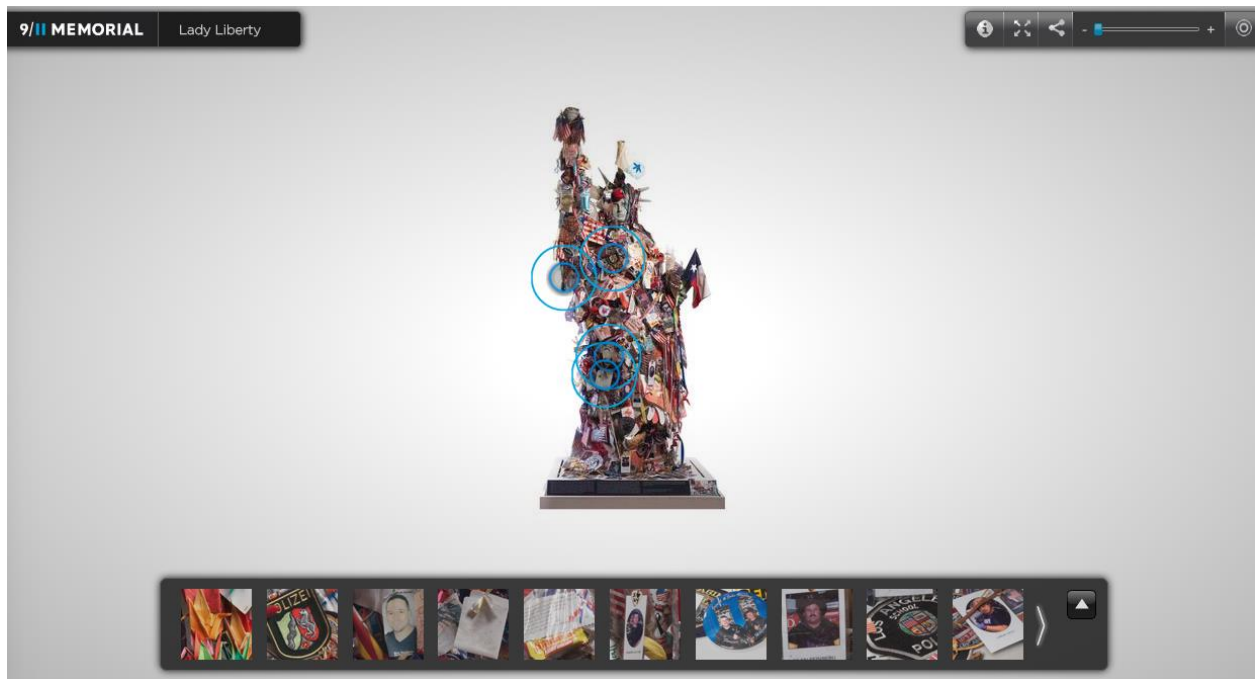


Figure 4, concerning interactive visualizations of objects preserved in 9/11 Museum (11 September Memorial/Museum, n.d.)

Overall, analysis has revealed that most frequently museums engage their online audiences through the learning spaces. Worth noting that American institutions lead in the implementation of new media technologies that encourage audiences to gain learning experiences. Indeed, they both create interactive educational projects and provide people with digitized objects from their collection. However, the type of museum impacts educational materials on its website. Therefore, while MoMA engages users with its large collection through personalised spaces that give an opportunity to explore objects more in-depth, 11 September Museum provides audiences with more interactive projects through which different artefacts from its collection can be examined. Museums from the UK provide a considerable lower amount of interactive educational materials, which can be explained by the fact that they are traditionally less open to different innovations. Finally, museums from Russia provide the lowest amount of engaging learning materials, which can be perceived as an outcome of their cultural context (traditionally Russian museums are less dependent on their audience and more – on the government). However, in some instances Hermitage stands in line with other Established museums. For instance, the museum has fully digitized its collection and engages users with it through various personalization tools. This indicates that Hermitage develops its offers in line

with those created by prominent international museums in order to meet the interests of global audience and thus expand. Turning to the emerging Garage, the fact that it almost doesn't provide its public with engaging learning materials can be explained the budget constraints.

Democratization of Knowledge

In order to begin, one should note that democratic nature of Web 2.0 challenges museums along with other cultural gatekeepers that traditionally hold authority in matters of knowledge. Indeed, in order to benefit from the virtual environment and attract online audiences museums have to democratize their communication and embrace many-to-many communicational models (Russo, 2011). Analysis has revealed that the majority of cultural institutions from the sample are reluctant to diminish their traditional power relations with the public on the Web. Accordingly, out of six museums from the sample only American institutions (MoMA and 11 September Museum) share to some extent the control over their collections with the audiences. This finding addresses numerous claims that institutions from the USA are more innovative on the Web (Toepler & Dewees, 2005; Kidd, 2011; Padila-Melendez & Aguila-Obra, 2013; Lopez et al., 2010). Dependence on their audience induces museums to innovate, attract wider groups of people and thus establish a democratic two-way communication. On the contrary, European institutions from the sample (that are less market-driven) still maintain traditional knowledge hierarchies on the Web.

Further, comparing the extent to which MoMA and 11 September Museum share the control over their collections with the public, it can be concluded that the latter institution is more democratic than the former. Indeed, while MoMA invites users to contribute to the museum knowledge just in one project, 9/11 Museum provides four special registries to each of which any user can contribute. This difference can be explained by the fact that emerging 11 September Museum is less traditional than MoMA, which has been holding its cultural authority for decades. Nonetheless, it should be stressed that democratization of the knowledge making in 9/11 Museum is quite controversial, therefore this topic is going to be discussed more in-depth in the next sub-section.

Turning to the actual examples, one should note that MoMA establishes a two-way communication with the audience through 'social tagging' tool, which invites users to collaborate with the museum and contribute to its knowledge. Precisely, after entering the page of this project a user sees different tags, each of which is connected to diverse paintings, sculptures, films and design objects from MoMa's collection of pop art. By clicking on a tag user gets an artwork along with the educational text on the screen. Further, user can add new tags and associate them with different art pieces (see Figure 5). Overall, PopArt project engages people with the museum and is a sign of MoMA's shift towards the participatory culture (Trant, 2007).

Importantly, on the PopArt's front page it is pointed out that the already assigned tags were created by the group of teenagers that collaborated with the museum. In this vein, two important notions should be considered. Firstly, since the basic tags have been created by non-experts, online users know that the information they see is not an synergy of museum and amateur expertise, but rather an engaging project that is launched on museum's grounds. Therefore, it can be hardly perceived as a threat to the quality of museum knowledge. Secondly, the fact that MoMA collaborated with teenagers signalizes that institution strives to engage the underrepresented group of attendees with the museum through modern technology. Researchers further point out that especially interactive technologies increase youth' interest in museum (Gofman et al., 2011). Summing up, even though PopArt provides online users with the opportunity to contribute to the expertise of MoMA's objects, this contribution cannot be perceived as a threat to museum's 'elite' knowledge since this project is autonomous from museum's expertise.

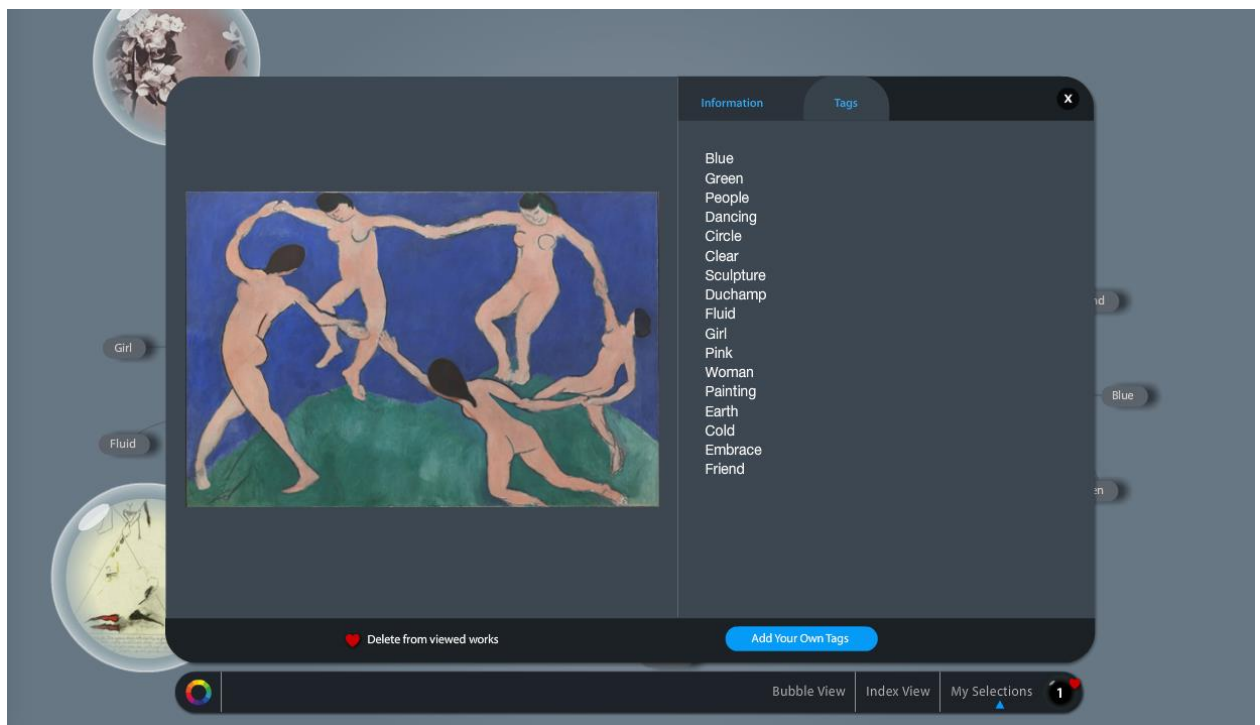


Figure 5, concerning a 'social tagging' tool on MoMA's website (MoMA, n.d.)

Moving to 9/11 Museum, it should be stressed that its online communication is more democratized than MoMa's since any online user can actually contribute to a range of its projects and thus extend museum's knowledge (<http://www.911memorial.org/>). For instance, there are four different registries on the website, and museum invites the public to collaborate on each of them in order to create a more complete record of responses to 9/11 attacks. Accordingly, a Memorial Registry is a tribute to the global impact of this terroristic attack and tracks 9/11 Memorials all over the world. Users are appealed to search the world map for memorials, register a new memorial or add photos and comments to an existing memorial

profile. In turn, both Rescue & Recovery Workers Registry and the Witnesses & Survivors Registry invite the audience to provide information about either participants in the rescue and recovery or, respectively, about those who witnessed and survived the 9/11 attack. Finally, the Artists Registry is a virtual art gallery, which is created by the members of the artistic community to express their reaction on the event, and can be replenished by anybody with any type of the artwork (see Figure 6). Importantly, in order to upload any information to these registries online users should be logged in. Thus, 11 September Museum minimizes potential threats of user generated content (e.g. digital vandalism).

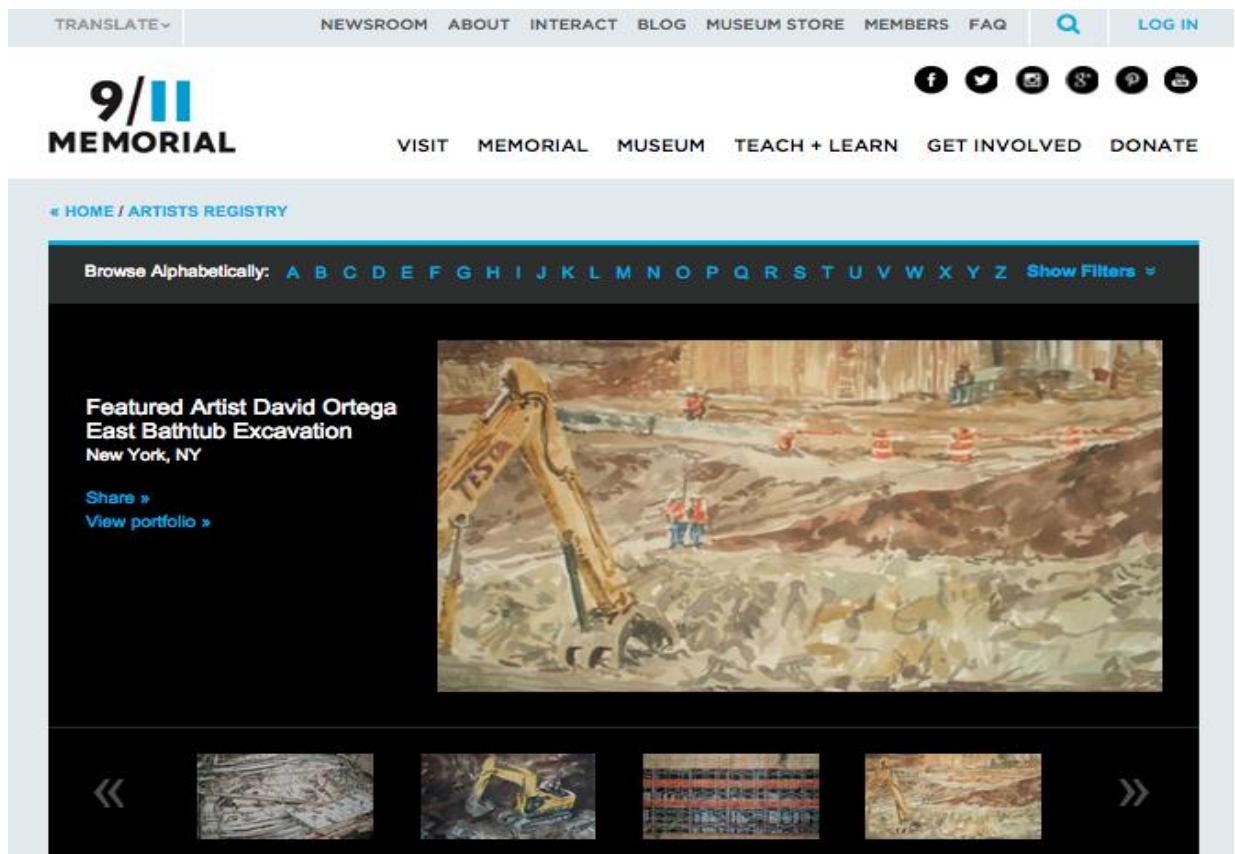


Figure 6, concerning Artists Registry on 9/11 Museum website (11 September Memorial/Museum, n.d.)

In order to conclude, one should note that the majority of museums still remain reluctant in democratizing their communication with the audiences and involvement of people to the knowledge creation. Accordingly, only American institutions shift towards the participatory nature of the Web, which can be explained by the impact of their cultural context. In addition, comparing the strategies of knowledge democratization implemented by institutions from the USA, it is important to point out that 9/11 Museum is more open to collaboration with its audiences on the contrary to MoMA. This difference can be explained by the fact that emerging 11 September Museum is less traditional in questions of knowledge hierarchy than its established counterpart.

In the previous sub-section it was stated that 9/11 Museum is the most democratized institution comparing to other museums from the sample since it encourages the online audience to collaborate in the construction of its knowledge. Indeed, museum has established several online platforms through which users can replenish institution's information about the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Such democratic image of the institution implies that 9/11 Museum serves different groups of the society and thus successfully copes with the challenges of being neutral (Coffee, 2008). However, the analysis of museum's content from the perspective of alternative interpretations of 9/11 attacks shows that 11 September Museum actually excludes all the perceptions of the tragic event that differ from the official one. Hence, it can be stated that 9/11 Museum advocates an official interpretation of the 9/11 terrorist attacks and, therefore, acts as an engine of certain ideology (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1969).

Before delving into the advocative practices conducted by the museum, the 9/11 discourse should be considered. The official version of the event is as follows: four passenger planes hijacked by terrorists crashed into the Pentagon (Washington) and Twin Towers of the World Trade Center (New York) on 11 September, 2001. The fourth plane fell on a field in Pennsylvania (Konig, 2012). Furthermore, official reports state that the Twin Towers collapsed because of the planes that hit them and the fire caused by this. Nonetheless, the alternative interpretation of this event emerged immediately after the attack. The numerous proponents of it (that later comprised the 9/11 Truth Movement) argued that the Bush administration is responsible of the attacks. Admittedly, the media and government officials stigmatized these claims as 'conspiracy theories'. However, Konig (2012) states that the term 'conspiracy theory' is contradictory in this context since the prevailing amount of arguments articulated by the members of 9/11 Truth Movement are grounded on science and rationalized.

Turning to the analysis of the online content published by the 9/11 Museum it is firstly important to note that exclusionary policies held in the museum can be revealed through the consideration of presence or absence of specific interpretations in institution's statements along with objects it chooses to collect (Coffee, 2008). In this vein, analysis has revealed that 11 September Museum excludes alternative to the official perspectives on 9/11 attack. Further, even though institution encourages audiences to replenish the knowledge about the events occurred on 9/11, the online platforms through which people can contribute are designed in a way that users cannot provide alternative thoughts on why the event happened and who caused it. The following text elaborates on these two arguments.

Firstly, the analysis of educational content and primary sources provided by the museum shows that institution is involved in the advocacy of the official perspective on 9/11 attacks.

Indeed, museum supplements lesson plans and teaching guides by special video interviews where scholars and experts discuss the 9/11 event from the official perspective. For instance, four webcasts that consist of numerous video interviews explore terrorists' motivations, their beliefs and culture, actions taken by U.S. militaries during the attack etc, however, none of the webcasts provides an overview of alternative perceptions of the 9/11 event. Similarly, the section with primary resources offers numerous documents that support only official version of the events that occurred on 11 September, 2001. Among these documents are: Osama Bin Laden's Declaration of Jihad Against Americans, President George W. Bush's Address to Congress and the Nation on Terrorism, Remarks by President George W. Bush on U.S. Military Strikes in Afghanistan, Military Order of November 13, 2001 etc. Given the fact that alternative interpretation of the 9/11 attacks is not only popular in the society (26 percent of respondents of the representative study claim that US government orchestrated this tragic event (Angus Reid, 2010 as cited in Konig, 2012)), but is also supported by the range of institutions that are believed to be experts in this field (e.g. Architects & Engineers for 9/11 Truth etc) (Konig, 2012) one can imply that museum intentionally excludes alternative discourse.

Secondly, registries through which users are encouraged to contribute the museum knowledge allow only certain type of information. For instance, online users can register a new 9/11 memorial to the Memorial Registry, provide information about participants in the rescue and recovery or about those who witnessed and survived the 9/11 attack (Rescue & Recovery Workers and the Witnesses & Survivors Registries), and upload their artworks devoted to the 9/11 event. Worth mentioning that museum has also established a quality control of the uploaded content since contributors should be logged in to the website. Accordingly, institution's web platforms provide users with the opportunity to extend museum knowledge about the event in terms of how it was happening, but not why it actually happened and who caused it. Considering the claim that objects museum chooses to collect indicate whether it conducts advocative policies or not (Coffee, 2008), the fact that 9/11 Museum's web spaces collect only information that goes in line with the official account of the tragedy shows that museum advocates a generally accepted perspective on 9/11.

These findings show that 11 September Museum is not neutral in covering 9/11 terrorist attacks. Further, such observations extend the traditional perception of museums as engines of ideology (Bourdieu and Darbel, 1969) that serve core-groups of the society and promote dominant values (Kawashima, 2006; Sandell, 2007). Finally, it should be stressed that museum has adapted to the democratic nature of the Web 2.0 only partially: even though it encourages online users to contribute to its knowledge about 9/11 attacks, it excludes certain perspectives spread in the society, which contradicts the idea of democratic knowledge creation.

As it was previously mentioned in the literature review, nowadays cultural institutions are seeking the ways to democratize themselves through strategies of inclusion. Moreover, today the quality of museum is measured through the level of its inclusivity. Hence, it is not surprising that all the museums from the sample aim to become more inclusive on the Web. However, the extent to which they implement strategies of inclusion varies. In addition, analysis revealed that some institutions establish exclusionary practices as well. The following text describes and compares the main findings that shed light on inclusionary and exclusionary practices conducted by different museums from the sample.

Starting with the group of Established institutions, one should note that MoMa and British Museum embrace more tools for inclusion on the contrary to the Hermitage. Indeed, while the former museums provide children, teachers, teenagers and disabled people with special tools, Hermitage limits its inclusionary practices by establishing special services for teachers and disabled. Worth noting that in the USA and UK museums are more market-oriented than in Russia, therefore they are induced to spend more resources on strategies of audience development. Hence, it can be considered that Hermitage's strategy of audience development is weaker than strategies of its counterparts from the UK and USA due to the impact of cultural context in which this museum operates.

In order to begin, one should mention that both MoMA and British Museum have designed interactive games for children. For instance, British Museum engages kids through the online project Young Explorers. This platform provides children with educational videos about the objects preserved in the museum as well as with various interactive online games. One of these games, Time Explorer, helps kids to explore ancient cultures and rescue objects from the collection. In turn, MoMA spends more resources on providing teenagers with special services: museum has established a podcast, a website Red Studio and a blog especially for teens. In addition, besides MoMA's main pages on social media, museum has separate profiles dedicated to teens (MoMATEen) on Facebook, Twitter, Flickr, MySpace and YouTube. Importantly, MoMA's teenage online platforms are created in collaboration with young people. By cooperating with them museum achieves two goals: it unveils interests of this part of the audience and thus conducts an audience research, which is an essential marketing technique in the museum industry (Kotler & Kotler, 2000); and engages the underrepresented group of young people, which is tremendously important today since museums' demographic is getting older (Gofman et al., 2011). In addition, both museums offer downloadable educational materials specially created for teachers. Finally, institutions' websites have special podcasts designed for the group of disabled people.

However, analysis has also revealed that MoMA excludes certain groups of audience from using its mobile applications. Indeed, numerous apps created by MoMA can be reached solely from iOS platforms. Accordingly, institution has created five mobile apps, each of which is designed for different purposes. For instance, The MoMA iPhone App provides users with educational videos about objects from the collection, as well as general information for those planning the physical visit to the museum (events calendar, museum map etc); Art Lab iPad App offers users to create their own artworks and share them with others; Ab Ex NY iPad App is devoted to MoMA's exhibition 'Abstract Expressionist New York' and explores objects from the display as well as educates about the NYC's artists; MoMA Books for the iPad provides users with the platform through which they can read MoMA's books; and finally MoMA Audio has various audio programs about the collection created specially for adults, kids, teens, and visually impaired visitors. Nonetheless, all these services cannot be accessed through alternative to iOS platforms.

Importantly, the main alternative to the iOS mobile platform is Android ('US Smartphone OS', 2013). Comparing the user demographics of these two platforms, one should note that well educated, wealthy people prefer iOS to Android. Indeed, 38 percent of iPhone users comparing to 29 percent of Android users have college education or higher. However, the users base of Android is younger (43 percent of users in the age category 18 - 24 own Android phones, while 31 percent - iPhones). In this vein, two notions have to be considered. Firstly, the fact that museum provides mobile services on the platforms that are more popular with well-educated and wealthy people implies that MoMA technologically excludes certain groups of audience from participation in its activities. Accordingly, both Coffee (2008) and Sandell (2007) state that selective targeting of audiences is among the indicators of group stratification in the museum. Moreover, this finding reinforces the statements that museums serve the core group of the society (Kawashima, 2006). In other words, by giving the privilege to wealthy and educated people in using its mobile services MoMA acts as an exclusionary institution. Secondly, the fact that museum omits the most popular among the youth mobile platform (Android) and simultaneously spends a considerable amount of resources to capture younger audiences (as it was mentioned above) illustrates contradictions in its strategy of audience development.

Moving to the group of Emerging institutions, one should note that Museum's of Liverpool strategy of audience development is the most diversified out of all institutions from the sample. In turn, 11 September Museum provides with special materials only two groups within its audience: families with children and teachers. This can be explained by the fact that 9/11 Museum is more global-oriented than other emerging institutions. Finally, Russian Garage provides with special online services only the group of disabled people. Presumably, budget constraints prevent this emerging institution from conducting strategies of online inclusion.

Admittedly, out of all museums from the sample Museum of Liverpool conducts the most diversified strategy of audience engagement and social inclusion. Indeed, institution tries to cover the highest number of different groups: children, teachers, researchers and the disabled. This can be explained by the fact that reinforcement of community ties, which is achieved by targeting different groups within the general public (Kotler & Kotler, 2000), is museum's priority on the contrary to other institutions that target international audiences. Importantly, museum's strategy of social inclusion of the disabled people is the most advanced comparing to similar strategies conducted by other institutions from the sample.

Accordingly, in order to engage children Museum of Liverpool has designed an online game 'Make a Merseyfriend' that invites a kid to create a friend for a digital bird. Teachers and researchers are provided with specific study and research materials that can be downloaded in a PDF format. In addition, Museum of Liverpool also conducts a strategy of audience development that aims to attract new groups of audience. Indeed, museum designs solely interactive projects that entertain users rather than educate (which is unique comparing to other institutions from the sample). For instance, a Time Capsule test proposes users to choose seven objects that they want to put in their time capsule and then find out what does this selection tell about their character (see Figure 7). Worth mentioning that results of these online activities can be shared on social media, which implies that the museum aims to generate a viral content and thus to promote itself and attract new audiences. By incorporating elements of popular culture in its online communication (e.g. viral content) Museum of Liverpool repositions itself from the educational institution into an entertainment provider.

In addition, worth noting that Museum's of Liverpool website conducts the most advanced strategy of social inclusion of the disabled people comparing to strategies conducted by other institutions from the sample. Indeed, museum publishes transcripts of all its video materials, which helps deaf users to use institution's media content. In this vein, it also provides deaf users with a signed in British Sign Language video overview that informs about how to get to the museum as well as about its facilities. Additionally, Museum of Liverpool cooperated with other cultural institutions while developing an award-winning application My House of Memories that is designed to help people with dementia to explore objects from the past. These findings imply that Museum of Liverpool devotes a significant amount of attention and resources to inclusion of the disabled people. Importantly, Museum of Liverpool's strategy that aims to provide disabled people with accessible online information is unique among the strategies conducted by other institutions from the sample. Indeed, the other museums' websites do not go beyond providing the disabled with special museum guides.



Figure 7, concerning entertaining projects on Museum's of Liverpool website (Museum of Liverpool, n.d.)

Importantly, researchers state that today the issue of online accessibility of the content is still problematic in the museum realm (Walters, 2009; Constantine, 2007). Therefore, the fact that the majority of studied museums provide a very low amount of online services designed for the disabled reinforces these claims. Further, it is argued that both the cultural context and institution's size impact the level of accessibility of museums' online content (Constantine, 2007). Therefore, the current study simultaneously extends this argument and contradicts it. Indeed, the claims that cultural policy conducted in the UK encourages museums to extensively implement practices that make online content accessible goes in line with the findings of this thesis since museum from the UK is the most successful in meeting the needs of the disabled people online. However, the arguments that smaller institutions are less successful in employing these special services are not supported by the current study. Accordingly, Museum of Liverpool is way more successful in making its online content accessible than its large counterpart British Museum.

Summing up, analysis has revealed that all museums from the sample aim to democratize themselves through strategies of inclusion and thus attract the underrepresented or new audience groups. However, the extent to which they implement strategies of inclusion varies and so do technologies through which museums aim to engage certain groups of users. Starting with the group of Established institutions, it is important to note that museums from the English-speaking countries (MoMa and British Museum) embrace more tools for inclusion and audience development on the contrary to the Russian Hermitage. This fact can be explained by the impact of museums' cultural context, which historically induces institutions from the USA and UK to be more market- and audience-oriented. Nonetheless, there is also an evidence that MoMA

technologically excludes certain groups of audience from using its mobile applications, which reinforces arguments that nowadays museums continue to act as exclusionary institutions.

Turning to the group of Emerging institutions, one should note that Museum's of Liverpool strategy of audience development is the most advanced comparing to strategies conducted by other institutions. This can be explained by the fact that smaller museum prioritizes reinforcement of community ties (which is achieved by serving different groups within the general public (Kotler&Kotler, 2000)) over targeting international audiences. Indeed, another emerging institution - 9/11 Museum - is more global-oriented. Finally, a weaker strategy of online audience development conducted by the third museum from the Emerging group - Russian Garage - can be explained by budget constraints. As a final point, Museum of Liverpool conducts the most advanced strategy of online social inclusion of the disabled people. This fact reinforces arguments that cultural context (precisely, British cultural policy) impacts the level of accessibility of museums' online content (Constantine, 2007). However, this finding also contradicts the claims that large institutions are more successful in adapting its online content to the needs of the disabled.

4.2 Facebook Practices

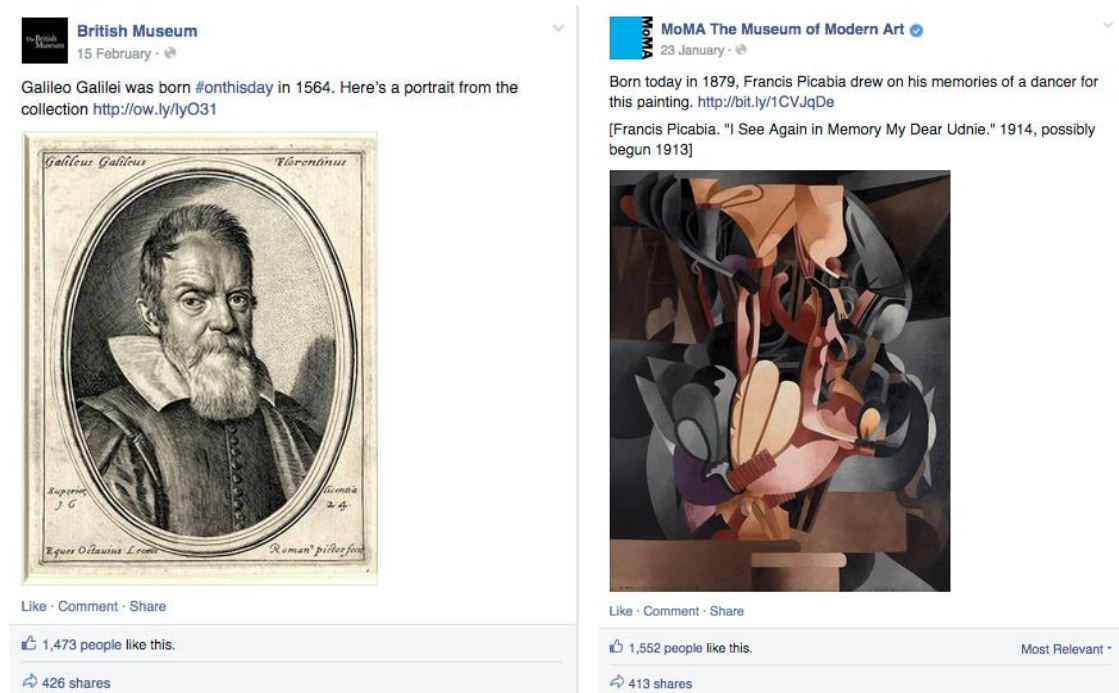
The main goal of the second stage of analysis was to reveal what type of Facebook content is effective across museum contexts (type of institution and its location). Therefore, thirty most visible posts (in terms of amount of 'likes') shared by each institution were analysed. Importantly, analysis revealed that despite some instances museums of the same type (Established or Emerging) conduct similar strategies on Facebook, thus the key findings were grouped in two respective sections. However, 11 September Museum/Memorial's Facebook strategy is unique comparing to those employed by other institutions from the sample. Therefore, the content shared by this museum is examined in a separate section. Overall, the text is structured as follows: Established institutions, 11 September Memorial/Museum, Emerging institutions.

Established institutions

Starting with the group of Established institutions, which consists of Hermitage (Russia), British Museum (UK) and Museum of Modern Art (USA), it is important to note that generally their strategies are designed in a similar way. Indeed, most frequently museums post educational content, diluting it with publications that promote upcoming events and exhibitions. Accordingly, the following text discusses key findings that shed light on the factors that make museums' Facebook content effective.

Enjoyable Education

Analysis revealed that the most frequently Established institutions publish posts that provide online audience with a mix of entertaining and educational information: a museum picks up a fact (historical event, birth of an artist etc) which is relevant on a specific date (for instance, due to an anniversary) and publishes it, adding pictures, interesting information or quotes. Importantly, these posts end up with links to museums' websites, where users can find more information about the topic and thus deepen their knowledge. Additionally, since a hyperlink to museum's website encourages users to explore the topic through institution's objects, these posts also promote rich collections preserved by MoMA, Hermitage and British Museum. One can conclude that these posts are simultaneously entertaining and educational: audience is attracted by the overlap of dates and learns about the artist, historical event, fact or museum collection (see Figures 8 and 9).



Figures 8 and 9, concerning the mix of entertaining and educational information in museums' posts (British Museum, 2015, February 15; MoMA, 2015, January 23)

It can be stated that by providing Facebook audiences with this multidimensional experience (education and entertainment) museums are adapting their offers to the main motivations of media usage: entertainment, learning and socialization (Gladysheva et al., 2013). Even though the central catalyst for media use is entertainment, in their online offers MoMA, Hermitage and British Museum emphasise on the knowledge derived from the collections. Indeed, knowledge is museums' main asset that provides them with a competitive advantage among other entertainment providers. Additionally, these posts meet the demand of the core

group within online museum audiences – those who are intrinsically motivated in their knowledge gaining (Lin et al., 2010). Worth noting that intrinsically motivated users want to have feelings of enjoyment and exploration while learning, on the contrary to extrinsically motivated users who show more goal-directed behaviour in studying.

Overall, by combining entertainment and learning in their Facebook materials MoMA, Hermitage and British Museum adjust their offers to the Web environment and satisfy the major group within their online audience. Further, the fact that this type of publications prevails in the sample of museums' most visible Facebook posts shows that the publics appreciate this approach towards content creation.

Equilibrium between local and global

Analysis revealed that MoMA, British Museum and Hermitage standardise their online communicational practices on Facebook. Indeed, as it was already mentioned, these institutions mainly share materials that combine education and entertainment along with promotional messages. Importantly, the former type of content is based on a simple and unified formula adopted by all three museums from the sample. Moreover, some of educational and entertaining posts published by Hermitage, MoMA and British Museum are not only structured in the same way, but also thematically coincide. For instance, on the same day both British Museum and Hermitage published a post that marked an anniversary of Renoir's birth. Also they attached art pieces created by this famous French painter from their collections.

This similarity in Facebook strategies implies that large established institutions around the world are standardising their social media practices. In turn, this standardisation can be explained by the influence of globalization on museum industry. Researchers approach this phenomenon from different angles: some claim that it diminishes museums' unique identities, while others stress the benefits it brings to large institutions in spreading their values on a global scale (Günther et al., 2005). Hence, unification of social media practices observed in big international institutions such as MoMA, British Museum and Hermitage can be considered as a part of their strategy of cultural expansion and general adaptation to a globalized world.

In addition, it is important to note that Hermitage translates its Facebook posts from Russian to English, with the exception of some publications that can be interesting solely for Russian audience (e.g. museum's price policy for Russian citizens). This fact proves that Hermitage targets a global audience on Facebook. Moreover, this effort is benefited: analysis of comments shows that people from different countries are interested in the content shared by the Hermitage.

The current debate around the issue of globalisation lies in notion whether this complex

phenomenon brings heterogenisation or homogenisation of markets (Liu et al., 2014; Young, 2000; Robertson, 2012). The analysis revealed that large institutions, which are influenced by globalization, participate in rather heterogenising processes. Indeed, established museums from the sample incorporate local to their globalised practices and thus employ strategies of glocalization (Robertson, 2012). For instance, entertaining and educational content published by MoMA, British Museum and Hermitage covers both national and international topics with the emphasis on the former. Hermitage's thematic preferences can be considered as an illustration of this tendency: museum publishes posts dedicated to famous artists such as Michelangelo or Vincent Van Gogh along with posts about unknown for an international public russian architect Andrei Stakensneider. Another example of this trend is Hermitage's promotion of the exhibition 'Alexander, Napoleon & Joséphine, a Story of Friendship, War and Art from the Hermitage' that was displayed in one of museum's centers in Amsterdam. In order to distinguish itself from other European institutions Hermitage adds to its international project that is dedicated to Napoleon Russian art and history (by exhibiting objects that tell about emperor Alexander and Russia in general).

Such a mix of national and international topics shows museums' answers to challenges posed by globalization: in order to protect their unique identity MoMA, British Museum and Hermitage propose to their online audience not only international art, but also local, rooted in their national contexts. Worth mentioning that this moderate 'localness' in Facebook content posted by established institutions distinguishes them from each other. In addition, by sharing information about authentic objects preserved in their collections museums also attract international tourists, since authenticity is one of the main touristic attraction and central factor for successful consumption of cultural products (Ramkisson & Uysal, 2011).

Summing up, it can be stated that large institutions from the sample standardise their social media practices. However, this does not result in homogenisation since museums emphasise on their local peculiarities and thus employ strategies of glocalization. Therefore, one can conclude that museums from the sample have found equilibrium between local and global in their social media practices. In turn, this compromise makes their content effective because through globalised practices they provide wide international audience with authentic experiences that are important for successful art consumption.

Promotion: Blockbuster exhibitions

As it was already mentioned, the most effective content shared by Established institutions also contains a considerable amount of promotional messages. Worth noting out of three institutions MoMA is the most aggressive in advertising its offers. Firstly, it shares the highest

number of promotional posts. Secondly, whereas British Museum and Hermitage promote only exhibitions, MoMA also shares information about special offers. For instance, on Valentine's Day MoMA encourages people to buy a special after-hours tour: "Still need plans for Valentine's Day weekend? Wow them with a special after-hours tour" (MoMA, 2015, February, 14). On the contrary, other established institutions avoid this entrepreneurial tone in their posts. This difference can be explained by the fact that MoMA (as other American art institutions) is more business-oriented (Zimmer & Toepler, 1999) than British or Russian museums, and thus makes its financial goals explicit.

Interestingly, all three institutions advertise only exhibitions (or special offers connected to them) even though websites' analysis shows that each museum hosts a lot of events. Further, museums promote these exhibitions as big shows, or the so-called blockbusters, which are usually designed to meet popular tastes and contain famous art pieces or valuable historical objects (Young, 1999). Indeed, in a range of its Facebook posts MoMA promotes large exhibition dedicated to the well-known French painter Henri Matisse and points out that approximately 664.000 people have visited it. Accordingly, British Museum advertises the project devoted to ancient Greek art and cites authoritative newspaper *The Times*, which claims that it is 'the absolutely-must-see exhibition of the year'. Finally, Hermitage encourages people to attend the exhibition that displays works of another famous French painter Auguste Renoir and highlights that this project is part of institution's programme "Masterpieces from the World's Museums in Hermitage".

It is worth to mention that blockbuster exhibition is another sign of institutions' globalisation. Indeed, by hosting this type of projects large museums extend their influence (Young, 1999). Ritzer (2003) defines this type of museums' activity as globalization of something. In other words, MoMA, British Museum and Hermitage aim to grow their impact and profits by spreading a distinctive product, in this context – a worldwide-known classical art. Furthermore, the fact that museums constrain their promotional materials on Facebook by blockbuster exhibitions implies that they target international public (precisely tourists). Indeed, the chances that people who temporarily visit the city would attend educational lectures hosted in museum are lower than chances that they would show up at large exhibition that displays masterpieces.

The fact that these posts are among the most popular implies that information about large-scale cultural projects that meet tastes of general public raises the visibility of social media content. Alternatively, the popularity of content that promotes exhibitions may indicate public's general appreciation of museums' work. In other words, the online audience a priori endorses information about cultural projects that build a social value since museum brands are primarily value brands (Kierly & Halliday, 1999).

Inclusivity vs. Exclusivity

Even though Facebook strategies conducted by MoMA, British Museum and Hermitage generally coincide analysis revealed that in their most effective posts museums play roles of either inclusive or exclusive institutions. Indeed, while British Museum and Hermitage position themselves as traditionally exclusive organizations that shape public taste, MoMA acts as an inclusive institution.

Since American museum stands aside from its counterparts, the text firstly elaborates on MoMa's strategy of social inclusion on Facebook. As a point of departure, it should be stressed that notions of audience development and social inclusion overlap in the museum realm (Kawashima, 2006), therefore when cultural institution adjusts its offers to meet the tastes of under-represented audience groups it strives to become more inclusive. Similarly, as in a range of its Facebook publications MoMA aims to attract new groups of audience it can be concluded that museum conducts an online strategy of social inclusion. Worth mentioning that museum engages new publics through collaborations with entertainment providers and prominent news media.

Starting from collaboration with entertainment providers, one should note that out of five most liked posts published by MoMA three are dedicated to Cookie Monster's (a character from children's TV-show Sesame Street) visit to museum (see Figure 10). These publications describe muppet's adventures in the art institution: funny photos are combined with the text telling what Cookie Monster was eating and doing in MoMA. Museum also shares a video created by Mashable (one of the biggest aggregators of viral news), in which Cookie Monster tells about his art tour to New-York's museums. By cooperating with a TV-show and sharing viral videos MoMA profoundly democratizes its communication with the public and attracts new audience groups, precisely young people who are underrepresented among museums' public (Black, 2005 as cited in Gofman et al., 2011). Further, this import of popular culture into a refined world of established art institutions shows that MoMA partially repositions itself from educational institution into an entertainment provider. Importantly, even though MoMA slightly adjusts its online communication to the tastes of mass audience by posting pictures of Van Gogh's masterpiece with Cookie Monster, its core product – art and knowledge – is still clearly identifiable since popular character explores art objects preserved in the museum. This notion is relevant because it provides the museum with competitive advantage among other entertainment providers. In addition, MoMA also collaborated with media organizations. Museum posted an online tour through its exhibition "Matisse: The Cut-Outs" which was created by the New York Times. An interactive project about museum's event on the NYT's website also broadens

MoMA's reach and attracts new audiences. Overall, one can conclude that MoMA aims to capture broader public online by collaborating with other information and entertainment providers and thus become more inclusive.

On the contrary, both Hermitage and British Museum are more traditional in their Facebook communication. Indeed, institutions are playing the roles of superior exclusive organizations that shape public taste: they avoid popular culture, distance from collaborations with other organizations and publish more educational content. However, one should note that British Museum's tone is still more up-to-date: institution often shares light-hearted posts (see Figure 11) that democratize its communication. Furthermore, British Museum dedicates more publications to upcoming or current exhibitions and their promotion while Hermitage mainly shares educational and entertaining posts (that were discussed earlier). This difference between British Museum and Hermitage's online performance lies in notion that museums in UK are less dependent on the state than museums in Russia (Muzychuk, 2012) and thus are more open to changes. Therefore British Museum easier adopts informal language, which is more natural for social media communication.



Figure 10, concerning MoMA's collaboration with entertainment providers (MoMA, 2015, February 13)



Figure 11, concerning British Museum's light-hearted posts (British Museum, 2015, February 1)

In this vein, comparison of promotional materials shared by three institutions also shows that MoMA is more democratic and inclusive comparing to British Museum and Hermitage. For instance, as it was mentioned above MoMA attracts people to its exhibitions by incorporating popular culture into its online content and collaborating with entertainment providers. However, British Museum promotes its offers by citing The Times, another cultural gatekeeper, which states that new project 'Defining Beauty' is "the absolutely-must-see exhibition of the year" (British Museum, 2015). Hence, while MoMA bases its promotion on popular culture, British

Museum evokes other experts to attract audiences.

Summing up, analysis shows that MoMA conducts a more inclusive and democratised strategy of online communication than its counterparts from the UK and Russia. Indeed, the latter museums hold their exclusionary positions of cultural gatekeepers and institutions that refine public taste. This can be explained by the fact that American museums are historically more market-oriented and thus more dependent on their publics, therefore they need to attract more audience groups. Thus, it is not surprising that MoMA democratizes its communication and conducts a strategy of audience development or inclusion. On the contrary, museums from Britain and Russia are partially controlled by the state and hence compelled to emphasize their rather educational role. Consequently, both Hermitage and British Museum play more traditional exclusional roles that are reflected in their social media strategies.

11 September Memorial/Museum

As it was mentioned before social media strategy of 11 September Memorial/Museum (USA) differs from those conducted by other institutions from the sample, therefore this museum is discussed separately. Considering the tragic event that lays in the background of this institution it is not surprising that it engages online audience in an absolutely different way than other museums. The following text describes the key finding concerning the features of 11 September Museum's effective Facebook content.

Firstly, analysis has revealed that museum grounds part of its Facebook content on the emotions awoken by tragic event that occurred on 9/11. Indeed, most frequently 11 September Memorial/Museum shares posts that arouse sadness or encourage and strengthen the spirit (see Figure 12). For instance, sad posts are often composed from the memorial's photos and sorrowful quotes such as this one by Frederick Buechner: "For as long as you remember me, I am never entirely lost" (11 September Memorial/Museum, 2015). Similarly, posts that aim to encourage and strengthen the spirit use more positive but still sad quotes such as "In darkness we shine brightest" or Martin Luther King's "Darkness cannot drive out darkness; only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate; only love can do that" in combination with memorial's photo (11 September Memorial/Museum, 2015). Publications of this type draw attention and provoke powerful emotional responses. Indeed, various studies highlight that tragedy engages media audiences (Kyriakidou, 2015; Goldstein, 2009). While researchers name different motives for consumption of this type of information (from companionship through shared experience and justice motives to morbid fascination with tragedy) it is widely recognised that coverage of tragedy is among the factors that trigger audience engagement with the media. Therefore, it can be concluded that one of the factors that make 11 September Memorial/Museum's Facebook content effective is tragedy. Indeed, by using the tragic event that lies in its background museum

attracts and engages online audiences.

Secondly, worth noting that similarly to MoMA this American institution aims to become more inclusive. However, it conducts a different strategy for social inclusion: 11 September Museum broadens the public by latching its narratives into more popular and common narratives of New York (see Figure 13). Indeed, most frequently institution posts the following words: “The 9/11 Memorial & Museum are powerful reminders of our City’s resiliency and of our resolve to come back stronger” (11 September Memorial/Museum, 2015). In addition, museum regularly publishes spectacular photos of its facilities that look harmonious among New York’s skyscrapers. Both these words and photos embed the museum into the image of New York and turn it into one of the city’s symbols. Hence, by including itself into the commons, in this context – into the New York’s discourse, 11 September Museum/Memorial attracts broader audiences and thus becomes more inclusive.



Figure 12, concerning posts that arouse sadness (11 September Memorial/Museum, 2015, January 2)



Figure 13, concerning posts that latch museum’s narratives into New York’s narratives (11 September Memorial/Museum, 2015, March 1)

Finally, it is important to note that posts shared by this museum on Facebook are the most effective comparing to publications shared by other institutions from the sample. Indeed, each post published by 11 September Memorial/Museum gets on average 2.760 likes, which is the highest figure for all six museums from the sample. However, this museum is less active on Facebook than, for example, MoMA (e.g. on average MoMA publishes three posts per day while 11 September Museum just one). Further, even though it engages users through different publications, most often museum just shares photos of its building in combination with quotes. Hence, one can conclude that its content is so extremely popular with the online public rather because of the symbolic role the Museum plays in the society than because of the social media strategy it conducts. Indeed, a presence of this museum is already a statement, which can be characterised by these frequently posted words: “The 9/11 Memorial & Museum are powerful

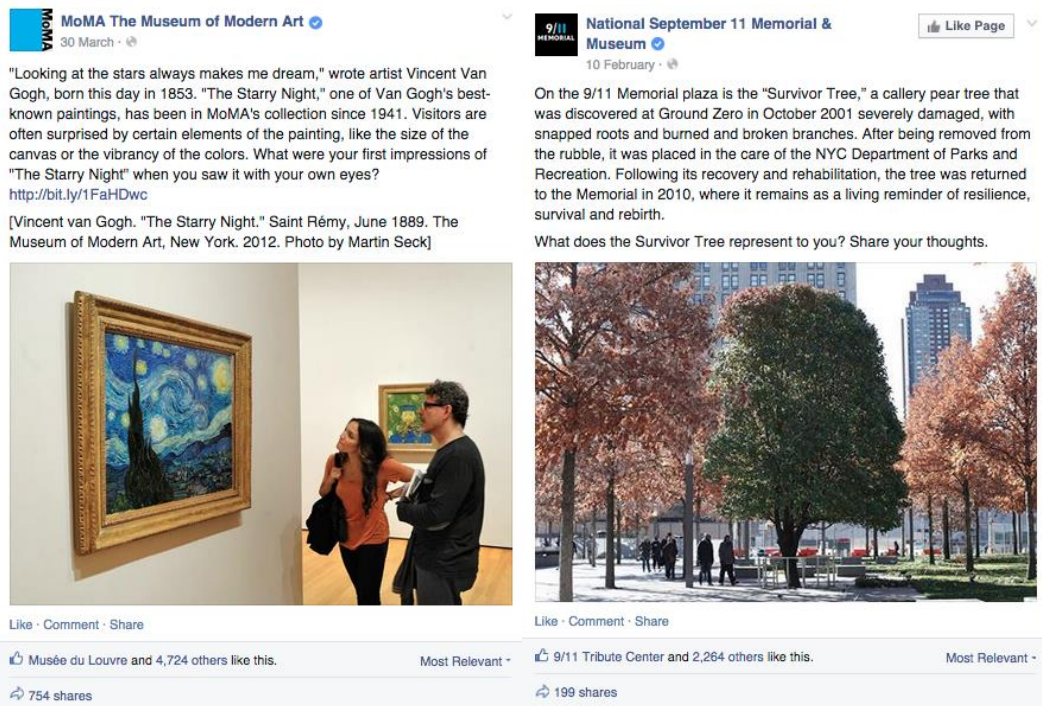
reminders of our City's resiliency and of our resolve to come back stronger" (11 September Memorial/Museum, 2015). Thus, as a value brand (Kierly & Halliday, 1999) 11 September Museum mainly repeats its statement, which is enough for the online audience since it needs this museum to simply exist in order to show society's reflection of a tragic and still painful event.

In order to sum up, one should note that Facebook strategy conducted by 11 September Memorial/Museum significantly varies from those employed by other institutions. Further, among the factors that make museum's content effective are tragedy as a means of attraction the audience and inclusion into New York's narratives. Importantly, due to the great symbolic role that museum plays in society's life it can be concluded that the public will endorse its online content a priori.

Creating a space for users' interaction

Researchers state that one of the keystones of an effective online strategy is interaction with the audience (Russo, 2008). However, out of all six museums from the sample only two institutions stimulated a dialogue under their posts: American MoMA and 11 September Memorial/Museum. Accordingly, MoMA posed a question to its online audience twice: firstly to ask users about their impressions from Van Gogh's 'Starry Night' (see Figure 14), and secondly to find out what is people's reaction to its last exhibition. Both posts were widely commented by users who shared their experiences about the exhibition and Van Gogh's masterpiece. Similarly to MoMA, 11 September Museum also posed two questions to the public: first time museum asked people to recall the colour of the sky on that September day and second time - to share their thoughts about the Survivor Tree (a pear tree that was found under the rubble, then recovered and returned to the Museum as a symbol of rebirth) (see Figure 15).

Correspondingly, online users also reacted on museum's questions by sharing their memories about 9/11 and explaining what does Survivor Tree symbolize to them. Interestingly, even though museums stimulated users to interact, there is a very little evidence that they actually communicated with the public. Thus, these posts cannot be considered as interaction between cultural institutions and their audiences since museums did not participate in the dialogue. Rather, these publications show that both American institutions are providing their audiences with the online space to socialize. Worth noting that socialization, which is one of the prominent motives to use media (Gladysheva et al., 2013), attracts Facebook public, while interaction between online users engages them and reinforces community ties. Therefore, it is not surprising that publications, which encourage users to share their experiences and communicate with each other, are among the most effective posts shared by American institutions.



Figures 14 and 15, concerning the questions MoMA and 9/11 Museum pose (MoMA, 2015, March 30; 11 September Memorial/Museum, 2015, February 10)

In addition, as it was mentioned before both museums also very rarely respond to users' comments. For instance, under its publication about the last exhibition MoMA posted a few comments in which it showed that the museum appreciates members of its community:

"I made the trip from Santa Fe not once, but twice, to see the Cut-Outs (*museum's exhibition*). The memories will shimmer in my mind until my last day" (Woolbright, 2015)

"Wow, Pam, we're so glad you made the repeat visits!" (MoMA, 2015)

By interacting with its public in this way museum not only democratizes its communication, but also reinforces MoMA's brand image. Moving to 11 September Museum's interaction one should note that it is quite different. Indeed, analysis revealed that under one of its posts museum responded to the comment by explaining the principles of its work:

"What do you do with all the tributes left at the memorial???" (Brewer, 2015)

"Non-perishable items are collected, reviewed, and kept as part of the Museum's permanent collection at the discretion of the Memorial Museum curatorial staff" (11 September Memorial/Museum, 2015)

In this way 11 September Museum not only participates in a two-way communication, but also makes its work more transparent. Overall, the fact that both MoMA and 11 September Museum interact with audiences shows that they democratize their communication. However, the evidence of this interaction is still quite low, therefore it is too early to conclude that museums establish a two-way communicational model on Facebook.

Turning to British and Russian institutions of both types, worth mentioning that they do not respond to users' comments and do not pose any questions at all. Even though these museums operate on Facebook, whose nature is inherently interactive, they still hold their authority and preserve traditional one-to-many communicational models. Assumingly, their cultural context is among the factors that make museums reluctant to use participatory media technologies at full strength. Indeed, both Russian and British institutions get funding from the state, therefore they are less open to innovations and adapt to the modern changes slower than their American counterparts who depend on the market situation and audiences.

Emerging institutions

Finally, the last two museums from the sample – Garage Museum (Russia) and National Museum of Liverpool (UK) – conduct similar strategies on Facebook, which is going to be discussed later. As a point of departure, worth mentioning that publications shared by these museums have the lowest online visibility: on average Russian Garage gets fifty three likes for a post, while Museum of Liverpool - thirty six. Moreover, Museum of Liverpool does not refresh its Facebook page regularly, therefore instead of analysing its most visible Facebook content this thesis analysed almost all posts shared by the museum for three months (thirty posts out of thirty nine). In turn, on average Garage shares two posts per day, however, these publications get a considerably low amount of 'likes', shares and comments. Therefore, the key findings discussed in the following text shed light on the way these institutions communicate on Facebook rather than on the factors that make this communication effective.

Promotion

Using Kidd's (2011) framework it can be stated that both Garage and Museum of Liverpool implement marketing strategies on Facebook since they mainly provide their audiences with basic information about upcoming events and exhibitions. Hence, the main similarity between Facebook strategies employed by both museums is their emphasis on promotion. Prevalence of advertising rhetoric in their Facebook publications is natural due to the fact that both institutions are new and thus need to create a solid audience base. In addition, Garage museum is a privately owned profitable institution, which makes its business orientation even more legitimate.

Importantly, on the contrary to the established museums Garage and Museum of Liverpool mainly promote events, which can be explained by the fact that their size and budget constrain them from hosting a wide range of different exhibitions. Moreover, both Garage and Museum of Liverpool are advertising their special offers and services on Facebook the most comparing to

other institutions from the sample. For instance, Garage announces that on St. Valentine's Day all couples can get two tickets for the price of one, while Museum of Liverpool proposes to its online audience to buy a museum membership in January and “enjoy an additional month of discounts and special member-only events - 13 months for the price of 12” (Museum of Liverpool, 2015). Further, Museum of Liverpool shares the highest number of posts dedicated to the promotion of its services. For example, it announces which food is going to be served on a Scouse Day in a museum or informs about new deliveries to the gift shop.

In addition, Garage dedicates a considerable amount of Facebook materials to its staff: to their birthdays, achievements or new curators. This content is popular with the audience because it personalizes the museum and thus makes it closer to the audience. Furthermore, by highlighting that project of their curators have been nominated for an award, or announcing that Georg Schöllhammer will become museum's International Advisor Garage promotes one of its most important assets – staff (Kotler, 2000).

Overall, the fact that museums mainly share announcements about their events and exhibitions along with information about their services explains why their Facebook content is the least effective comparing to the content of other institutions from the sample. Indeed, both Padilla-Melendez and Aguila-Obra (2013) and Kidd (2011) state that online web spaces that are used mainly for sharing promotional content are the least effective in terms of user engagement.

Education

Finally, both emerging institutions share educational materials. In the case of Garage Museum its online audience mainly gets educational videos about contemporary art shot during various lectures hosted in the museum. However, Museum of Liverpool usually posts blog entries with short description of the explored topic. For instance, on International Women's Day it shared a blogpost about Ethel Singleton, a member of Liverpool community who became involved in tenant activism during the 1960s and '70s. These blogposts mainly educate people about museum's collection, history of Liverpool or about local citizens.

In this vein, it is important to highlight the main difference between educational materials shared by emerging and established institutions. While the former publish either long lectures hosted in the museum or blog posts with learning materials, the latter engage audiences with a mix of educational and entertaining information. Indeed, large institutions realize that their online public is rather intrinsically motivated in its knowledge gaining, therefore learning materials have to be engaging.

Strategies of inclusion and reinforcement of community ties

Worth noting that both institutions conduct strategies of audience development and strive to reinforce their community ties. Firstly, out of all six institutions from the sample Museum of Liverpool and Garage are the only ones that promote events designed for special groups within their audiences (precisely for families with children). By sharing this type of content these emerging cultural institutions create an audience base and reinforce community ties (Kotler, 2000). Indeed, considering the fact that these institutions are smaller than their counterparts and do not operate globally it is natural that they strive to build a strong local community. Further, Garage's online communication indicates that it aims to become more inclusive. For instance, museum shares promotional materials targeted on the disabled people:

“We are deeply proud that the first tours for hearing-impaired visitors have already come to Garage! To join the upcoming April tours, please register in advance; find the schedule on our site” (Garage, 2015)

However, even though strategies conducted by Garage and Museum of Liverpool are similar in general, they both have their own distinguishable features. Starting with Garage, one should note that this emerging institution also targets international audience on Facebook: almost all posts are written in both Russian and English. Indeed, this museum is attractive for cultural tourists: in spite of being a small institution, it is one of the most visible centers of contemporary art in Moscow.

Meanwhile, Museum of Liverpool is focused on the local public. Since this theme is very prominent for the museum almost all its posts are covering the interest of local community. Indeed, when promoting services for children and teens, Museum points out that this offer is designed for local children:

“*Calling all Young Archaeologists in the local area!* We've got lots of fun activities planned this year for anyone aged 8-17 who wants to find out more about archaeology and what it can reveal about the past” (Museum of Liverpool, 2015)

Further, museum shares materials about the Liverpool and people who live there:

“There was a great programme on ITV on Friday night *about the Leeds & Liverpool canal*. John Sergeant who presented the programme *actually started his career in journalism at Liverpool Echo News*, and was amazed to see how the waterfront has changed since he lived here 50 years ago” (Museum of Liverpool, 2015)

Moreover, museum's collection is built on different local communities, which is reflected in its

online publications. For instance:

“Happy St Patrick_s Day! Our collections include lots of items celebrating Liverpool's Irish connections, such as this leaflet promoting a Gala Night for St Patrick's Day in 1939. *Find out more about Liverpool's Irish community* in our free trail” (Museum of Liverpool, 2015)

Finally, museum's exhibitions are dedicated to members of local community: for example, L8 Unseen is devoted to eight members of Liverpool community.

5. Conclusion

Overall, the findings of this study show that all six museums from the sample that differ in terms of their type (established versus emerging) and cultural context (Russian, American and British) democratize their online content to some extent and conduct strategies of user engagement. Furthermore, the findings of this thesis go in line with the academic literature that implies that museum's location (or cultural context) impacts institution's Web performance (Camarero et al., 2011; Vicente et al., 2012). Furthermore, the study extends these studies since it narrows down the focus on the innovation in audience reach (e.g. participatory technologies) and explores the ways it is used by different museums, while both researches conducted by Camarero et al. (2011) and Vicente et al. (2012) approach the question of innovation in museums in general. Furthermore, these studies are western-centric since they ignore museums from developing countries. Thus, this thesis fills the gap in knowledge concerning the question of online communication established by Russian museums.

Accordingly, American museums (MoMA and 11 September Museum) are the most successful in terms of online value creation (Vicente et al., 2012; Toepler & Dewees, 2005; Padila-Melendez & Aguila-Obra, 2013) comparing to their counterparts from other countries. Further, museums based in the UK (British Museum and Museum of Liverpool) have a medium level of online value creation, which also supports existing academic studies (Vicente et al., 2012; Padila-Melendez & Aguila-Obra, 2013). Finally, both Russian museums (Hermitage and Garage) conduct the weakest strategies of user engagement online. This can be explained by the fact that traditionally Russian institutions are more dependent on the state and thus are less business-oriented than museums from English-speaking countries. Therefore, institutions from Russia do not spend as much resources on the strategies of online user engagement.

However, the current study contradicts Camarero et al.'s (2011) claims that the bigger cultural organization is, the more resources it spends on new technologies and thus the more effective it is in terms of strategies of online user engagement. Indeed, the results of the study show that emerging institutions in the USA and UK are more successful in some aspects of online user engagement. Nonetheless, Camarero et al.'s (2011) findings are applicable to the Russian museums: large Hermitage is more advanced in terms of online user engagement than its smaller counterpart Garage.

Delving into the question of how actually different museums democratize their online communication and what are the convergencies and divergencies of their strategies of online user engagement, it should be stressed that practices of museums from English-speaking countries generally coincide, whereas Russian institutions stand aside. Admittedly, analysis has revealed that most frequently museums engage their online audiences through the learning

spaces, which corresponds to the arguments that education is museum's core mission (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). Worth noting that American institutions lead in the development of interactive projects that encourage audiences to gain learning experiences. Respectively, museums from the UK provide a considerable lower amount of such content, while museums from Russia do not engage users with interactive educational projects at all. However, the fact that Hermitage, similarly to other large institutions from the sample, engages online users with its digitized collection implies that Russian museum develops some of its offers in line with those created by prominent international museums in order to meet the interests of global audience and thus expand. Importantly, almost all museums from the sample (excluding Garage) adapt their online spaces for the users with intrinsic motives in their knowledge gaining and thus raise the engaging potential of their websites (Lin et al., 2010).

Further, this study contributes to the debates around museums' adaptation to the democratic nature of Web 2.0. Indeed, analysis has revealed that the majority of museums still remain reluctant in embracing many-to-many communicational models. Accordingly, only American institutions shift towards the participatory nature of the Web 2.0, which can be explained by the impact of their cultural context. Indeed, environment in which they operate induces them to innovate and attract wider groups of people, while less market-driven European institutions transfer traditional power relations with their publics to the Web. Additionally, 9/11 Museum is more open to collaborations with its audiences on the contrary to MoMA, which can be explained by the fact that emerging institution is less conservative in questions of knowledge hierarchy. However, the findings also show that 11 September Museum has adapted to the democratic nature of the Web 2.0 only partially: even though it encourages online users to contribute to its knowledge about 9/11 attacks, it excludes certain perspectives spread in the society, which contradicts the idea of democratic knowledge creation. This observation extends the traditional perception of museums as engines of ideology (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1969).

Nevertheless, worth mentioning that all museums from the sample democratize themselves by establishing strategies of inclusion. However, the extent to which they implement these strategies varies and so do technologies through which museums engage certain groups of users. Correspondingly, museums from the English-speaking countries embrace more tools for inclusion and audience development than Russian institutions. This fact can be explained by the impact of museums' cultural context, which historically induces institutions from the USA and UK to be more market- and audience-oriented. Nonetheless, analysis also shows that MoMA technologically excludes certain groups of audience from using its mobile applications, which again reinforces Bourdieu and Darbel's (1969) arguments that museums act as exclusionary institutions. Interestingly, Museum's of Liverpool strategy of audience development is the most advanced comparing to strategies conducted by other institutions from the sample. This can be

explained by the fact that smaller museum prioritizes reinforcement of community ties over targeting international audiences. Worth mentioning that Museum's of Liverpool strategy of online social inclusion of the disabled people is unique comparing to strategies employed by other museums from the sample. This fact reinforces arguments that cultural context (precisely, British cultural policy) impacts the level of accessibility of museums' online content (Constantine, 2007). However, this finding also contradicts the claims that large institutions are more successful in adapting their online content to the needs of the disabled.

Moving to the second stage of analysis, precisely to the factors that make museums' user engagement strategies effective on social media, the main finding implies that generally institution's type impacts its communication on Facebook. Indeed, institutions of one type conduct similar communicational strategies on Facebook. Therefore, starting with the group of Established institutions, one should note that the factors that make their content effective are as follows: mix of educational and entertaining information, promotion of blockbuster exhibitions, equilibrium between local and global topics and inclusionary practices. Accordingly, the first factor corresponds to the notion that the group of intrinsically motivated in their knowledge gaining users is prevalent in the museums' Facebook audience (Lin et al., 2010). Meanwhile, the next factor shows that information about large-scale cultural projects that meet tastes of general public raises the visibility of museums' social media content. Further, the third factor indicates that even though large institutions standardise their social media practices, their content is still diversified due to the strategies of glocalization and effective because it provides wide international audience with authentic experiences. Finally, the most successful (in terms of likes) factor of inclusivity is employed only by MoMA since British Museum and Hermitage hold their exclusionary positions of cultural gatekeepers on Facebook. Interestingly, MoMA conducts strategy of inclusion by incorporating elements of popular culture to the refined world of high art.

Turning to the Emerging institutions, it is important to note that social media strategy of 11 September Museum (USA) extremely differs from those conducted by other institutions from the sample. Indeed, among the factors that make museum's content effective are tragedy as a means of attraction and inclusion into New York's narratives. Importantly, due to the great symbolic role that museum plays in society's life it is concluded that the public endorses museum's online content a priori. One should also note that both 9/11 Museum and MoMA are providing their audiences with the online spaces to socialize. Overall, the fact that both American institutions interact with audiences on Facebook shows that they democratize their communication the most comparing to other institutions from the sample. However, the evidence of this interaction is still quite low, therefore it is too early to conclude that museums establish a two-way communicational model on Facebook. Finally, publications shared by other emerging

institutions (Museum of Liverpool and Garage) have the lowest online visibility, which can be explained by the fact that they mainly share promotional messages on Facebook.

Finally, the limitations of the current research should be discussed. Firstly, the results of this study are obtained via qualitative content analysis, which can negatively impact objectivity of data interpretation. Even though this aspect was considered during the process of data analysis, the amount of given time did not allow the collaboration with other researchers to reassure in the objectivity of data interpretation. Secondly, even though the goal of this qualitative study is not in drawing a representative picture of museums' online performance in each country, the amount of cultural institutions in the sample could have been higher. Similarly, the data collected from museums' Facebook profiles could have been more extensive. Indeed, bigger amount of data would provide a wider overview of the topic. However, this was not feasible due to the amount of time given to complete the thesis. Finally, even though qualitative content analysis helps to reveal the underlying patterns, it can result in oversimplification of data analysis. In addition, several implications for future research have aroused. Accordingly, as it was already mentioned, the higher amount of museums should be examined in order to get more conclusive findings on the ways cultural institutions are democratizing themselves based on their type and location. Along with that, online promotion and strategies of user engagement conducted by museums based in other developing countries should also be studied in order to fill the existing gap in academic literature.

References

7.1 Books and articles

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1007565515785>

7.2 Websites' Screenshots

Figure 1 – MoMA. (n.d.). [Screenshot of MoMA's website]. Retrieved on June, 2015 from <http://www.moma.org/interactives/objectphoto/#connections?dateBegin=1900&dateEnd=1950&artist=3569>

Figure 2 - 11 September Memorial/Museum. (n.d.). [Screenshot of 11 September Memorial/Museum's website]. Retrieved on June 2, 2015 from <http://veterans.911memorial.org/>

Figure 3 - Museum of Liverpool. (n.d.). [Screenshot of Museum's of Liverpool website]. Retrieved on June, 2015 from <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/mol/visit/galleries/peoples/accent/>

Figure 4 - 11 September Memorial/Museum. (n.d.). [Screenshot of 11 September Memorial/Museum's website]. Retrieved on June 2, 2015 from <http://ladyliberty.911memorial.org/#/Explore>

Figure 5 – MoMA. (n.d.). [Screenshot of MoMA's website]. Retrieved on June, 2015 from <http://www.moma.org/interactives/redstudio/popart/flash/>

Figure 6 - 11 September Memorial/Museum. (n.d.). [Screenshot of 11 September Memorial/Museum's website]. Retrieved on June 2, 2015 from <http://www.911memorial.org/registry/>

Figure 7 - Museum of Liverpool. (n.d.). [Screenshot of Museum's of Liverpool website]. Retrieved on June, 2015 from <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/mol/visit/galleries/history/time-capsule/>

7.3 Facebook Screenshots

Figure 8 - British Museum. (2015, February 15). [Screenshot of Facebook status update]. Retrieved on June 2, 2015 from <https://www.facebook.com/72228529722/posts/10153055096774723>

Figure 9 - MoMA. (2015, January 23). [Screenshot of Facebook status update]. Retrieved on June 2, 2015 from <https://www.facebook.com/24547752280/posts/10153792358662281>

Figure 10 - MoMA (2015, February 13). [Screenshot of Facebook status update]. Retrieved on June 2, 2015 from <https://www.facebook.com/24547752280/posts/10153844095392281>

Figure 11 - British Museum. (2015, February 1). [Screenshot of Facebook status update]. Retrieved on June 2, 2015 from <https://www.facebook.com/72228529722/posts/10153025143889723>

Figure 12 - 11 September Memorial/Museum. (2015, January 2). [Screenshot of Facebook status update]. Retrieved on June 2, 2015 from <https://www.facebook.com/109812364025/posts/10153028912149026>

Figure 13 - 11 September Memorial/Museum. (2015, March 1). [Screenshot of Facebook status update]. Retrieved on June 2, 2015 from <https://www.facebook.com/109812364025/posts/10153177726889026>

Figure 14 - MoMA. (2015, March 30). [Screenshot of Facebook status update]. Retrieved on June 2, 2015 from <https://www.facebook.com/24547752280/posts/10153966628922281>

Figure 15 - 11 September Memorial/Museum. (2015, February 10). [Screenshot of Facebook status update]. Retrieved on June 2, 2015 from <https://www.facebook.com/109812364025/posts/10153135284069026>

7.4 Facebook status updates & Comments

British Museum. (2015, March 26). “The absolutely-must-see exhibition of the year” - The Times. #DefiningBeauty is now open! [Facebook status update]. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/72228529722/posts/10153148177914723>

Garage. (2015, March 24). We are deeply proud that the first tours for hearing-impaired visitors have already come of at Garage! To join the upcoming April tours please register in advance; find the schedule on our site [Facebook status update]. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/garagemca?fref=ts>

MoMA. (2015, February 14). Still need plans for Valentine’s Day weekend? Wow them with a special after-hours tour [Facebook status update]. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/24547752280/posts/10153848942052281>

Museum of Liverpool. (2015, January 6). Become a National Museums Liverpool Member in January and enjoy an additional month of discounts and special member-only events - 13 months for the price of 12! [Facebook status update]. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/135169335951/posts/10152515267065952>

Museum of Liverpool. (2015, January 26). Calling all Young Archaeologists in the local area! We’ve got lots of fun activities planned this year for anyone aged 8-17 who wants to find out more about archaeology and what it can reveal about the past. Full details are on the blog [Facebook status update]. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/135169335951/posts/10152550457670952>

Museum of Liverpool. (2015, February 16). There was a great programme on ITV on Friday night about the Leeds & Liverpool canal. John Sergeant who presented the programme actually started his career in journalism at Liverpool Echo News, and was amazed to see how the waterfront has changed since he lived here 50 years ago. See if you can spot the Museum of Liverpool and Merseyside Maritime Museum! [Facebook status update]. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/135169335951/posts/10152587783350952>

Museum of Liverpool. (2015, March 17). Happy St Patrick’s Day! Our collections include lots of items celebrating Liverpool’s Irish connections such as this leaflet promoting a Gala Night for St Patrick’s Day in 1939. Find out more about Liverpool’s Irish community in

- our free trail, which you can pick up from the welcome desk [Facebook status update]. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/135169335951/posts/10152643340985952>
- 11 September Memorial/Museum. (2015, January 19). "Darkness cannot drive out darkness; only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate; only love can do that" - Martin Luther King Jr [Facebook status update]. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/109812364025/posts/10153084342619026>
- 11 September Memorial/Museum. (2015, March 2). "For as long as you remember me, I am never entirely lost" - Author Frederick Buechner [Facebook status update]. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/109812364025/posts/10153181033564026>
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Appendix A

- **Museums Websites**

Category: Interactive education

Codes:

- Interactive educational project:
- Multisensory:4
- Fun: 1
- Storyline: 4
- Digitized collection: 3
- Personal collection: 2
- Personalized services: 2
- Educational video: 5
- Digitized objects: 1
- Interactive digitized objects: 3

Category: Democratization of Knowledge

- Collaboration with the audience: 5
- Quality control: 1

Category: 9/11 Museum: Excluding alternative interpretations

- official perspective: 20
- alternative perspective: 0

Category: Inclusinary practices:

- Children: 4
- Teachers: 5
- Teenagers: 1
- Disabled: 6
- Researchers: 3
- Accessible online content: 4
- Entertainment (pop culture): 3

Category: Exclusionary practices:

- Only iOS: 1
- Only Android: 0

Appendix B

- **Facebook practices**

Category: Education

Codes:

- entertaining/educational (national/ international): 50
- lectures:2
- blogposts:10

Category: Equilibrium between local and global

- entertaining/educational (national): 30
- entertaining/educational (international): 20

Category: Promotion

- event:30
- exhibition: 37
- service:8
- staff: 3
- special offer: 4

Category: Inclusion/Audience development

- collaboration / pop art:4
- collaboration / news media:1
- joke:4
- narratives of the city: 19

Category: Exclusivity

- another gatekeeper:1

Category: Emotions

- sad/tragic: 14
- encouraging the spirit:8

Category: Creating a space for users' interaction

- question to the audience: 4
- dialogue: 2

Category: Serving different groups within the community

- disabled:1
- families with children:8
- local interest:10