Amateur Heritage Facebook Initiatives

The commemoration and preservation of local cultural heritage
through grassroots Facebook communities in The Netherlands

Student name: Corinne Lodder

Student number: 387895

Supervisor: Dr. A. Van der Hoeven

Master Media Studies

Media, Culture and Society

Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication

Erasmus University Rotterdam

Abstract

Over the last two decades there has been a growing interest in and attention for cultural heritage, both on a national and a local level. In combination with the rise of social media platforms such as Facebook, this has spurred the emergence of grassroots or non-institutional online participatory cultures with an emphasis on local history and heritage commemoration. Such locally orientated participatory cultures on Facebook are often initiated, led and administrated by amateur enthusiasts. Through their initiatives, these Facebook local heritage administrators produce involvement by mobilising people to collectively share, converse and engage in the act of remembering together, and identify themselves with their locality through the heritage material posted. The increased popularity of such local initiatives has blurred the lines between what is deemed official or authorised and more unofficial grassroots heritage. As such, this has created a new dynamic or relationship between institutions and the general public, as participation and communication are changing and ordinary people have been given a more central position through social media. These developments and the fact that grassroots local heritage production through online community participation has received little academic attention so far, have led to formulating the following research question: 'How do the initiators of grassroots participatory heritage Facebook communities in The Netherlands understand their role in the preservation and commemoration of local cultural heritage?' The results, as an outcome of qualitative research conducted by means of the semi-structured in-depth interviewing of fifteen Facebook local heritage community administrators, show that these administrators are driven by their own personal identification with a locality and start their Facebook communities based on that, in a rather spontaneous way. The administrators are generally not so much concerned with the long-term preservation of the material, but attach great value to positive reactions to the heritage material and select the material in accordance with that. They are the intermediary between a personal interest and the growing interest of people to identify the local past, and their communities are by and for the people initiatives with a great emphasis on mutual interaction As such the administrators' activities form and addition to existing heritage.

KEYWORDS: *Local cultural heritage, Online participatory culture, Amateur heritage, Facebook administrators, Grassroots local heritage production*

Acknowledgements

In almost all the varied walks of life, amateurs have more freedom to experiment and innovate. The fraction of the population who are amateurs is a good measure of the freedom of a society. — Freeman Dyson

Of course a (Master) thesis is never really 'written alone'. Therefore there are a few people I would like to express my sincere gratitude to for helping and supporting me in the process. First of all I would really like to thank my husband for putting up with me throughout this, I know I have not always been the most fun person to be around and I really appreciate the fact that you took up work to alleviate me. Besides this, I want to thank my thesis supervisor, Dr. Arno van der Hoeven, for guiding me in the process of writing this final work, I could not have done this without your comments and input.

    Of course my respondents also deserve a place in the spotlight here; thank you all so much for investing your time and energy in making this study possible for me. It goes without saying that I could not have done this without the Facebook local heritage administrators that contributed to my thesis. Furthermore, there are some people I owe thanks to for their moral and practical support during this time: Gerrie, Virna, Remi and Tinka. Last but not least, a special thanks to the 'Television Audiences' team aka 'Soon to be media masters' WhatsApp group is in place. Esther, Nadine and Paulina, your humour, support, back-up, information and distraction have made writing this thesis and the Master year so much more pleasant and easy.

Table of contents

Abstract and keywords

Acknowledgements

1. Introduction

The entrance to the old post office. As a child I always loved the beautiful lanterns at the main entrance. Who knows what happened to those? By the way, do you recognize the stamp dispensers ;). (Hanselman, 2018) [1]

This is the header of an old black and white photo, presumably taken somewhere in the fifties or sixties, posted in the Facebook group of a city in the province of South-Holland in the Netherlands. The image shows the doorway of a brick building with people going in and coming out over the two stone steps in front of the doorway; passers-by carry their shopping bags, a couple of bicycles are parked against a drainpipe and two 'man-sized' ornamented lanterns hanging from the facade of the building adorn both sides of the door. The popular local Facebook group this picture was posted in, was initiated by a Middle-Eastern Studies student with a great personal attraction to the history and cultural heritage of the locality in question.

Mostly, when confronted with the term 'cultural heritage' it is conceivable that not many people will immediately think of such layman and women, or 'amateurs', as collectors or preservers of heritage. Instead, the first thing that probably comes to mind are the big professional organisations and institutions that operate on a national or international level in safeguarding an array of different buildings, texts, artefacts and traditions in order for everyone to enjoy them, now and in the future. Nevertheless, many amateur history and heritage enthusiasts are active in this field as well (Brandellero, Van der Hoeven & Janssen, 2015; Giaccardi, 2012; Gregory, 2015). Such 'heritage amateurs', as Roued-Cunliffe (2017) calls them, are people who often work on a voluntary base, without any formal training and that have a deeply rooted interest in the field of history and heritage. The grassroots initiatives (i.e. initiatives implemented by ordinary people, which are not backed-up by any institution or organisation) they deploy and maintain, often make use of online media platforms to collect and share local historical material in participation with their local audience as a collective activity (Gregory, 2015; Ridge, 2017).

Overall there is a growing attention paid to cultural heritage in its preservation and promotion (De Groot, 2016), which can be illustrated by some current national and international initiatives, such as declaring 2018 the 'European Heritage Year' under the

---

[1] All quotations have been translated by the author

statement 'we are united in the diversity of our heritage' (Ministerie van OC&W, 2017) and the inclusion of the topic in specific passages of the recent coalition agreement of the Dutch government, like:

> We want to protect monuments, works of art and archives and make them accessible, also with the aid of digitization. [...] It is very important that we actively promote this history and these values. They are anchors of Dutch identity in times of globalization and uncertainty. (Rijksoverheid, Regeerakkoord 2017 – 2021, 2017, p. 19)

Furthermore, during the television season of 2017-2018 the programme *Het Pronkstuk van Nederland* (The Showpiece of The Netherlands) saw the light on Dutch public broadcasting. Through this show the public was invited to vote for what they thought was the greatest showpiece of The Netherlands, meaning what item represented the Dutch national pride and identity best (hetpronkstukvannederland.avrotros.nl). This show was promoted with the phrasing:

> 'Who are we? It is important to regularly ask ourselves that question. By looking at the brilliant creations that we - the Dutch - have produced in the course of history, we understand better where we come from and where we are going to'. (seizoenspresentatie.npo.nl)

These are just some examples of the present attention for cultural heritage in society at large, which highlight that heritage is meaningful in the way we understand ourselves and the world in which we live. Cultural heritage can thus be defined as a process on both a social and a cultural level, that allows people to relate to the past, while at the same time making sense of their lives in the present (Smith, 2006). It includes tangible objects, such as buildings, sites or pictures, as well as intangible concepts like rituals, social practises or oral traditions that convey a social and cultural significance through being passed on from one generation to the next (Roued-Cunliffe, 2017), and become meaningful and valuable by engaging in and acting on it (Smith, 2006). The meanings contributed to these forms of heritage are dynamic (Smith, 2006). This implies that heritage is not fixed or 'frozen in time'; the identification with cultural heritage and the social and cultural values attributed to it can change over the course of time (Smith, 2006). One such a noticeable change is that people nowadays seem more likely to identify with and engage in their local and

individual history and heritage (De Groot, 2016; Mydland & Grahn, 2012; Van der Hoeven, 2017).

Some authors explain this by means of the increasing globalisation over the past decades, which has made the modern world more fragmented, mobile and diverse, reduced the sense of social cohesion and has thus put pressure on national identities (Ashworth, Graham & Tunbridge, 2007; De Groot, 2016; Meijer-Van Mensch & Van Mensch, 2012). National values and meanings are seen as challenged by these changes and have increased feelings of insecurity, both socially and politically (Meijer-Van Mensch & Van Mensch, 2012). This has contributed to an emerging sense of nationalism during the last decade of the twentieth century, in which the emphasis on heritage is one (policy) response to restore weakened national identities (Ashworth et al., 2007; Meijer-Van Mensch & Van Mensch, 2012). With this accentuation of heritage it is attempted to provide a handhold in a globalising world and to increase the formation of identity on both a national and local level (Ashworth et al., 2007).

In the light of this, Facebook heritage groups and pages prove to be a useful grassroots tool in mobilising people to collectively produce, share, connect to a collective memory, engage in the act of remembering together and identify themselves with their locality through the heritage material posted (Gregory, 2015; Stock, 2016). A quick search of Facebook groups and pages, devoted to local history and heritage, shows that many Dutch cities, city districts, villages and towns 'own' one or more of these grassroots cultural heritage communities. These locally-oriented heritage communities showcase a plethora of historic material, ranging from old photos of historic buildings to stories of times past or specific local traditions, which are all significant for local identity and are shared and discussed among its members (Gregory, 2015). Facebook has gained such popularity in deploying grassroots heritage activities, because it gives its members the opportunity to start groups (Gregory, 2015). Furthermore, Facebook is an interesting medium for such activities, as it allows for different actions which make the interaction with the heritage material more dynamic (Gregory, 2015; Lewi et al., 2016). These actions include uploading videos and photos, next to having dialogues or discussions, posting texts and comments, sharing material and 'liking' (Stock, 2016).

In scientific literature, Facebook heritage practices are for instance highlighted by Gregory (2015) and Lewi, Smith, Murray and Cooke (2016), who have studied (grassroots) Facebook heritage groups from a participant perspective. The participatory culture such Facebook groups provide for, is characterised by the voluntary and supported contribution

of group members, informal mentorship, low barriers for expression and engagement and creating a sense of community among members (Giaccardi, 2012; Westberg-Gabriel & Jensen, 2017). As Jenkins, Clinton, Purushotma, Robison and Weigel (2009), state, 'a participatory culture is one that shifts the focus from individual expression to community involvement and reframes matters of literacy from matters of interactive technology to issues of cultural attitudes' (p. 7).

Although such participatory cultures are not new, think for instance of the pre-social media (amateur) historic societies which also work from a participatory base, social network sites like Facebook make creating, distributing and sharing content easier, cheaper and faster than any other 'old skool' method (Giaccardi, 2012). This makes local heritage readily available for the wider public, whether residing in a specific place or not (Gregory, 2015). Besides this, social media and online participatory cultures have impacted the understanding of official or authorised and more unofficial grassroots heritage, as it has made the lines between the two less distinct (Giaccardi, 2012). This has created a new relationship or dynamic between institutions, organisations and the general public as participation and dialogue are changing and 'ordinary' people have been given a more central position through social media (Giaccardi, 2012).

Thus, on the whole it is both relevant and interesting to study the group of people who initiate local grassroots participatory heritage communities by means of their motivations for online heritage collection and their contribution to the heritage sector. The choice for specifically studying the initiators of grassroots Facebook initiatives was made because of the popularity of such heritage pages and groups (Lewi et al., 2016; Van der Hoeven, 2017). The diverse range of possible activities has also made it appealing to study the role of the founding members or administrators for example in how they 'play their part' in leading the page or group, deal with followers or group members or curate or archive the various heritage material (Liu, 2012; Westberg-Gabriel & Jensen, 2017). Lastly, the popularity of Facebook for setting up such heritage practices has provided for a great deal of diversity in groups and pages (Van den Broek & Van Houwelingen, 2015; Liu, 2012), which has added to the attractiveness of researching the administrators' ideas, choices and motivations.

Moreover, the topic of grassroots local heritage production through online community participation lacks scientific attention, especially on the subject of production motivations of the people who start up such initiatives. There exists a large body of academic literature on user-generated content and participatory culture outside the field of cultural heritage

(Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010; Lutz & Hoffmann, 2017; Jenkins et al., 2009; Valtysson, 2010). Next to this, scientific literature that focussed on participatory culture in the heritage field, has generally paid more attention to the importance of social media for community participants (Gregory, 2015; Lewi et al. 2016; Stock, 2016). But the 'production side' of online participatory heritage yet remains underdeveloped in academic literature.

Therefore this study will form a contribution to the field of heritage studies from the perspective of the media field. In this, my research will aim to bridge these particular fields by providing an empirical insight into the importance of the relationship between people and (local) heritage and the function of social media as a social driving force to give form and content to this. As such, this study will give a deeper theoretical understanding of how founding members of participatory heritage initiatives shape and provide meaning to the information shared online, and by which criteria they are able to attract and attach others to their cause.

The timing of this research makes sense because of the growing societal interest in (local) cultural heritage and the political emphasis on the digitalisation of heritage collections for the general public, as referred to earlier. In the light of this, it is relevant to research the reasons for or motivations of non-institutional or grassroots participatory heritage initiatives, why and in what way they seek to preserve and commemorate on a local level using Facebook. As such this research can contribute to the understanding, possible support and recognition of such private initiatives, as well as understanding how these initiators handle their digital collections (Roued-Cunliffe, 2017). Besides this it could create an outline from which (future) local, grassroots heritage producers or initiatives on Facebook, and perhaps also other social media platforms, can learn.

1.1. Research question and sub-questions

Thus, based on all of the above, the following research question was formulated:

'How do the initiators of grassroots participatory heritage Facebook communities in
The Netherlands understand their role in the preservation and commemoration of local
cultural heritage?'

With the sub-questions:

'What are their motivations for commemorating local heritage in starting and
maintaining their initiative?'

'What are the challenges they face in their activities?'

'Which selection criteria of heritage material do they apply in their activities?'

These sub-questions function as guiding elements in relation to the main research question, as stated above, and as such will specify and clarify in what way the Facebook group initiators or administrators under scrutiny, experience and feel about the role they fulfil as amateur heritage collectors, enthusiasts and curators within their (online) communities. To provide a clear answer to the main research question, these three sub-questions were formulated in order to give a supporting explanation as to how exactly these initiators understand their role in local cultural heritage. As 'understanding ones role' in the field of local heritage is a rather broad formulation, which was deemed necessary because of the exploratory nature of this study, the sub-questions were used to provide an answer to how these initiating administrators fulfil and experience their role, and moreover how they perceive this places them in the field of heritage. Thus, how they experience their role and see themselves in the light of participatory local heritage commemoration; what motivates them to take this heritage commemoration up and keep on going, what challenges them in their endeavours and how do they deal with and contribute to the selection process and material in their activities and within their Facebook communities.

The answer to these questions was formulated by means of qualitative research. For this semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with fifteen administrators of grassroots Facebook local heritage communities in different cities, towns and villages in The Netherlands.

1.2. Chapter outline

In the elaboration of this study, chapter two, the theoretical framework, provides the reader with an overview of prior academic literature connected to the themes of (local) cultural heritage, its shift to the online realm and the role attributed grassroots Facebook communities and their administrators within this spectrum. Furthermore, some motivations and challenges, based on prior scientific research, that may be applicable to the heritage amateur administrators under scrutiny are highlighted as well. The chapter is closed off with a summary of the main findings the theoretical framework has provided for.

Subsequently, the third chapter of this thesis gives a detailed discussion of the research design and qualitative method of semi-structured in-depth interviews which was used in this study. Next to providing an explanation and justification for deploying a purposive sample and how this was implemented, this chapter gives an in depth account of how the research concepts were made measurable and how this resulted in the topic list used for the interviews. This chapter will be completed by the sections discussing the data collection, data analysis by means of thematic analysis and an explanation of how the reliability and validity of this study were accounted for.

Chapter number four presents the results, which are the outcome of the fifteen conducted and analysed interviews. Connections to relevant academic literature will be made here as well, in order to embed the results in the scientific fields of heritage and media. These outcomes are structured according to the sub research questions as stated above and will thus start off by discussing the motivations of the interviewed administrators, for online local heritage commemoration in starting and maintaining their initiatives. Subsequently, the observed challenges, such as dealing with copyrights and managing the Facebook community, are highlighted. Lastly, attention is paid to the selection process of heritage material.

The final chapter states the conclusion of the research at hand. An answer to the main research question, as stated above, is formulated based on the results. In relation to this a theoretical discussion of some challenges regarding participatory culture is outlined, as well as what the study has contributed to academic literature and the limitation the broad scope of this study has provided for. This chapter is rounded off with some suggestions for further research in relation to the results.

2. Theoretical framework

This chapter will provide the theoretical background of this study by providing an outline of general definitions and academic literature which indicates what is known about (local) cultural heritage, online participatory culture and Facebook heritage initiatives. It will thus provide a structured overview of prior research linking to the topic at hand.

2.1. *Cultural heritage*

Through cultural heritage people can come to understand what 'the past' is and how the objects, items, actions or thoughts that were brought forth from that past, as part of their cultural heritage, gives meaning, defines or unites them on national, local or personal level (De Groot, 2016). In this way, cultural heritage can be defined as a social and cultural process which allows us to commemorate the past, while simultaneously making sense of our present-day life (Smith, 2006). Cultural heritage becomes valuable and meaningful by acting on and engaging in what is passed on to us; it is a dynamic concept which constructs, reconstructs and negotiates issues such as identity, meanings, social and cultural values (Smith, 2006). This process and the fact that cultural heritage is dynamic can for instance be seen in the changing social and cultural meaning of and engagement with religious buildings and religion in The Netherlands (Nelissen, 2008). Through the overall secularisation of society, the social influence of religion decreased and its buildings and function gradually changed from (a place solely intended for) worship to more of a (place of) tourist interest (Nelissen, 2008). Moreover, the emergence of the multicultural society has broadened the scope of religious heritage; as not only churches or convents, but also mosques and temples are included as heritage (Nelissen, 2008).

Heritage, thus, concerns any tangible objects (e.g. sites, buildings, artefacts or photo's) or intangible concepts (e.g. stories, practises or rituals) that have social and cultural significance, now or in the future (Roued-Cunliffe, 2017). Within this structure of cultural heritage these tangible objects and intangible concepts have traditionally been assigned different categories based on their significance, status and value (Mydland & Grahn, 2012). The formal policy of recognition, protection and preservation of such objects and concepts usually follow a line in which international or national valuable heritage comes first (Mydland & Grahn, 2012). After that comes the heritage with regional significance and at the bottom of the line come the heritage items that are primarily valuable on a local or personal level (Mydland & Grahn, 2012).

This has implications for what is preserved, who preserves it and how it is preserved (Brandellero, Van der Hoeven & Janssen, 2015; Roued-Cunliffe, 2017). As De Groot (2016) brings to bear, it are usually the history and heritage professionals who define and legitimise what is important for safekeeping and commemoration. Frequently, the professional eye only focuses on the aspects of heritage that are thought of as important on a national or international level (De Groot, 2016; Mydland & Grahn, 2012). This has often left the 'smaller' history and heritage, on a local or community level, underemphasised or excluded from the bigger cultural heritage picture (Brandellero, Van der Hoeven & Janssen, 2015).

Over the past decades, the technological advancements of the online realm have blurred the boundaries between what professionals have traditionally deemed authorised cultural heritage and other, local or communal, heritage which is often emphasised by non-professionals (De Groot, 2016). Smith (2006) states that heritage functions as a discourse, as it is a social practice which conveys social meanings, constructs and reproduces knowledge, organises the understanding of heritage and ways of acting on it. The dominant discourse, or 'authorised heritage discourse', as Smith (2006) terms it, 'privileges expert values and knowledge about the past and its material manifestations, and dominates and regulates professional heritage practices' (p. 4). Yet, besides this many unofficial or popular heritage discourses and practises exist, such as online grassroots initiatives, which may challenge this authorised discourse; either actively or by their mere existence (Smith, 2006).

The online advancements have thus created an increased access to the communication, consumption and commemoration of many different, often local, pasts (De Groot, 2016; Giaccardi, 2012). As such, local heritage initiatives, either through community archives, heritage societies or other (grassroots) initiatives can put hidden or previously excluded local histories and heritage in the limelight (Brandellero, Van der Hoeven & Janssen, 2015; Van der Hoeven, 2017). In doing so, such practises can represent a wider range of heritage themes which would otherwise perhaps go unnoticed (Van der Hoeven, 2017), and encourage community history and heritage to flourish outside the mainstream institutional heritage practises (De Groot, 2016).

2.1.1. *Local cultural heritage and the heritage amateur*

Local cultural heritage is concerned with the history and heritage of specific localities and communities, as opposed to the 'bigger' past on a national level (De Groot, 2016). It is

often concerned with conservation and commemoration of large and dynamic heritage (i.e. attributed values and meanings that coincide with changes in society) like buildings and landscapes (Jackson, 2008; Mydland & Grahn, 2012), and the fabric, size, shape and origin of the locality and its inhabitants (De Groot, 2016). Heritage on a local level is thus more material, site specific, interested in the visual and physical testimonies of the past and puts a greater emphasis on the individual and the individual event (Jackson, 2008).

The past decades have spurred a boom for the interest in local heritage as well as tools available for individuals to act independently on this, like books, guides or (history related) social network sites provide for forming groups revolving around a specific heritage locality or particular place (Roued-Cunliffe, 2017; Lewi et al., 2016). Moreover, local practices can range from going through archives and exchanging information and material in order to retrace and collect site or family-specific facts as part of local historical or genealogical research, popular archaeological practises like metal-detecting and online sharing (De Groot, 2016). This investigation of history on a local level is experienced as fulfilling and rewarding for those who engage in it, as pursuing questions, finding answers and understanding the past through that, underlines the importance of the personal interest (De Groot, 2016). It furthermore contributes to a sharper definition of the self and the community as a whole through sharing collections that range from place-specific artefacts, stories, manuscripts, texts, images, audio and video recordings, or a combination of these. As such, local grassroots or amateur initiatives provide '[c]ommunities with spaces for reflection, consideration, self-definition and identity formation. They give people the chance to claim their past back from official versions of events, to preserve fading ways of life and to dissent from mainstream historical narratives' (De Groot, 2016, p. 283).

These amateur heritage practitioners or collectors can be defined as people '[w]ho work in a manner that is unpaid, untrained and interest driven with both tangible and intangible concepts or objects that are culturally significant in a long-term perspective' (Roued-Cunliffe, 2017, p. 109). The key feature to such local heritage endeavours is the sense of discovery, revelation and understanding the narrative of a specific place; the fact that every bit of local history has a story to tell (De Groot, 2016). Hence, heritage amateurs or 'keepers of history', as Roued-Cunliffe (2017, p. 110) calls them, work from a deeply rooted personal interest, passion and fulfilment in collecting, preserving and communicating information about their community history (Brandellero, Van der Hoeven & Janssen, 2015; Roued-Cunliffe, 2017).

In academic literature, there are different views on the relationship between professionals and amateurs. To understand this relationship between the two terms, it is useful to look at some different debates around practicing science as an amateur or as a professional. These can also shed a light on current developments in the heritage sector.

'Amateurism', as such, is often seen as inferior to professional practices in contemporary society, but simultaneously this line of thought is not as straight forward as it might appear (Lewi et al., 2016; Paulos, 2012; Roued-Cunliffe, 2017). Historically many early scientists were in fact unpaid, untrained and interest driven amateurs, who practiced science out of sheer curiosity (Paulos, 2012; Roued-Cunliffe, 2017). Science as a professional practice, in the field of history, heritage or otherwise, is thus far more recent than commonly thought:

> Until quite recent times, the number of people in the world paid to do original scientific research " for its own sake" was infinitesimally small. The transformation of science from a calling to a job happened largely during the course of the past century. Indeed, science is arguably the world's youngest profession. […] The appearance of professional scientists did not diminish the role or passion of the nonprofessional practitioners of science—the amateurs. (Paulos, 2012, p. 52)

Hence, according to some authors the division of professional and amateur is too ridged, because the term amateur is still closely linked to the idea of a professional (Roued-Cunliffe, 2017) and non-experts, operating outside academic or industrial research, could still contribute to science by discoveries they make in pursuing their own interests (Paulos, 2012).

On the other hand, this idea of equivalence or similarity between the amateur and professional approach to heritage has been criticised, because the input of the amateur into the field is seen as an expertise formed mainly by experience and is thus less scientifically rigorous than the certified expertise of the professional (Lewi et al., 2016). Amateur experience can surely improve personal knowledge, for instance by partaking in and contributing to crowdsourced scientific activities and research, but this does not change the attitude towards, or knowledge of a specific science (Lewi et al., 2016). Amateurs are thus said to have a valid, but different type of knowledge of the field under concern (Lewi et al., 2016). For example, going through archives to unravel your family history does not make you a historian, or having love for metal detecting, digging up possible valuables with a

well-developed knowledge of historic time periods, does not earn you the title of archaeologist.

Somewhat in line with this, Elkington and ins (2014) distinguish a separate category for the amateur in the field of science; serious leisure. The serious leisure perspective does not create an understanding of amateur activities in themselves, but rather puts an emphasis on what amateur practitioners have in common, what differentiates them from professionals in their activities and which effects this has on social interaction (Elkington & Stebbins, 2014). Within this perspective, amateur activities entail the fields of arts, entertainment, sports and science (Elkington & Stebbins, 2014), with heritage amateurs occupying the last category (Roued-Cunliffe, 2017).

Furthermore, such (historical and heritage) science amateurs can be divided into three sub categories; observers who experience their specific interest through scientific research, armchair participants who give substance to their interest mainly by reading about it and applied scientists who give expression to their particular scientific knowledge in a practical way (Elkington & Stebbins, 2014). The thing that sets these amateurs apart from their professional counterparts in this perspective, is the fact that there is a great deal of variety in amateur knowledge and their contribution to science; the level of amateur practice can therefore be described as either the apprentice, journeyman or master (Elkington & Stebbins, 2014). How an amateur evolves from one stage to the next is, however, quite difficult to distinguish as it is a gradual process that relies heavily on a person's experience, confidence and pursuit of knowledge (Elkington & Stebbins, 2014).

This study will draw on the perspective of Elkington and Stebbins (2014), which means the term 'amateur' is maintained as a self-contained category in the field of heritage. This is deemed important in observing how these heritage amateurs view the effects of the social interaction their initiatives provide for, and how this distinguishes them from the professionals (e.g. museums or archives) in the field. Besides this, the serious leisure perspective does the most justice to the position of the amateur and it fits the aim of determining how the initiators of grassroots Facebook heritage communities understand their role in the field of cultural heritage best.

2.1.2. *Cultural heritage and identity formation*

Cultural heritage plays an important part in the formation of identity (Smith, 2006). The emphasis placed on cultural heritage as part of a shared past creates and legitimises a feeling of social and cultural belonging in the present and thus affirms the cultural identity

of a specific society or group of people (Meijer-Van Mensch & Van Mensch, 2012; Smith, 2006). Hence, cultural identity concretises itself through the everyday exchange of communication which is socially mediated and relates to (a group of) others '[w]ho conceive their unity and peculiarity through a common image of their past' (Assmann & Czaplicka, 1995, p. 127). This in turn creates a collective memory which makes the group members aware of what shared knowledge distinguishes them form other groups; what unifies them, who belongs to their group and who does not (Assmann & Czaplicka, 1995). It thus creates a collective self-image based on a shared history and the significant or legitimised heritage objects and concepts that came forth form that (Assmann & Czaplicka, 1995; Mydland & Grahn, 2012).

Cultural heritage is not the only driving force behind identity formation (Smith, 2006). Political forces and the media narratives are also important in this (Meijer-Van Mensch & Van Mensch, 2012). Within these organisations heritage seems to become ever more present as a 'statement' (Meijer-Van Mensch & Van Mensch, 2012). Especially in Europe, the last decade of the twentieth century has shown a renewed interest in and emphasis on national identity, and it are very often politics and media that readily use cultural heritage to invigorate the identity message (Meijer-Van Mensch & Van Mensch, 2012). Usually, within this construct of identity formation, only the positive sides of heritage are put under the magnifying glass; meaning just the acceptable bits, while leaving out the issues that might perhaps stain the idea of cultural identity reinforcement (Meijer-Van Mensch & Van Mensch, 2012; Smith, 2006). For instance, portraying the Dutch as a proud trading and seafaring nation by tradition, without paying attention to the historically corresponding and problematic issues of colonisation, slave trading or slavery and exploitation (Meijer-Van Mensch & Van Mensch, 2012). Such 'difficult heritage' does not correspond with desired identity building aims and is therefore easily excluded from the picture, although the debate on such issues is rising (Logan and Reeves, 2009).

The same 'rules' that apply to national identity building can also be extrapolated to the field of local heritage in the sense of roots, origin and commonalities (De Groot, 2016; Mydland & Grahn, 2012). By the same means, local cultural heritage shapes the image of and manner in which (groups of) people identify with a certain place (De Groot, 2016; Gregory, 2015). Identification with the local seems to become more important as national identities are waning under the influence of globalisation (De Groot, 2016; Van der Hoeven, 2017). Over the past decades, societies have become more fragmented, mobile and diverse due to globalisation, which challenges the sense of social cohesion and the

identification with the national (Ashworth, Graham & Tunbridge, 2007; De Groot, 2016; Meijer-Van Mensch & Van Mensch, 2012). These changes have put pressure on national values and meanings and have increased feelings of insecurity, both socially and politically (Meijer-Van Mensch & Van Mensch, 2012). This has contributed to a revival of the interest in the national identity and an emerging sense of nationalism during the last decade of the twentieth century, in which the emphasis on heritage is one (policy) response to restore weakened national identities (Ashworth et al., 2007; Meijer-Van Mensch & Van Mensch, 2012). The increased attention for local history and heritage thus ties in with the more wide-ranging focus on the past and its heritage over the years (Ashworth et al. 2007; De Groot, 2016). This has provided an upsurge of popular history activities in grassroots, amateur or history from below practises which have set the local apart from the national and international history and heritage (De Groot, 2016). People rather want to be seen as flesh and blood individuals, and not just as part of the national playing field (De Groot, 2016), and thus feel a greater need to engage in and preserve cultural heritage on a local or personal level (Mydland & Grahn, 2012).

As such, heritage amateur initiatives can contribute to or strengthen a sense of local cultural identity (De Groot, 2016; Smith, 2006). Furthermore, it can contribute to the regeneration of a community and improve social cohesion on a local level; make people feel connected through their shared roots and origin (Jackson, 2008). Although heritage amateurs do not automatically regard themselves as a means to identity building in their activities, these local grassroots initiatives do engage in, develop and promote social activity, communication and a shared willingness to commemorate and preserve local heritage and history which can be seen as important elements of experiencing identity (Mydland & Grahn, 2012).

The shift in importance of the national to the local has also come to the attention of established heritage institutions which are now including 'multiple pasts' in their collections; thus making it easier for more people to identify with them (Brandellero, Van der Hoeven & Janssen, 2015, p. 33). Over the past decade this 'new museology' came forth from the criticism that museums and their heritage objectives were not representative enough of society as a whole, as they conveyed themselves as elitist strongholds (De Groot, 2016, p. 291). As society and the emphasis on heritage became more diverse, the multiple pasts of different groups, classes and ethnicities, were included in institutional collections in order to create a more comprehensible, open and attractive experience for the (potential) visitor and reflect society and its development as a whole (De Groot, 2016).

2.2. Cultural heritage and the digital age

Nowadays, the online and digital world is omnipresent (Giaccardi, 2012; Valtysson, 2010). This provides people with the possibility to readily participate in the collection, interpretation, commemoration and preservation of cultural heritage (Giaccardi, 2012). Official heritage institutions like museums, are expected and urged to make use of the interaction the online realm provides for, in order to connect the public to their collections, activities and each other (De Groot, 2016; Giaccardi, 2012).

Outside the institutional sphere, however, there is a growing group of amateur practitioners who engage with (their local) heritage in a similar manner (De Groot, 2016; Giaccardi, 2012). Here, the heritage areas covered online are as diverse as the historical interest of the individuals that start these initiatives; ranging from more general or national orientated interests like old trains, costume or historic figures, to local historic buildings or sites, the history (and people) of a specific city or town or local historic events, traditions or disasters (Van den Broek & Van Houwelingen, 2015; Liu, 2012). And even this can vary to just depicting a collection of 'what was' or comparing what a given situation was like, to how it is now (Gregory, 2015).

As Bishop (2005) argues by voice of Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981), 'items in a collection express dynamic processes within people, among people, and between people and the total environment' (pp. 991-992). While this quotation pre-dates the internet era, it seems to hold a close relation to online participatory heritage practises where historical material is added or shared among participants or group members (Gregory, 2015). Within this perspective of 'collecting together' or participating, people see the items with which they interact as a tool to reflect the self in order to realise an intention (Bishop, 2005). In other words, through the shared interaction with the 'objects' of the past people make sense of their memories and simultaneously shape their contemporary identities (Giaccardi, 2012; Gregory, 2015). The contributors or collectors make up a social system and the goals of the group shape the selves of the people who are part of that system (Bishop, 2005). It is thus an intentional and collective search for information, selecting from all the information available, to realise that particular goal (Bishop, 2005); in this case keeping, the memory of a specific past alive.

The rise of Web 2.0, which can be defined as a network and platform that includes all connected devices and provides greater service as more people are connected to it; it has made uploading, information sharing, collaboration amongst and participation of users possible as opposed to Web 1.0 which only allowed for publication, is an important

development in this (Fuchs, 2014). Social media platforms, such as Facebook, are an extension of this as 'a group of internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content' (Kaplan & Haenlein 2010, p. 60). This has made it possible for individual heritage enthusiasts to create participatory networks in order to collect and share diverse types of historical user-generated content, like texts or stories, photos, or videos (Han, Shih, Rosson & Carroll, 2014). As such, social media have formed an online way for people to organise their lives and thereby actively mediates and 'intrinsically shapes the way we build up and retain a sense of individuality and community, or identity and history' (Van Dijck, 2013 p. 2).

Within this structure, user generated content can basically be defined as publicly available media content that is delivered or produced by the end-users of a certain medium or social media platform (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). According to Kaplan and Haenlein (2010), online content has to meet three criteria in order to be considered as user generated content; it needs to be publicly accessible on a website or social media platform, it needs to exhibit some form of creativity such as a modification or a comment and it cannot be created as a commercial expression. Van Dijck (2013) approaches this concept slightly different, she considers it as 'unfinished, recyclable input, in contrast to the polished finished products of mainstream media' and emphases the idea of creative and cultural activity and the online exchange of content in an amateur or professional setting (p. 35).

For the purpose of this study the viewpoint of Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) in relation to the user generated content of the Facebook groups under scrutiny fits best, because the posted content is easily accessible for everyone; whether residing in a specific locality or not (Gregory, 2015). Next to this, the creativity criterion is applicable because of the comments and stories that accompany the posted content and lastly the posted material serves no commercial purpose, but is used create a common ground amongst the group members (Gregory, 2015).

Nevertheless, the notion of 'the professional setting', as raised by Van Dijck (2013), is applicable to the field of institutional digital heritage. Many traditional organisations, such as museums or heritage sites, nowadays make use of crowdsourcing in digitalising their collections, social media platforms, websites and digital tools like tour apps to engage with their audience and allow visitors or the general public to leave comments, add or document content (De Groot, 2016; Han et al., 2014; Lewi et al, 2016). The online realm has thus

created a wide range of opportunities for people to engage in heritage as a participatory endeavour; whether as a grassroots or institutional initiator, a collector or contributor.

2.2.1. Online participation

Participatory heritage, as a field of research, stems from the idea of participatory culture (Roued-Cunliffe, 2017). This term was coined in order to point out the online involvement in the creation of culture and content by users, audiences and consumers by means of social media (Fuchs, 2014). In the field of heritage such participatory cultures are not novel (Giaccardi, 2012). For example, (local) historic societies often work from a participatory base as well, but social media platforms, such as Facebook, make creating, distributing and sharing content easier, cheaper and faster than other participatory 'collection building' and 'sharing' methods (Giaccardi, 2012). From an arts and culture point of view Jenkins et al. (2009) define participatory internet use as a culture

> 'with relatively low barriers to artistic expression and civic engagement; with strong support for creating and sharing one's creations with others; with some type of informal mentorship whereby what is known by the most experienced is passed along to novices; where members believe that their contributions matter; where members feel some degree of social connection with one another, at the least they care what other people think about what they have created. Not every member must contribute, but all must believe they are free to contribute when ready and that what they contribute will be appropriately valued.' (p. 7)

This development is often underscored as democratising and empowering users to take collective action outside the setting of traditional organizations (Fuchs, 2014). At the base of this lies the idea that the combination of web 2.0, social media and online participatory culture create a more level playing field between the general public and (public) institutions; alleviating the institutional power structures, putting an emphasis on the agency of the online participants and thus, as mentioned earlier, creates a 'platform' for traditionally excluded groups in society (Brandellero, Van der Hoeven & Janssen, 2015; Lutz & Hoffmann, 2017; Van der Hoeven, 2017). The proponents of this idea underscore that web 2.0 and social media could enable greater participation and therefore create a democratizing effect (Lutz & Hoffmann, 2017). Much like Cameron (2008), who points at cultural heritage in this sense, notes that

[A]dvances in social media enable users to re-constitute their own cultural codes, to name the world in their own terms, disrupt power relationships, exercise their own agency and re-constitute their own lives, futures and cultures. This opens avenues for extending and indeed perhaps subverting institutional practices of heritage value, meaning and significance production. (p. 181)

Conversely, the opponents hold that this would enlarge the existing divides as individuals with access to better offline resources, like networks, money or cultural assets, will also benefit from these online (Lutz & Hoffmann, 2017). In this debate, the middle ground is occupied by those who believe that this participation can be an addition or an 'extra' to other forms of engagement, and thus in the end nothing really changes (Lutz & Hoffmann, 2017).

But despite these differences, most sides agree on the desirability of active online participation (Fuchs, 2014; Lutz & Hoffmann, 2017). On the other hand, some argue that the increasing input of amateurs online may end up pushing out the trained professionals in the field of culture (Keen, 2007). This will lead to fading of professional norms, practices and content according to Keen (2007), that will eventually become overruled by (anonymous) amateur user generated content. Nevertheless, within the overall positive and empowering emphasis of participation discourses also lies its greatest critique (Fuchs, 2014; Lutz & Hoffmann, 2017). First, social media users may struggle to convey online social capital, the value of social relationships, to the offline world which can make people feel stronger about their online relationships, thus neglecting offline ties (Lutz & Hoffmann, 2017). Second, online participation is not all just filled with good intentions, it can also be witnessed harmful and destructive through hate speech, incivility, bullying, indignation, confrontation, slander or observation (Lutz & Hoffmann, 2017). Third, from a more commercial point of view, it can be seen as exploitative rather than empowering, especially when focusing on digital and immaterial labour (Lutz & Hoffmann, 2017); such as, in the case of cultural heritage, making use of the time and free labour of amateur enthusiasts in crowdsourcing the digitalisation of museum collections (De Groot, 2016).

Besides these critiques on the positivity bias of social media use and online participation, the notion of participatory culture as stated by Jenkins et al. (2009) is commented on as giving a reductionist view of media participation, as it does not take matters of platform ownership, collective decision-making, profit and the distribution of

material benefits into account, but only focuses on participatory culture as a cultural dimension of community membership, production, collaboration, sharing, experience, contributions and feelings (Fuchs, 2014).

The idea of participatory culture, as Fuchs (2014) argues, finds its earliest roots in participatory democracy. This line of thought, which addresses issues of ownership and opportunities in meaningful collective decision-making and the access of people to these opportunities, is basically at odds with Jenkins et al. (2006) conceptualisation of participation (Fuchs, 2014). Large mainstream social media platform corporations 'strongly mediate the cultural expressions of internet users' and do not include users to take part in their business decisions; like changing algorithms, privacy settings or utility and the selling of user profiles or profits from (personalised) ads for instance (Fuchs, 2014, p. 56; Van Dijck 2013). Moreover, Jenkins et al. (2009) notion of participatory culture does not take note of the downsides of internet use such as, the exploitation of its users, profiling users or privacy violations (Fuchs, 2014; Van Dijck, 2013). 'Participatory democracy', as Fuchs (2014) states, 'is a demand that speaks against such problems, whereas participatory culture is a rather harmless concept mainly created by white boys with toys who love their toys' (p. 58).

Nevertheless, in relation to online participatory heritage, Westberg-Gabriel and Jensen (2017) have identified some of the participatory culture characteristics that Jenkins et al. (2009) describe, such as the importance of low barriers for contribution, informal mentorship of the administrator, support and creativity among the participants, creating a sense of community, no one is obligated to contribute and every contribution matters. Even so, this study will keep an open mind towards how the administrators under scrutiny think about or deal with online participatory culture, as well as the issues raised in the literature.

2.3. *Facebook participatory heritage*

As heritage, digitalisation and participation go hand in hand, there are different categories in which ordinary citizen or amateur online heritage engagement can be placed (Lewi et al., 2016). First, there are the more official channels through which people can contribute; these are for instance the sites and apps used by formal institutions such as government, museums or heritage sites (Lewi et al., 2016). The online space these organisations occupy usually only allow for 'liking' or adding comments within a minimal range of themes and non-expert contributions are clearly divided from authority comments and explanation (Lewi et al., 2016).

Second, are the so called open-framework sites, such as Historypin, where people can contribute heritage content (e.g. stories, photos or videos) and place them on a pre-defined map or template (Lewi et al., 2016). Because of how these online heritage activities are designed there is often quite little authorial power exercised over the added content (Lewi et al., 2016). Next to this these activities cover a wide range of themes and geographic spread (Lewi et al., 2016).

The third category, which will be highlighted in this chapter and this study as a whole, consists of digital heritage tools specifically driven by social media (Lewi et al., 2016). These online platforms, Facebook in particular, foster ongoing conversation, adding or sharing of heritage material of a specific place or theme (Gregory, 2015; Lewi et al., 2016). Many social media platforms are now 'home' to various different heritage outlets, whether through institutional or grassroots initiatives (Gregory, 2015; Van den Broek & Van Houwelingen, 2015). The emphasis here will of course be on the grassroots heritage activities.

In fact, Freeman (2010) argues that such social media heritage practises can in themselves be seen as intangible heritage. This type of heritage entails socially negotiated and therefore constantly changing expressions, practices and representations of (groups of) people, with a strong connection to a sense of identity and belonging (Freeman, 2010). Therefore, the act of taking, sharing and reworking photos, as material relics of a specific locality, building or site, and adding to discussions on these in social media heritage activities, can simultaneously be seen as a social practise and an engagement in ones roots and identity (Freeman, 2010). As such, online communities contribute to the cultural value, significance and importance of (local) heritage in their expressions, practices and representations (Freeman, 2010).

Social media thus presents a new genre within this century's historiography, as for instance historic photo collections are built on Flickr or Instagram and stories are being written up in historic blogs (Simon, 2012; Stock, 2016). In the range of social media options, Facebook is particularly popular in relation to grassroots heritage initiatives (Lewi et al., 2016; Van den Broek & Van Houwelingen, 2015; Van der Hoeven, 2017). This because next to pages, Facebook allows its members to create groups; whether public groups with open membership, public with closed membership or private (Gregory, 2015), Facebook has made it possible for individuals to collect and share diverse types of historical information (on a local level) with likeminded others (Han, Shih, Rosson & Carroll, 2014; Stock, 2016).

Besides being a popular medium for such heritage initiatives, Facebook is also an interesting platform for these kinds of activities, because it allows its users to not only place photos and videos, but also creates dialogues through posting texts, comments, sharing and liking (Stock, 2016). In doing so it is not a passive act of exchanging digital(ised) material and information among each other, but a rather active way to help internalise and shape the individuality and community, and the identity and history of its contributors, members and viewers (Lewi et al., 2016). Hence, Facebook heritage pages have created a greater awareness and knowledge of and a collective link to many local pasts (Gregory, 2015). Gregory (2015) refers to these bottom-up created Facebook groups as 'emotional communities' because of the emotional responses triggered by the historical content generated, and the feelings of loss and protectionism this evokes among the participants of the 'Beautiful Old Perth Facebook group'. In her study of this participatory heritage community, Gregory (2015) shows that it is not just about the online conversation on local heritage, but it can lead to organised actions and (street) protest on a local level as well; for instance when heritage is threatened by decay or demolition, in the case of historical buildings.

As such, this development has shifted the value and significance of heritage beyond the 'regime' of established heritage institutions (Cameron, 2008) and blurred the boundaries between what is considered official (institutional) and unofficial (grassroots) heritage, its experience, production and consumption (Giaccardi, 2012). Moreover, mobile devices (e.g. smartphones) have made sharing and accessing local heritage 'on the go' possible at a moment's notice, which allows people to extend participatory heritage activities from the online realm to their physical surroundings (Han et al., 2014; Van der Hoeven, 2017). All in all the popularity of grassroots heritage initiatives on Facebook has created a dynamic and 'lived experience' of (community) heritage, independently of the authority and power of official heritage institutions (Van der Hoeven, 2017; Westberg-Gabriel & Jensen, 2017, p. 91). Nevertheless, cooperating with an institutional partner, while safeguarding the aims, focus, collection and users a grassroots initiative represents, can also effectuate a broader acknowledgement of local heritage narratives or bring about awareness of different local pasts and how they could be incorporated in or protected by official organisations (Van der Hoeven, 2017).

2.3.1. Remembering together on Facebook

Facebook heritage groups make up a virtual community of individuals independently of where people come from, live or a person's place in society (Gregory, 2015). People form a community because they feel they belong to it (Gregory, 2015). Gregory (2015) cites Cohen (1985) in this matter, as particularly fitting when speaking of online communities:

> Community exists in the minds of its members, and should not be confused with geographic or sociographic assertions of 'fact'. By extension, the distinctiveness of communities and, thus, the reality of their boundaries, similarly lies in the mind, in the meanings which people attach to them, not in the structural forms. (Cohen, 1985, p. 98)

Next to residing in a city or town, one could for instance feel drawn to a specific heritage community for reasons of just loving a particular place, having (vicariously) been a part of an event or disaster or feeling connected to a certain area or village through ancestral ties.

Within such Facebook heritage communities different people constitute a collective memory and engage in the act of remembering together through 'the posting of (and response to) various experiences and understandings of, interests and investments in and questions and concerns about an event considered to be of historical significance' (Simon, 2012, p. 89). Furthermore, Simon (2012) states that in remembering together an online community of people collectively archive material form the past for future purposes and that therefore remembering always has a connection to what might be deemed important for future use. Besides collecting and archiving as a group, the act of remembering together through Facebook 'is a lived social practice that puts people in relation as they express and remake their connections to specific historical events and each other' (Simon, 2012, p. 91). In similar vein Gregory (2015) notes that nostalgia often forms the core of Facebook heritage groups. Nostalgia negotiates between past and presence; 'it insists on the bond between our present selves and a certain fragment of the past, but also on the force of our separation from what we have lost' (Atia & Davies, 2010, p. 183). In this sense, nostalgia or remembering together is not an endless wallowing on a perhaps no longer existing past, but it creates meaning and a social connection by making a link between past and present (Gregory, 2015), as it weaves shared stories together in their possibilities and limitations expectations and disappointments (Simon, 2012).

Nevertheless, people who are part of heritage communities can actually experience a sense of grief regarding changing scenery or loss of historic assets (Gregory, 2015). In the case of 'recent loss', for instance a recently demolished building or other changes to history in the present, 'eye-witness' accounts shared on Facebook may be quite accurate and credible (Stock, 2016). But one pitfall of grassroots Facebook communities is that the further the account lies in the past, and this is especially the case with oral history, remembering the past together can become increasingly more difficult, as facts can become ever more biased, subjective or inaccurate with the passing of time (Stock, 2016).

2.3.2.   The role of the Facebook administrator in grassroots participatory heritage
Hardly any academic literature implicitly or explicitly discusses the role of Facebook administrators in the field of participatory heritage, or any other field for that matter, as most research focuses on (group) participants or the general workings of Facebook, whether in digital heritage or not. A few sources, have provided some insights into this matter, and since the Facebook administrators form the heart of this study, these insights are worth addressing.

Westberg-Gabriel and Jensen (2017) explain that on the one hand a Facebook heritage page administrator can be compared to an institutional authority. This, because the Facebook administrator is in a position of full control over what happens in a group, much like an institutional authority has control over a heritage organisation in the sense of who can become a member, in the case that membership is required to gain access, and what content can be viewed or not (Westberg-Gabriel & Jensen, 2017). But on the other hand, Facebook heritage group administrators create the possibility of an ongoing participation for anyone interested in a certain topic, with easy access to a wealth of material and a community of likeminded others just a mouse click away (Westberg-Gabriel & Jensen, 2017). And this all without any distinctions in the 'value' of the added content being made; for instance the distinction between 'official' (institutional) and 'unofficial' (user generated) content, organisations might make in displaying their online content (Lewi et al, 2016), as mentioned in an earlier example.

Next to providing easy access and unscrutinised heritage content adding and retrieval, an administrator plays an important role in laying out the ground rules or guidelines for interaction between people and how the added material is used or should be treated (Stock, 2016; Westberg-Gabriel & Jensen, 2017). In following up on studies concerning the general practices surrounding Facebook, this could perhaps also involve if or when it is not

appropriate to 'like'. As Fuchs (2014) for instance describes, that the act of 'liking' might in some cases give way to ambiguous interpretations. He uses the example of the World War II concentration camp Auschwitz:

> Many people liked a posting on the Facebook page of the Auschwitz Memorial page that says that 70 years ago 1500 Jews were killed in the gas chambers in Auschwitz. One can assume that most of the users who pressed "like" are not neo-Nazis, but rather wanted to express their dismay about what had happened. (Fuchs, 2014, p. 160).

In similar vein, it can be possible that certain grassroots Facebook heritage pages address (local) events, disasters or topics which are not compatible with Facebook's 'liking ideology' (Fuchs, 2014, p. 160), and this is something administrators should communicate in relation to their user interaction.

Moreover, it is important that the administrator does not lead the group as a self-proclaimed expert, but rather facilitates the expertise of the group as a whole; responding to questions, aiding users, intervening when things go wrong and creating an environment of interaction which ensures the user's knowledge accumulation and provides different perspectives on the content (Stock, 2016; Westberg-Gabriel & Jensen, 2017). This notion is important because only so many members of followers are active in adding material or triggering and taking part in discussions (Stock, 2016). The majority takes part by 'liking' or simply just by consuming or lurking (Stock, 2016).

As preservation is key in online participatory heritage initiatives, the curation and archiving of the material plays a major part in how history is kept alive and decisions on what is meaningful enough to preserve for the future (Liu, 2012; Stock, 2016; Westberg-Gabriel & Jensen, 2017). Liu (2012) has created a conceptual model which uses the basic tasks and roles associated with professional curators and curation in the online context as a point of departure. This model distinguishes seven archetypes, each accompanied by different activities based on actions rather than roles (Liu, 2012). These online curation activities could thus be deployed by Facebook heritage group administrators in curating the community's material as well.

The first type and its associated activities she underlines is the archivist, which identifies, finds, gathers and collects representative material. Second, the person curating the online material organises and categorises and next to this, (s)he tags and labels; Liu (2012) calls this type the librarian. Organising the material by subject can create

historically more relevant categories, although this is sometimes regarded as a tedious activity. The third type is the preservationist, who curates by storing and safeguarding the material, and furthermore copies and republishes. Four is the editor which filters for and selects material that is relevant and next to this checks the authenticity of this material. The fifth type Liu (2012) differentiates is the so called story maker, this type curates by putting together selected material that tells a story that provides a context. The exhibitor is the sixth type in this model. The curative activities associated with this type are displaying, distributing and putting material in relation to each other in order to create an appealing experience and trigger response. The last type is the docent, that curates by facilitating discussions, guiding the participants and creating engagement with and reflection on the topic. This shows that, curation is versatile and, as a curator of the material, an administrator can take many actions (Liu, 2012).

2.4. *Possible motivations and challenges for online grassroots initiatives*

There are very little academic clues to what drives or motivates heritage amateurs in creating and maintaining their online grassroots initiatives, but there are some observations made in previous research which are worth noticing here. For one, keeping memories of the local past alive and preventing or reminiscing on losses, together with others who are also interested in or passionate about this, can be a motivation for creating and curating Facebook heritage pages (Gregory, 2015). Moreover, these creators of online grassroots initiatives emphasise the stories, traditions and buildings of their localities as an addition to or a diversification of mainstream heritage narratives (Van der Hoeven, 2017), it thus provides them with the opportunity to give an account of their local history from their own perspective (De Groot, 2016). The ease of reaching likeminded audiences and contributors via Facebook nowadays, gives the 'keepers of history' an opportunity to 'battle' the marginalisation of their locality by forming communities around the heritage they experience as important and in need of safeguarding and remembering (Brandellero, Van der Hoeven & Janssen, 2015; Van der Hoeven, 2017).

Next to this, the act of collecting and sharing conversation together, making sense of memories and shaping local identity as a community (Bishop, 2005), may also be a motivation to create, maintain and curate online heritage pages or groups. Furthermore, the increased attention for local history and heritage ties in with the more wide-ranging focus on the national identity, past and heritage over the last decades (Ashworth et al. 2007; De Groot, 2016). This attention for the national can be noted as a countermovement to the

social effects of globalisation; social insecurity, individualisation, fragmentation and diversification of society (Ashworth, Graham & Tunbridge, 2007; De Groot, 2016; Meijer-Van Mensch & Van Mensch, 2012). Not just wanting to be part of the national playing field within this development, and thus feeling the need to underscore local heritage, identity and belonging, might thus also be seen as a motivational force (De Groot, 2016).

Besides this, there are some challenges grassroots Facebook initiatives face identified in the literature as well. There is, for instance, the issue of replacing the founding initiator if (s)he, for whatever reason, cannot 'preform' his or her tasks anymore, which may provide sustainability challenges for such grassroots initiatives (Baker & Collins, 2016). Moreover, some initiators may lose interest in the collection over time, which raises the question of what will happen to the gathered material in such a case (Baker & Collins, 2016).

Furthermore, there is the matter of ownership, as is the case with many online content, which can make formal heritage institutions reluctant to share information online because of the possible unauthorised reuse of material and the violation of copyrights or privacy, for instance by Facebook heritage initiatives (Lewi et al., 2016; Ridge, 2017; Valtysson, 2010). Moreover, Facebook grassroots initiatives often lack the resources to deal with copyright regulations all together (Baker & Collins, 2016). Also, when looking at the relationship between participatory grassroots initiatives and formal heritage institutions, it becomes evident that, although heritage institutions seek to be community-relevant, the different digital tools, views, levels of expertise and custodianship make it difficult to unite the two (Lewi et al., 2016). For instance, what is deemed important or necessary by a heritage amateur, can be qualified or acted on completely different by an institutional authority, which could easily lead to conflicting ideas and interests (Lewi et al., 2016).

The main issues in online heritage commemoration, however, come with curating and archiving the collected material (Baker & Collins, 2016; Lewi et al., 2016). The 'insider-curator', as Lewi et al. (2016) refer to group initiators or founding members (p.18), often deploy a highly improvised and non-standardised curation, since there are hardly any guidelines for what content can be added and the contend itself is often personalised and informal by nature. Moreover, some authors raise awareness to the fact that Facebook is not designed for (long-term) archiving purposes (Baker & Collins, 2016; Stock, 2016). The activities of collectively gathering heritage material, identifying with the local and remembering together through social media, create an online archive in which what is

deemed important for future use is automatically stored (Simon, 2012; Liu, 2012); the timeline of Facebook thus forms the archive. Especially when initiators do not regard themselves as archivists or heritage managers and do not deploy any other, more lasting, forms of content storage, this can pose a problem for the remembrance connected to the material in the long run (Baker & Collins, 2016). As the nature of social media dictates that ongoing engagement is ensured by the adding of new content, older information, at 'the bottom' of the timeline, can thus become hard to retrieve (Baker & Collins, 2016). The older material usually only remains visible for participants who know where to look or what they are looking for (Baker & Collins, 2016). Such 'unintentional archiving', as Baker and Collins (2016) have termed this, has no focus on the long-term preservation of the shared heritage material.

2.5. *Summary of the main findings*

By delving into prior research concerning cultural heritage, participatory culture and grassroots Facebook initiatives associated with local heritage commemoration, an outline has been created of what is known about these topics and how they could possibly relate to each other in the light of the study at hand.

The attention for heritage and heritage commemoration has become more prominent over the last decades, as a means to underscore national identity in a globalising world. The increased attention for local heritage ties in with this, and the momentum the rise of Web 2.0 and social media have created, gave rise to the online participatory heritage activities by amateur practitioners.

Facebook proves to be a popular social media platform for such participatory local heritage activities, as Facebook allows for the creation of groups and pages where people can easily engage and interact with each other and the material. Furthermore, this platform allows different activities such as the sharing of photos and videos and engaging in conversations or discussions. As such Facebook local heritage communities allow people to collect and remember their past together, create an collective memory and shape local identity. Online participatory heritage communities can, however, experience issues with sustainability, preservation of the collected material, copyright and in the cooperation with official institutions.

Online participatory culture has been both celebrated, as a way to level playing field between the general public and (public) institutions, criticised for increasing existing social divides between people and viewed more neutral in the way that it does not change

anything and can be seen as an addition to other forms of engagement. Despite these different academic stances, active online participation is overall regarded as a positive development. However, it can come at the 'cost' of neglecting online ties, is not always filled with good intentions and could give way to exploitation through for instance crowdsourcing (professional or institutional) activities. Furthermore, it does not take the aims and business models of the platforms, that allow for online participation, into account.

Although these findings give a direction to this study, they generally emphasise the consumption side of the spectrum. The information on how the people, meaning amateur heritage practitioners that produce and facilitate such participatory cultures on Facebook, view or deal with these things is lacking in the literature. Only a few academic sources have discussed some aspects of the possible role the administrators of Facebook local heritage communities fulfil in online participation, yet a lot still remains unclear with regard to how these administrators are motivated to do what they do, how they deal with or view certain challenges and how they understand their role in online participation and the field of heritage.

3. Methods

The following chapter will provide a thorough explanation of the research design, methods used and the further steps taken in conducting the research on Facebook heritage administrators. In this way, this chapter will form a bridge between the theoretical framework and the results of the study at hand. For the sake of clarity, the main research question will be stated here once more: 'How do the initiators of grassroots participatory heritage Facebook communities in The Netherlands understand their role in the preservation and commemoration of local cultural heritage?'

3.1. Research design and methods

For this research, semi-structured in-depth interviews were used as a qualitative method to study the creators, curators and administrators of public Facebook heritage pages in The Netherlands. This method was chosen because there is insufficient clarity about the specific motivations, experiences and challenges of this group of people in relation to (starting and maintaining) their grassroots initiatives. Qualitative research is particularly suitable for this explorative study, because the research design of a qualitative study is characterised by the alternation between data collection and data analysis (Boeije, 2009). This cyclical process thus provided the opportunity to reflect on the preliminary findings during the different rounds of data collection, which gave a clear insight into the descriptions that were incomplete, which questions still needed answering and in what direction certain aspects the study needed to be developed (Boeije, 2009).

Furthermore, this type of research assumes that people give meaning to their lives and act according to this meaning (Boeije, 2009). According to Boeije (2009), the most prominent way to convey meaning and make sense of social reality is language, because it enables people to contextualise experiences and behaviours and give meaning to the environment in which they act and the manner in which the organise it. Moreover, qualitative research methods, such as interviews or focus groups in which language and speaking about certain topics obviously plays a key role, have in common that they aim to describe, explain and interpret the behaviour, involvement and experiences of the respondents (Boeije , 2009).

The interview, as a method of qualitative research, can be defined as a purpose '[t]o gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena' (Kvale, 1983, p.174). Thus, this research method was very suitable in relation to the research question and sub-questions, because this study

aims to uncover and reflect on meanings, organization and processes of the respondents in relation to their online heritage endeavours (Hermanowicz, 2002).

Conducting semi-structured in-depth interviews with several different individuals within this group heritage enthusiasts provided very useful, rich and detailed information about the thoughts and ideas of the respondents with regard to creating and maintaining Facebook heritage groups (Bryman, 2012). The questions of the topic list, made to guide these semi-structured in-depth interviews, were not formulated in a strict order, but more as a result of the communicative interaction with the respondents. (Opdenakker, 2006). This type of interviewing ensures the consistency of the research, yet leaves room for an inductive interpretation of the results (Bryman, 2012).

For this study focus groups could not be deployed. Due to the explorative character of this study, it was deemed very important to gain a thorough understanding of the individual motivations, working methods and practices of the respondents. This is something that would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, to achieve with focus groups (Krueger & Casey, 2015). Next to this, focus groups would have been very difficult to organise in the time available for study, because of the geographical distribution of the participants; they did not live in close proximity of each other (Krueger & Casey, 2015). Some respondents for instance, were residing in the (far) north of The Netherlands, while others were living in the west, middle or even most southern region of the country.

For analysing the data obtained by the interviews, thematic analysis was used. Thematic analysis aims to uncover themes or patterns in written texts (e.g. interview transcriptions) and thus gives meaning to what is discussed in the data (Bryman, 2012). This method is very suitable for a good interpretation of qualitative data, because the available information goes through several phases of analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), and thus provides insight into the potential of each subject on a larger scale, which benefits the accuracy of the analysis (Alhojailan, 2012).

3.2. Sampling

The specific sampling technique used for this study, was purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling method, which means that not everyone who could possibly take part in this study will be given an equal chance to do so (Bryman, 2012). This means that the respondents were selected in a strategic way, based on the characteristics of place (e.g. city, town or village), focus of the group or page and accessibility (i.e. public or closed membership), so that they would be relevant to the

research question and sub-questions (Bryman, 2012). In selecting a purposive sample one must ensure a good deal of variety, '[s]o that sample members differ from each other in terms of key characteristics relevant to the research question' (Bryman, 2012, p. 418). The goal of providing such maximal variation, through selecting a sample of Facebook heritage administrators that host or lead groups with different characteristics, has been to find related variations in collective and individual reactions to how these individuals fulfil their role as initiator and administrator and thus how they understand their role in the local cultural heritage field (Boeije, 2009). Because there was limited theoretical knowledge about this group and the exact nature of their activities, this sampling technique was deemed most appropriate due to the fact that it allows for this variation.

So, next to only selecting the initiating administrators of grassroots Facebook heritage initiatives with a focus on their locality, the selected sample also had a focus on such initiatives in cities, towns and (small) villages and initiatives centred around different types local heritage or possibilities to connect (e.g. publically accessible or with a closed membership). This means grassroots administrators of local groups and pages with an specific emphasis on a single heritage 'facts', like for instance the public space or streetscapes, or multiple subjects, such as persons, group photos, buildings and newspaper articles were selected. Furthermore, the sample selection included founders of groups or pages with a focus on gathering material from specific local events, like disasters or local sites such as specific landscapes (see Table 1 below).

There are, moreover, many of such initiatives in The Netherlands and no database exists to make a random selection from. Also, the level of activity (the frequency in which new content is added to the group) differs among these Facebook heritage pages; therefore only the creators or initiators of actively used pages, a new post every five days or less, were approached to take part in this study.

Thus, the unit of analysis, the 'objects' studied in this research (Bryman, 2012), are the creators, initiators or founding members of grassroots heritage communities on Facebook in The Netherlands. Normally interviews with these people would be conducted to the point of saturation, until no new information emerges from the data anymore (Bryman, 2012), but due to the limited amount of time available in conducting this Master Thesis research, a total of fifteen of these administrators were interviewed for about 60 minutes each (as suggested in the methodological guidelines thesis research). The number of research units per relevant category are listed in the table below (Table 1).

No specific time span or period was researched, because this study had a focus on the process of online heritage collecting and sharing, motivations, meanings and ideas of the respondents from the point they started their initiative, which was different for the respondents involved.

Furthermore, all Facebook heritage community administrators that became part of the sample were anonymised by means of name and name of their Facebook community to protect their privacy. This in relation to statements made about other groups or administrators that could possibly be regarded as sensitive information and to protect the information they shared about themselves and their own initiative.

Table 1. Number of research units per category

Locality (N=15)	Community name	Number of inhabitants [1]	Type of group or page	Topics groups or pages discuss
		City (N=4) [2] / Town (N=6) [2] / Village (N=5) [2]	Public (N=10) / Closed (N=5)	Multiple (N=11) / Single (N=2) / Site (N=1) / Event (N=1)
Amsterdam	Amsterdam nostalgisch 1880-1985	853,312	Closed	Multiple [3]
Bergschenhoek	Oud Bergschenhoek	18,075	Public	Multiple
Berkel en Rodenrijs	Oud Berkel Rodenrijs	20,189	Public	Multiple
Blokker	Kéék op Blokkers verleden	4,065	Closed	Multiple
Delft	Delft in oude foto's	99,737	Closed	Multiple
Den Bosch	Het oude 's-Hertogenbosch	154,651	Public	Single [3]
Dordrecht	't Dordrecht van toen	118,309	Public	Multiple
Gorinchem	Oud Gorinchem	36,233	Public	Multiple
Maassluis	Ons Maassluis	32,493	Public	Multiple
Numansdorp	Numansdorp in vroeger tijden	9,000	Closed	Multiple
Ridderkerk	Oud Ridderkerk	45,743	Public	Multiple
Rotterdam	Rotterdam van toen	639,587	Public	Single
Schiedam	Voormalige R.K. begraafplaats Schiedam	76,650	Closed	Site [3]
IJzendijke	Historisch IJzendijke	2,155	Public	Multiple
Zierikzee	Zierikzee tijdens en na de ramp	10,483	Public	Event [3]

[1] Source: CBS, April 30 2017

[2] City: > 100,000. Town: 25,001 - 99,999. Village: < 25,000

[3] Multiple: persons, buildings, streetscapes, newspaper articles and such. Single: the public space. Site: cemetery. Event: flood

3.3. Data collection

The respondents were approached through Facebook Messenger, after becoming a member or follower of the Facebook heritage group that fitted the sample, or by email if the email address was stated. In this way, 44 respondents throughout The Netherlands were

contacted over the course of about two months, from late February to mid-April. Apart from the fifteen people that wanted to cooperate and the eight individuals who, for various reasons, responded negatively to my request, the other contacted administrators never responded.

Of the people interviewed, the greater part of these conversations, nine in total, were conducted face-to face for reasons of also being able to pick up on additional social cues of the respondents (Hermanowicz, 2002; Opdenakker, 2006). Such social cues, like intonation, voice, facial expressions or body language, can provide valuable additional information to the answers of the respondents (Hermanowicz, 2002; Opdenakker, 2006). This did mean though, that I, as the interviewer, had to be more concentrated on the questions to be asked and the answers and cues given and to not lead the respondent to certain answers through my behaviour (Opdenakker, 2006). Moreover, background noise in the public places where I spoke with the respondents, like other guests or a waiter rearranging tables, did sometimes break up or distracted from the conversation somewhat; such background sounds also made it harder to make out what was said in the recordings during transcribing.

In the six cases where the respondents lived too far away to have a face-to-face conversation with them, the interview was conducted via Skype or Messenger video chat (the groups or pages about Amsterdam, Blokker and Dordrecht) or telephone if the respondents felt more comfortable with that (Den Bosch, IJzendijke and Zierikzee). The specific type of interview, whether via video chat or phone (or face-to-face conversation for that matter), was agreed upon in good consultation with the concerning respondents (Kazmer & Xie, 2008).

The benefits of video chat or computer mediated interviews was that, it was less costly and time-consuming because I did not have to travel, as opposed to the face-to-face interviews (Kazmer & Xie, 2008). On the other hand, computer-mediated interviewing depends on a reliable internet connection to prevent connection delays or medium failure; a bad connection could make it hard to have a smoothly running interview and can even result in losing valuable data (Kazmer & Xie, 2008). This unfortunately happened in two instances; during one interview (Amsterdam) the connection was lost halfway through the conversation and in another the information was more difficult to follow (and eventually to transcribe in some instances) due to a delay in the connection (Blokker). Besides this, this way of interviewing made it harder to pick up on the body language of the respondents, because only the face was in view.

The three telephone interviews conducted went very well. The lack of social clues such as body language, which are often seen as a disadvantage in this type of interviews (Opdenakker, 2006), actually felt in my advantage, because I was less distracted by those type of clues in my opinion (and other distractions in the physical surroundings as for instance during face-to-face interviews for that matter). The voice and intonation these telephone interviews gave me enough to work with and the respondents were quite spontaneous in their reactions to my questions; at least not less spontaneous than in the other interviews, whether face-to-face or computer mediated (Opdenakker, 2006).

Although Opdenakker (2006) argues that telephone interviews, due to the lack of (perceived) physical proximity and clues, may lead to extensive deliberation of the respondent, a lot of my interviews suffered from this pitfall. Because of the goal of these interviews I felt in a dependency position, which made it a lot harder for me to intervene or cut off the respondents (Hermanowicz, 2002). The silence probe was therefore hardly ever necessary (Hermanowicz, 2002), because there were only two interviews where I had to urge respondents to talk more; in one face-to face and one computer mediated conversation. On the other hand I noticed that giving room to the respondents reactions (sometimes indeed too much room, which led to a lot of unnecessary transcribing) produced a lot of valuable information as well.

Moreover, while going over the groups and pages I approached, I noticed the pinned posts (or welcome messages) the heritage administrators under scrutiny had put up at the beginning of the group's timeline. These posts often stated the do's and don'ts of the group by means of adding content and desired behaviour of group members, next to other additional guidelines. Although not all of the administrators interviewed had put up a message along these lines, I did make the choice to add the available pinned posts to my data collection because these messages also contained valuable information to the study at hand.

3.4. Operationalisation

To provide an answer to the general research question, 'how do the initiators of Dutch, grassroots, participatory heritage Facebook groups understand their role in the preservation and commemoration of local cultural heritage?', three sub-questions were formulated to give a supporting explanation as to how these initiators understand their role in local cultural heritage. As 'understanding ones role' in the field of local heritage was quite a broad demarcation, which was deemed necessary because of the exploratory nature of this

study, the sub-questions were used to give an answer to how exactly the initiating administrators fulfil their role. Thus, how they experienced their role and saw themselves in the light of local heritage commemoration; what motivated them, challenged them and how they dealt with the material in their activities and within their (online) communities. This was made clear by stating the following sub-questions: 'which selection criteria of heritage material do they apply in their activities?', 'what are their motivations for local heritage commemoration?', 'what are the challenges they face in their activities?'

In the preparation of finding an answer to these questions, prior scientific research was consulted, in the form of the theoretical framework, which provided this study with one main sensitising concept, from which flowed two directional sub-categories that were used as a general description in drawing up the interview topic list; the concept and its categories thus gave direction to state particular interview questions about this field of heritage (Boeije, 2010). The sensitising concept and directional sub-categories provide a balance between the prior research conducted in the field of heritage, while offering the ability to keep an open mind towards the findings of the study at hand (Boeije, 2009). As such, Bowen (2006) argues, 'sensitising concepts draw attention to important features of social interaction and provide guidelines for research in specific settings' (p. 14). These concepts get their definitive form, as indicators of the categories, during the axial coding phase of the thematic analysis (Boeije, 2010). Here it becomes clear how this concept and its sub-categories are used by the respondents of the study (Boeije, 2010). The sensitising concept used to construct the topic list, and therefore formed the base to answer the research questions, was: participatory heritage with the sub-concepts motivation for participation and challenge of digital heritage.

The concept of participatory heritage was defined as the online involvement of the creation of culture and heritage content by users, audiences and consumers by means of social media (Fuchs, 2014). Within this somewhat broad definition, the emphasis was put on the emergence of the heritage amateur, meaning the administrators, of Facebook groups, input and selection of material for or by these groups (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010), the common ground this might create between the administrators and their members (Gregory, 2015) and the popularity of such groups (Lewi et al., 2016; Van der Hoeven, 2017). Next to this, collaboration with other (official) parties can further effectuate the heritage activities of these administrators (Van der Hoeven, 2017). Lastly, this definition captures thoughts on possible authority and power relations between these grassroots initiatives and official heritage organisations online participation and ideas on the field of

(local) cultural heritage as a whole (De Groot, 2016; Van der Hoeven, 2017; Westberg-Gabriel, 2017).

Motivation for participation, as a sub-category of participatory heritage in this study, refers to the grounds on which the respondents start and maintain their initiative. As observed in prior research this could entail the longing to keep a specific local past alive in order to prevent loss or out of feelings of nostalgia (Gregory, 2015), because a certain local past is underexposed in mainstream heritage or by official heritage institutions (Roued-Cunliffe, 2017; Van der Hoeven, 2017), accessing and making sense of memories and strengthening local identity (Bishop, 2005; De Groot, 2016; Smith, 2006). Furthermore, the rapid change of the societal environment in which one lives, characterised by fragmentation, modernity and the effects of globalisation on the local environment, could also be seen as a motivation to start and maintain heritage Facebook groups (Roued-Cunliffe, 2017). These academic sources have helped in creating a general outline for formulating the topic list questions, because there is little prior knowledge on this subject. Of course other issues can come to bear in the interviews based on this general outline.

Challenge of digital heritage, as a sub-category of participatory heritage, was based on the ways of managing the personal and group activity and the manner in which Facebook as a social media platform influences this. Within this sub-category, the underscored dimensions were the harmful or destructive sides of online participation, such as hate speech, incivility, indignation, confrontation, slander or observation (Lutz & Hoffmann, 2017) and possible exploitation of the users (Fuchs, 2014; Lutz & Hoffmann, 2017). Moreover, issues of ownership in relation to Facebook were also covered by this concept, next to general Facebook practises (Fuchs, 2014). Furthermore, archiving or information retrieval and curation were listed as a dimension of the challenge sub-category, because Facebook is ill equipped as a medium for certain cultural heritage activities, there are little guidelines for adding content, content is often personalised, informal and sometimes subjective or inaccurate and archiving and curation are often improvised or non-standard (Lewi et al., 2015; Lui, 2012; Stock, 2016; Van der Hoeven, 2017).

Participatory heritage as a concept was made measurable by question five a and b and questions nine through twelve (see appendix A2). These interview questions are about selecting material for posts, collaboration, the attention for local heritage, the popularity of Facebook heritage groups and the perceived relation between grassroots and official participatory endeavours. These questions were deliberately placed towards the end of the topic list because it was estimated these questions would on average be a little harder to

answer by respondents as they were less 'hands-on' in relation to the initiative as a whole. Getting respondents talking on topic easier to relate to with regard to their Facebook heritage page or group, might just create a better flow of conversation in building up to the questions that are deemed more difficult (Hermanowicz, 2002). The question on selection material for posts (question 5 a – b, see appendix A2), was listed as such on purpose, because this created an overall better flow of the topic list as a whole.

The sub-category of motivation was made observable by means of questions one trough four of the topic list (see appendix A2). These questions cover reasons for stating (a) heritage Facebook group(s), collecting historic facts, goals, accessibility and effects of the group(s). These questions were purposely formulated very open in order to give the respondents enough room to come up with their own statements on motivation. Challenge, as a sub-category was made measurable by interview questions five c up to and including eight (see appendix A2), which deal with the authenticity issues of posted material, the downsides or difficulties with online participation and Facebook as a medium for heritage activities. A schematic overview of the operationalisation is given in the table below (Table 2).

The topic list was closed off with asking for demographic information such as the age and educational background of the respondents (see appendix A2). Next to this, the respondents were thanked and asked how they experienced the interview and whether they perhaps had any final remarks regarding the topics outside of the questions asked (see appendix A2). The choice was made to wrap up the interview like this for the purpose of gaining additional information and to end the conversation on 'a light note', as the last category of the topic list contained some 'tougher' questions (Hermanowicz, 2002).

Table 2. Schematic overview of operationalisation

Main sensitising concept	Sub-categories	Dimensions	Topic list questions
Particiatory heritage		Input and selection of material for page or group and by follower or members	Question 5 a - b
		Collaboration	Question 9 a - d
		General attention for cultural heritage and the popularity of heritage Facebook grassroots initiatives	Question 10 a - b
		Athority and power relations between grassroots initiatives and the online activities of officail organisations	Question 11 a - d
		General attention given to local cultural heritage	Question 12 a - b
	Motivation (for participation)	Idea for starting on and choices made for initiative(s)	Question 1 a - d Question 2 a - c
		Main motivations and possible goals for starting and maintaining Facebook local heritage initiative	Question 3 a - c
		Motivation for engaging with others in role of administrator	Question 4 a - b
	Challenge (of digital heritage)	Dealing with possible subjective or inaccurate (added) material	Question 5 c
		Issues with Facebook	Question 6 a - c
		Issues with online participation	Question 7 a - b
		Information retrieval/treatment of added or collected material	Question 8 a - d

For the topic list, as a guide to the semi-structured in-depth interviews with the respondents (Bryman, 2012; Opdenakker, 2006), concepts, questions and follow-up questions were arranged in three different, but overlapping, general topics (Bryman, 2012). These were, thoughts and ideas on the initiative (motivation), perceptions and experiences in posting and administrating (challenge and participatory heritage) and general attention for (local) cultural heritage (participatory heritage). These categories were introduced to the respondents during the interview by giving a brief overview of what the questions in these categories entailed. So, thoughts and ideas on the initiative was introduced as 'the

following questions relate to the reasons of and grounds on which you started your group/page and the possible goals you have with it'. The topic of perceptions and experiences in posting and administrating was presented as 'the next questions cover how you manage your Facebook group/page, the posts and the shared material'. General attention for (local) cultural heritage was brought forth as 'these questions entail your viewpoints of cultural heritage in general and with respect to your group/page or groups/pages like yours'.

The interview as a whole was introduced to the respondents by informing them of the goal of the interview and study (in the context of my Master thesis), a general remark on the scope of the questions, the duration of the interview, recording the interview, confidentiality, the possibility of taking part anonymously, the fact that they were not obliged to answer or what to do if they did not understand a question and how they could reach the researcher with further remarks or questions. Furthermore, the respondents were given the opportunity to go over and sign the consent form, next to addressing possible ambiguities or questions before starting the interview. The general goal of the interviews was to gain insights into the administrators' motives in order to arrive at the best possible analysis and conclusions with regard to the Facebook heritage initiatives of the respondents.

3.5. Data analysis

In order to process and analyse the data obtained from the interviews, thematic analysis was used. This type of analysis involves three different stages, open coding, axial coding and selective coding, in which the research questions form the most relevant guideline (Boeije, 2010). In the process of analysis, the data provided by the interview transcriptions was initially broken down and eventually reassembled in order to evolve from a description to an interpretation of the broader meanings of the themes (Boeije, 2010; Bryman, 2012).

For the first stage of thematic analysis, the so called open coding, the data was coded on direct and underlying relevant information in relation to the research questions, the main sensitising concept and its sub-themes (Boeije, 2010; Braun & Clarke, 2006). This involved the reading and careful re-reading of a text and assigning labels or codes to each sentence or section of text provided by the respondent (Boeije, 2010). The code names were connected to either the literature used for the theoretical framework, like 'sustainability issues' and 'Facebook business model, negative' or basic everyday language

that made clear what the respondent was referring to, such as 'dealing with member negativity' (see appendix A3, screenshot 1) or 'pride in activity' (Boeije, 2010). In this way the entire text is analysed to the point of saturation, meaning to the point were no new codes emerge from the data (Boeije, 2010). This process was repeated for every separate interview transcription.

Subsequently, the codes derived from the open coding, were grouped into more abstract themes during the second phase of the analysis; the axial coding (Boeije, 2010; Braun & Clarke, 2006). Fist, with the research questions in mind, the entire dataset was re-read once more, which gave a good sense of direction to the whole of the data and all assigned codes and text fragments were reviewed in the light of this. These codes were then merged in mutually excluding themes and sub-themes in case of clear overlap or split up into different themes when necessary (Boeije, 2010). This for instance resulted in the theme 'online community management' by among others merging codes such as 'minimal negative impact', 'dealing with member negativity', dealing with commerciality' and 'reasons for closed membership' (see appendix A3, screenshot 2). During this process relevant quotations of the respondents in relation to these themes were highlighted as well (Boeije, 2010). The quotations used in support and as evidence of the results were translated from Dutch. Overall, this part of the analysis provided me with a good sense of how the different themes fitted together and the general story they created about the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The third step of the thematic analysis involved selective coding (Boeije, 2010). Here, an analysis was made for each individual axial coding theme, about what it meant in relation to the research question and sub-questions, in order to identify a few key concepts or core phenomena within the data in order to make sense of the place the initiators of Facebook local heritage pages occupy in the field of heritage (Boeije, 2010; Braun & Clarke, 2006). For example, the axial coding themes 'creating engagement' and 'selection for archiving' were related to the way in which online heritage is represented or stored and the wider selection process connected to this. This resulted is the selective code of 'digital heritage selection process'.

All the categories were assembled a coding scheme (see appendix A4), in which the subjects that were extracted from the data during the axial and selective coding stage of analysis were hierarchically structured (Boeije, 2010). Lastly, the research results were drawn up based on the analysis and coding scheme. The results were clarified or

underscored by means of the previously highlighted quotations of the respondents (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and connections to relevant literature were made.

In order to maintain a clear overview in this process of analysis and be able to retrieve and connect codes easily, the Atlas.ti software for qualitative data analysis was used. After importing all interview transcripts, the basic functions of this programme were deployed for organising and analysing this interview data, such as the functions for creating codes, merging and splitting codes, renaming codes, highlighting quotations, creating code groups and adding notes. The code manager function provided a great tool to keep track of which respondent quotations belonged to which code and code group and as such kept me connected to the entire dataset.

3.6. *Reliability and validity*

According to Silverman (2011), it is sometimes critically suggested that the principle of 'anything goes' is easily applicable to the credibility of qualitative studies (p. 352). Even though qualitative research methods, such as interviewing, for the greater part rely on the interpretation of people (e.g. how a respondent understands the questions asked in the data collection and how the researcher interprets and labels the data during analysis) there are specific ways and techniques to warrant the reliability and validity of this method nonetheless (Bryman, 2012; Silverman, 2011).

In academic terms, the reliability of a study refers to the stability or fixedness of the research results; meaning whether the study is replicable, or can be repeated by others, with similar results (Silverman, 2011). This basically comes down to the fact that the findings of the study are not 'stumbled upon' by accident (Silverman, 2011). Although replicability is difficult to achieve in a qualitative research method such as interviewing, mainly because of changing circumstances in the social context, transparency (Silverman, 2011) and dependability (Bryman, 2012) can provide some important handles to the reliability of qualitative studies (Silverman, 2011; Bryman, 2012).

Transparency, as a means to guarantee reliability, entails providing a thorough explanation and justification of all the steps taken in the research, which adds to the trustworthiness (Siverman, 2011; Boeije, 2009). For this study the current and previous chapter ensure that this criterion has been met. Furthermore, the reliability of this study was insured through using so called 'low interference descriptors' (Silverman, 2011, p. 365). This implied recording the conversations with the respondents and making literal

transcripts of interviews including my questions, what respondents answered and how they behaved (e.g. body language) during the interview (Silverman, 2011).

This all ties in with the notion of dependability (Bryman, 2012), which refers to organising an audit trail were a relative outsider follows all steps of the research and has a critical approach to the decisions made in the study (Boeije, 2009). In this study this meant making all records, such as interview transcripts, and decisions, like the selection of the participants and data analysis accessible to my supervisor during the research (Bryman, 2012). This was not so much organised by me of course, as this was part of the Master Thesis approach.

Validity, in general terms, refers to the accuracy of the measurement done in a scientific study; thus actually measuring the social phenomenon one wants to measure (Silverman, 2011). In qualitative research this is determined by the consistency and trustworthiness of the research (i.e. providing detailed descriptions of all the steps taken in the research), the correctness of the researcher's data interpretation and the evidence given of this, and the external validity or generalisability of the findings (Boeije, 2009).

One technique, which was applied in this study, to ensure validity used in this study is constant comparison (Silverman, 2011). This entailed transcribing and analysing the gathered data from the point the data collection is started; newly gathered data was thus constantly compared to the data that was already collected and analysed (Boeije, 2009; Silverman, 2011). Furthermore, a detailed account of the steps and interpretations of the data analysis was provided in this chapter, which also supports the validity of this study (Boeije, 2009; Silverman, 2011).

Generalisation, or external validity, means that the outcomes of the study may also account for the whole population of research units and not the selected sample (Boeije, 2009). For this study this has been done by selecting a purposive sample (Silverman, 2011). By critically reflecting on the population on forehand, a broad and varied sample of cases was selected which were deemed most likely to occur on the whole (Silverman, 2011). Moreover, the result section of this study provides detailed accounts of the thoughts and actions of the selected respondents, which gives others the possibility to judge the transferability of the findings to the population as a whole. (Bryman, 2012).

4. Results

This chapter presents the outcome of the semi-structured interview analysis. The results will be divided into separate sections based on the sub-questions formulated for this study. The first section will cover the motivations Facebook local heritage page or group administrators can have for heritage commemoration in starting and maintaining their Facebook heritage initiative. Second, the challenges they face in the light of their initiative will be discussed, for instance dealing with rights holders of the posted material. The last section of the chapter will provide an insight into how the administrators under scrutiny represent the selection process of heritage. This last point proves to be important in engaging participants.

4.1. Motivations for commemorating local heritage

The themes observed in the analysis as motivations for taking up and continuing heritage commemoration on Facebook are the primary motivations of personal identification with the local, the secondary motivations like collecting and conversing about the material together that flow forth from that and the motivation for the initiative itself. The digital motivations, such as the maximum expansion of the community, being distinctive from other communities and the motivations to deploy the heritage activities on Facebook. Lastly the motivation of gaining (broad) acknowledgement for administrating the local heritage community will be discussed.

4.1.1. Identifying with the local

The vast majority of the respondents formed their online local heritage initiatives either as a concurrence of circumstances, out of impulse or even as a complete coincidence. Most started out with their Facebook local heritage page or group either after receiving very positive reactions on sharing a single local historic picture on their own timeline, which sparked the idea that there might be broader interest for this material, or through feeling inspired by others:

> *I lived in Amsterdam then and I saw that a friend of mine started 'Old Amsterdam'; and I thought like: 'Hey that is fun!' So I asked him if he was okay with me starting*

that about my hometown [locality], 'cause I had the feeling that idea was pretty
unique back then. (Male, 39) [2]

Others created groups while 'experimenting' with the possibilities of Facebook or in an
effort to try and obtain heritage material or information for personal reasons or use:

At some point I started, more or less for fun, […] to see whether people would want
to 'like' a Facebook page without a name. […] Pretty soon, under my general name
[page], I got a lot of friends and friendship requests from total strangers, people that
live around here. […] And I thought like, o that's fun, there should also be such a
page about 'Old [locality]'. (Male, 54)

[I] just needed a group where I could find information or preferably old photos of
family members […] and I just could not find anything. I slept on it for a night and
then I just started a group the next morning. (Male, 34)

Outside of this relative spontaneity with which the Facebook local heritage
communities were eventually created, for a significant number of the respondents a prior
interest in (their local or personal) history and the personal identification with a locality
seem to be important underlying primary motivations to engage in such local heritage
commemoration. A feeling of personal local connectedness or rootedness was indicated as
a motivational force by the majority of the respondents. For them, the connection to a
particular locality or the awareness of one's local roots is often fuelled by the family ties to
or fondness of a specific locality, feelings of nostalgia, genealogical study or sheer interest.
Next to this, for some the (near) passing of people who are personally close and connected
to the locality or a particular local site or event, has sparked the importance of, what
Gregory (2015) indicates as a motivation for local heritage commemoration, keeping
memories of the past alive. All these aspects have incited an increased sense of personal
connection to the local, as the following quotations of two respondents explain:

I was born in [locality], but I'm from '55, so of two years after the flood. Yeah, and
then it becomes fascinating right, because all people who are still alive now, my

---

[2] All quotations have been translated by the author

parents too, people don't talk about it. They still don't, they never have. […] And in twenty years, and I started the group because of that, in twenty years everyone who was part of the disaster is gone. (Male, 62)

For my history study I wrote my thesis on the grain elevators of [locality]. And uhm, I was born and raised there. I'm not living there anymore now, but I just think [locality] is very cool and uhm, nice and I just wanted to do something with that. (Male, 31)

Although these ideas and feelings precede the initial start of a Facebook local heritage community for the vast majority of the respondents, and a group or page is usually started quite impulsively, the historic interest in and personal identification with the local forms the foundation these Facebook initiatives rest on. As such, these primary underlying motivations, provide a base or springboard to the motivations that flow forth from starting the initiative as described by Gregory (2015) and Bishop (2005). Namely, collectively remembering the local past, keeping those memories alive, preventing and reminiscing loss as a community, and collecting and conversing about the material together.

Furthermore, gaining information about the heritage material is also mentioned, by about a third or the respondents, as a motivation that flowed forth from the local Facebook community. Next to this, some respondents share that in their online endeavours they are motivated by the gratifying feeling of sharing their personal collection with members or followers, so they can enjoy it as well, or are driven by making the community participants more aware of their shared roots or the history of their locality. Shaping contemporary local identity or increasing the identification with the local, as amongst others mentioned by Bishop (2005), De Groot (2016) and Gregory (2015), in relation to collecting together and online heritage initiatives, does not seem like a motivation for the respondents at first sight. Yet, it shimmers through in the way a significant number of them discuss the outcome or effect of their activities. It for instance shows in the notion of 'recognition', of the local heritage material, many respondents bring to bear in relation to their community, as the following quotations underline:

I: Why do you think this (the Facebook heritage community) appeals to people?
A bit of nostalgia, uhm, I mean, what was it like back then and uhm, recognition.
(Male, 54)

I: Do you have ideas on why communities like yours are so popular these days?
The recognisability of the past streetscape. That that is a very big driving force for
people to respond to something. (Male, 39)

In similar vein another respondent mentions:

[I]f people become involved in something, than it becomes interesting, because than it
becomes something of yourself. Our church, our this or that, because that is how
people are. I see those messages all day: 'I'm proud of [locality]'. I make them proud
because I show it to them. (Female, 70)

On the whole, this shows an overlap with Mydland and Grahn (2012), who remark that
heritage amateurs do not automatically regard their activities as a contribution to local
identity building. The bottom line of the respondent's contributions to local heritage are
formed by mediating engagement through enjoying, sharing, discussing and reacting to
local historical material which is recognisable to and can be 'owned' by the community
participants. Thus, conveying and shaping the local identity of the Facebook community,
whether aware of it or not.

Furthermore, in reaction to the question how their local initiatives differ from
somewhat similar official (local) activities, most administrators underline that their
communities are motivated by being voluntary, by and for the people initiatives with a
greater emphasis on mutual interaction. In comparison to their own initiatives the majority
underscores that official institutions are more distant and do not only deploy online
activities with a higher level of (paid) professionality, but formal organisations' social
media activities are also based on a 'commercial' stance. By this, the respondents mean the
online activities of official organisations are usually more aimed at attracting paying
visitors to the institution. Because of this, many respondents regard their activities as an
alternative for or an addition to existing heritage.

Overall, these findings are consistent with Freeman's (2010) argument that social
media heritage activities can be regarded as a form of intangible heritage within
themselves, by the ever changing expressions, practices and representations of people, with
a strong connection to a sense of identity and belonging and that as such, online
communities contribute to and complement the cultural value, significance and importance
of local heritage. Moreover, as the serious leisure perspective underlines, the way in which

the respondents regard their activities in relation to institutional professionality puts an emphasis on what the respondents, as amateur practitioners, have in common, what differentiates them from professionals in their activities and which effects this has on social interaction (Elkington & Stebbins, 2014). In the view of the respondents, they cannot necessarily be deemed 'equal' (Roued- Cunliffe, 2017; Paulos, 2012) or 'less' (Lewi et al., 2016) in relation to their official counterparts, as they generally view themselves as an addition to or alternative professional activities. In their activities the respondents see themselves as different from professional heritage in the overall perspective of a more interactive, close and no strings attached online initiative in the social interaction, which is more improvised due to the voluntary nature. As such this sets them apart, as amateur practitioners, from the official institutions' professional activities.

4.1.2. Digital motivations

There are some other underlying motivations observed amongst the respondents, which at first sight seem to have little to do with the act of heritage commemoration. Nevertheless, these do contribute and add to the wider spread and reach of the heritage initiatives, which makes sharing, conversing, interaction and identification with the local heritage material readily available to many. Moreover, they provide a broad array of options to choose from for participants, as the administrators are often motivated by different approaches in their commemorative activities and what is allowed in their community.

As highlighted in the previous paragraph, the respondents generally take up their Facebook local heritage initiatives rather spontaneously and from a personally charged interest. The amount of positive reactions, likes and first connections this spurs, often surprises them as they did not expect so many people to share their personal interest in the local. On the one hand the popularity of these initiatives is something that possibly underscores the increasing identification of people with local history and heritage themes (De Groot, 2016; Van der Hoeven, 2017). On the other, the gratification of being confirmed on a personally motivated interest and the rapid first growth of the community, motivates over half of the respondents to actively promote their initiative. As the following quotation underlines:

> *It (the Facebook community) grows fast at first, because people add each other […] that stopped. I really wanted to get to 10.000 (members) and I did now. […] But I really had to promote it to get there.* (Male, 34)

Such promotion is for instance deployed through making their existence known in other heritage groups, inviting people, evoking sharing behaviour or tagging and such, thus extending the network of people that share the administrator's interest and therewith contributing to a broad interaction with the heritage material and identification with the local, whether this is intended or not.

Of course encouraging such maximum connectedness in liking and sharing, which for users enriches the social experience and increases their social capital, is one of the imperatives Facebook thrives on as a company as it provides valuable data used for marketing and advertising purposes (Van Dijck, 2013). This is probably also why Facebook invites administrators, as many of the respondents mention, to pay for an extended reach, as this generates income for the platform as well as creating insight into what people are interested in (Van Dijck, 2013). Most, however, ignore these messages, only one respondent made use of this in order to reach the communities maximum potential.

Next to this, especially in localities with more than one Facebook heritage community, there seems to be some sense of competition, which leads to the comparison in the amount of members or followers, critique of the working methods or aims of the others and a desire to be distinctive:

You know what it is, that guy knows nothing about [locality], he is not even from here. He also does everything in English and then I'm thinking like: 'Okay'… […] At one point he had like 10,000 likes… I have like 500,000 likes so what are we talking about [laughs]! […] 10,000 likes after so many years! I have like 12,000 members, he doesn't even have members! He is put forward, probably because he's young […]. I'm one of the old guard, I can also attach stories to it. (Female, 70)

On Facebook I only saw those pages that featured pictures, pictures, pictures every day and I thought like: 'What is this?' […]. I searched if there was a page which gives the story with the picture and there wasn't. […] I think my page is popular because it is a type of niche, it is different […]. It's not just average. […] I don't want to be a picture dump. (Male, 31)

This shows, that next to relative size or popularity, the type of and way in which heritage material is shared or conveyed is an important motivation in either creating or maintaining

a page or group. Intertwined with this are issues such as the openness or strictness with which a group is managed. Whether broader discussion is allowed or how strict discussions are 'kept under control', are also seen as a type of 'unique selling proposition' the heritage initiative can offer or gain popularity with. In all cases the (personal interest in) heritage material forms the centre of the initiative, but many respondents feel that the general popularity of their heritage community is also influenced by the way in which they organise and manage it.

Moreover, the motivation of the respondents for deploying local heritage activities on Facebook is supported by the sheer size, strength, dominance and (international) reach of the medium. While overall Facebook is discussed quite negatively, or at best in a sceptical or neutral way, in terms of advertising, spam, making changes, tracking and privacy; the general reach of the platform is mentioned as generating the greatest following, especially amongst the 'more seasoned' people who are regarded to be the most interested in heritage groups and pages. Essentially, this tension between 'needing' Facebook to create, deploy and maximally expand the participatory initiative and the rather negative feelings the platform's business model evokes is what Fuchs (2014) points at when he criticises Jenkins et al. (2009) conceptualisation of participation, to which the respondents initiatives seem to fit relatively well, as being reductionist for not including things like ownership and business decisions in relation to its users. The following quotation of a male respondent (65) relates to this:

> *Yeah, a while ago, something had changed again and the people didn't understand it anymore. […] The followers think of that the way as we do, like why is Facebook doing that? Why do they change that? Things are running well. But yeah, I do get that Facebook is also subject to, how do you say that, yeah, renewal. Yeah, but we just don't care for that.*

Nevertheless, in comparison to Facebook, websites are generally thought of as outdated, only creating minimal engagement or more complex to manage and maintain. Other social media platforms are often regarded as not fitting the aim of the initiative, personal way of working or preference. The younger respondents, under the age of 40, do however also use Instagram or Twitter in their heritage activities, although Facebook remains their base in this. The relative higher age of the majority of the respondents and therewith the familiarity with Facebook could thus also contribute to the choice for this medium outside

of the possibilities Facebook offers in terms of dominance, sharing and dialogue (Stock, 2016).

4.1.3. Gaining acknowledgement

Another underlying motivation for maintaining the Facebook local heritage community is gaining acknowledgement for administrating the initiative. Many respondents underscore that receiving positive reactions on their posts gives them a reason to continue and makes their investment of time and effort worthwhile. This type of acknowledgement is in most cases derived from either facilitating a vivid discussion among the participants, posting a well viewed or reacted on photo or getting thanked for a contribution. The fact that they are able to provide local historic material of their own interest, which is highly enjoyed and appreciated by people, fills most administrators with a sense of pride and creates an incentive to continue the group or page:

I just let everyone enjoy the material and if I receive someone's thanks once a week, I am already happy with that. Then I think: 'Yes! Let's keep going!'. […] Because that's what it's all about, […] that's makes it absolutely worthwhile. (Female, 70)

Yeah, I am kind of proud of this, it's a type of pride. That you're proud that you can offer this to the inhabitants of the city. (Male, 39)

For some a sense of acknowledgement is also created by retrieving and 'researching' historic information which adds to the personal and wider value of the local heritage subject at hand. Making participants happy with an action taken, material shared or question answered, and thereby also adding to one's own knowledge or collection, seems to make up a fundamental part of this. According to Westberg-Gabriel and Jensen (2017), aiding members and responding to questions is part of the role of the administrator, which is indeed true as most of the respondents facilitate this. But doing so and being appreciated for it also adds to the acknowledgement of 'a job well done' and the importance of the created initiative as a whole. This is underlined by a female respondent (57), who administrates a group on a local dilapidated cemetery, fights for its restauration and is searching for 'lost' deceased and resting places through archival study, as some changes, burials or grave clearings were not all properly documented throughout time. Through this she was able to help group members living abroad:

I have searched endlessly. But he happened to lie next to my brother. And those people were so completely happy on St. Martin. They can't come to The Netherlands anymore, they're elderly, but because of the page and family... So I cleaned it up (the grave), removed the leaves, put a candle on it and e-mailed a photograph of that. Well, no trouble at all. Those old people were so happy!

Moreover, gaining acknowledgement in a broader sense, beyond the group or page, fits the same frame. Over half of the respondents id active in this way. Some administrators organise very well visited slide-show nights for locals; accompanied by music, drinks and food they discuss the photos, the local past and such with each other. Some others partake in local cultural events out of their Facebook community's name and one respondent is in the process of publishing a book based on the most beautiful material gained through his group. Others again contribute to a museum collection or the restauration of local heritage through their Facebook community.

Being acknowledged for the heritage initiative thus extends further than the group or page alone, bridging from the digital into the physical world, which underscores the importance of the initiative on a local level and the fact that these groups or pages are being highly appreciated and taken seriously in their aim. This combination of on and offline activity in relation to or fuelled by the Facebook local heritage initiative contradicts Lutz and Hoffmann's (2017) critique of online participation, that media users could struggle to convey online social capital to the offline world.

On the whole, being acknowledged for having created an online heritage initiative based on personal interests, which is of significant value and importance to both the members or followers and the locality itself, creates a strong underlying motivation to maintain the group or page. Furthermore, all of the (underlying) motivations for creating or maintaining a commemorative Facebook heritage page or group mentioned, show that the so called 'heritage amateur' indeed works from a deeply rooted personal interest, passion and fulfilment in preserving, collecting and communicating information about their local history (Brandellero, Van der Hoeven & Janssen, 2015; De Groot, 2016; Roued-Cunliffe, 2017).

4.2. Challenges in the Facebook heritage activity

This section elaborates on the challenges involved in administrating a Facebook heritage community. The challenge discussed first is ownership rights; thus the ways of dealing with various rights holders of the material that is posted in the community. Subsequently, issues concerning the heritage material in curating and archiving the material and some difficulties in accessing new material are highlighted. Lastly, this paragraph will discuss the challenges observed in managing a Facebook community; dealing with indecent online reactions or discussions, commerciality within the community and sustainability issues regarding the continuation of the initiative.

4.2.1. Facebook heritage material and its rights holders

When I t comes to more challenging topics in terms of being 'in charge' of a Facebook community, one thing that stands out as somewhat of an issue for a significant number of respondents is the matter of ownership rights. Most know that it might create a problem and some are scared of the possible consequences of violating copyright, but hardly any have delved into the rules and regulations concerning this topic.

The lack of knowledge or resources to handle copyright regulations (Baker & Collins, 2016), clearly shows in the highly improvised way online material is often dealt with in relation to the rights holders of that material. Some administrators do what they can in referencing to companies, institutions, writers and photographers or by asking an organisation's permission to use its material in their Facebook heritage activities. Others have more creative ways of dealing with this issue, for instance by removing copyright markings from official material to render it 'unrecognisable', by only using material from older books or magazines or by emphasising their non-commercial reuse of the material.

Especially for groups, where members can also (freely) add material like photos or videos, these issues can prove to be very hard to deal with, because retracing the origin of the material people supply is often difficult, if not impossible, to achieve for the administrator. Some administrators try to deal with this by providing general guidelines or disclaimers that state the material needs to referenced, although this is certainly not always followed up on. A similar issue with the origin of the material occurs when it is obtained through third party collections of old local photos, given to administrators, without any clarity on the primary rights holders of that material; referencing is undoable, but the material is used despite of this. In all cases, sharing material thus seem to be more important than the possible consequences. In some cases, issues like this can lead to

irritation and even lawsuit threats of local (grassroots) organisations that defend their position as rights holders over certain material, used by the Facebook administrators. Usually this results in a 'slap on the wrist' and the request to reference to the organisation in question.

A whole other type of problem arises when official institutions, like regional or city archives, become reluctant to make heritage material accessible online because of possible unauthorised reuse and the violation of copyrights (Lewi et al., 2016; Ridge, 2017) or even take (parts of) collections offline after being sued by rights holders (Van Raalte, 2018); as this type of material forms an important part of the shared items in Facebook heritage groups next to private contributions. Especially communities where the administrator is the single supplier of material, and followers can only add by reactions, can experience this as worrisome. As a male respondent (39) explains about the city archive of his locality:

> *Well, recently all images were taken offline, you couldn't download anything anymore, so I thought: 'There goes my community', because some indictments had been received through a lawyer. […] A very large part is still on lockdown, so to say, you can't access that. Yeah, I'm somewhat less motivated now. So I do post less often to be honest.*

As observed in the forgoing paragraphs of this chapter, these administrators' Facebook heritage initiatives provide for easy access to local heritage collections, which adds to a sense of collective local identity, rootedness and connection, and complements existing forms of heritage. Within that line of thought copyright issues could form a threat to such initiatives and the people who enjoy them.

Ironically, over a third of the respondents has a harsher judgement on the 'between group sharing' by members or followers within their own community or the unauthorised reuse of the posted material by other administrators. This is especially the case when it concerns private collections or when the administrator in question invested time and energy in enhancing pictures or creating a post. Herein, when the used material is referenced back to the community it was taken or shared from or when it is requested, thus in both cases when one is acknowledged for their work or collection, there is not much of a problem. If not, some respondents laughingly admit to doing this themselves by liking or commenting the reused post, often stripped of references to organisations, themselves. Shared material belonging to the administrator's private collection is marked in some

instances, sometimes in such a way that unwanted reuse of a scanned collection item becomes far more difficult:

I get commented on sometimes, […] that it's a shame that I put that name in it (in an old postcard from her private collection). […] I don't want it to be that easy... my collection. Otherwise they just have to start their own collection. I've put a fortune into it. […] I do this for myself, I try to do it in a spot that is not that easy to cut off. Yeah, just for myself. (Female, 56)

This shows that a distinct difference is made between the unauthorised reuse of official heritage material and material which is, or is deemed more, personal. Most respondents are quick to say that online material can be used because of the simple fact that it is accessible online, or in books for that matter, while there is a general dislike towards the reuse of material belonging to their community. In this way, copyright in the broadest sense of the word can be seen as an ambiguous issue in Facebook heritage activities.

Moreover, the issue of rights holders or private ownership can be expanded to the contributions of members as well. By most this is approached with more caution as over half of the respondents, who post material provided by members' private family collection, do make reference to these members. Others have included a note in their disclaimer that such private material is not be shared outside the group, although they do not feel responsible when this happens. Here too, more or less the same as with official material, the average line of thought is that if one does not want private material or information to be shared, one should not provide it for possible online (re)use.

4.2.2. *'Material issues'*

The challenges of curating and archiving in terms of lacking guidelines for what content can be added, the personalised nature of the content and the fact that Facebook is not designed for archiving purposes (Baker & Collins, 2016; Lewi et al., 2016; Stock, 2016), are generally not regarded as a pressing issue by the vast majority of respondents. Yet, some challenges were observed in relation to this nevertheless.

The issues of lacking guidelines for what content adding and the personalised nature of the material are, to a certain extent, diverted by about half of the respondents who try and implement ways to deal with this. Such as providing guidelines, which are sometimes very specific, for what content can be added or not; approving or disapproving

participant's posts on forehand, which in a way contradicts that every contribution matters or is valued in online participation (Jenkins et al., 2009; Westberg-Gabriel & Jensen, 2017) and scanning or enhancing (original) material themselves to improve the quality. It seems that time forms the greatest challenge in this, as doing these things takes extra work and personal time. One respondent abandoned the idea of approving or disapproving the type and quality of heritage material, added by members, on forehand because of this:

Because you can choose an option (in Facebook), that before anything is posted it comes through me. Like: 'Do I agree with this or not?' But with so many members, man, than I don't have a life anymore. If I have to check everything, one by one, yeah, than I would have to quit my job! (Male, 49)

Over half of the respondents archives the collectively gathered heritage material outside of the Facebook community timeline; although the deployed methods and intentions vary. Archiving the material within the community in a neatly categorised, meaningful and easy to retrieve fashion, like a preservationist as Liu (2012) would call it, by means of using the album folders in Facebook, is only done by two respondents. Next to this they keep an equally well organised personal archive of the material. These archives were formed intentionally, with the goal to make community access to and engagement with the material as easy as possible and to preserve the material for future interest or use. However, these respondents do mention that this way of working is rather time consuming.

The fact that Facebook is not specifically designed for the purpose of archiving (Baker & Collins, 2016; Stock, 2016), was also observed in the way the platform poses a difficulty in ordering the album folders in such a manner that a story can be created with the material. Storing the material by year and local street pattern or as a north to south, east to west 'walkthrough' of the locality, forms of curation that provides the material with context according to Liu (2012), is something that is near to impossible to achieve on Facebook. Every time a new item is added to a folder, Facebook changes the album sequence; putting the folder which was added to last 'on top'. This demotivated two other respondents in their efforts to archive and curate the heritage material within their Facebook community. Nevertheless, they do keep neatly organised and curated personal archives.

Although this can also be regarded as keeping material safe for possible future use, the greatest downside of this way of working is that the online community is excluded from

access to the archive. Providing members or followers with such a categorised and organised overview of the collected material may increase further engagement with or understanding of the material, as it gives people the opportunity to easily select among the presented material that is (personally) meaningful to them (Baker & Collins, 2016). Liu (2012) describes that the archiving and curation of the material into relevant historic categories is sometimes seen as tedious work, but here too it seems that finding the time to do so can also form a challenge for organising the material in historically relevant categories. As an administrator storing the Facebook heritage group material in a rather improvised way mentions:

> *I: But do you order it (the material) in a certain way, that you...*
> *No. Than it will take up too much time.* (Male, 56)

This more improvised way of archiving, which is mentioned by some respondents, does imply saving the material outside of Facebook, on a personal computer or external hard-drive, but this usually takes place in a rather unorganised manner. For instance, having one big folder which contains all material. This material sometimes named by contributor, street or building, but is neither organised nor categorised. Or a 'folder to folder system' is used, which is basically deployed to keep track of posted and still-to-post material.

> *Well, I have to admit I'm very bad at archiving. My own archives are a real, uhm, mess. But I do try, whatever comes in for the Facebook page, I put that in a folder and as soon as I publish something I put it in the 'placed' folder. So it can't accidentally be reposted. […] I can also put a description with a photo in the process.* (Male, 67)

Albeit the heritage material is stored, perhaps named and the intentions are well, this way of archiving does not seem to have the intention to contribute to the actual long-term preservation or safeguarding of the material, as it is more or less stored for convenience or just having it at hand. In that sense the material seems to be regarded as something mainly for posting purposes than for actual preservation.

The other half of the respondents does not seem to regard their activities as preserving either, as they leave the heritage material on the timeline of their Facebook community without further storage that facilitates more long-term preservation (Baker & Collins,

2016). As Baker and Collins (2016) mention, archiving and curating the heritage material like this can make older material harder to retrieve, as with every new message posted the older material sinks further down the timeline with the risk of eventually 'being forgotten'. Unless people know what they are looking for or how look for it, earlier posts can thus become 'lost' using this system of archiving (Baker & Collins, 2016).

Some respondents do, however, specifically advice the Facebook search option to their following and in a few instances searching on street names or specific keywords, to make this process easier, is recommended to the community participants. Liu (2012) mentions that keyword categorisation as a means of online curation can indeed form a way to keep memories of the past alive, as it creates topic-specific collections on social media platforms such as Facebook. Providing keywords to participants, to make the retrieval of older material easier, could thus perhaps be noted as a somewhat less unintentional way of archiving on Facebook. This, because making ways to uncover older material known to the community's participants does seem to imply that these administrators are more or less aware of the fact that the timeline forms a type of archive. Even so, this manner of online curation still requires that the right keyword is attached to the heritage material, either by the administrator or the community participants (Liu, 2012). If this is not done rigorously, there is still a risk of material 'sinking into oblivion'.

On the whole, sharing material, for most, seems to be regarded as more important than preserving it in a way that makes it easily available for the participants over time. Looking at preservation from the 'bigger picture', the archiving methods deployed by the majority of the respondents can be regarded as an issue; although in general they themselves do not regard it as such. This is perhaps especially a problem in relation to interesting original material, contributed from participants' private and family collections, which is not (yet) part of local historic archives or other more 'lasting' or long-term collections. What stands out besides this, is that not any respondent feels the need to save and archive stories (that are added) or information other than street and people's names. This is generally regarded as too much work or too difficult to archive properly outside of Facebook.

What is considered somewhat more of a challenge by the respondents is gaining new or original, material from members to post in the community. This is mainly an issue for administrators of Facebook communities in smaller villages and administrators that do not have an extensive personal collection to draw on. Some administrators request new material from their members, with mixed results:

Yeah, people all promise that (looking up pictures) and everybody has photos laying around in the attic, you know that just as well as I do […] Well, and there are a lot of people that say uhmm, yeah, I'll check the attic, but tomorrow they'll have forgotten that they told me that. (Male, 58)

At least a third of the respondents, independent of locality size, recycles the material they already have at their disposal; after a year, some months or some weeks the material is reposted. Most of them bring forward that they do this because the following fluctuates; people come and go, and reposting heritage material provides them with new reactions of the people, old and new, every time around. This could indeed be the case. However, whether this also has something to do with the investment of time, as creating a new post does take time in selecting material and information, or a lack of new material is conceivable, but remains rather unclear in this study.

4.2.3. Online community management
As in any situation, leading a group of people can come with certain challenges and this is also true in administrating a Facebook heritage community. Such challenges can range from managing the (added) heritage material and the investment of private time, as discussed in the previous paragraph, to managing the conduct of members and followers. 'Member management' in part depends on the policy an administrator adheres to. Thus, whether (s)he allows for extensive or off-topic chatter, what topics can be discussed and at what point (s)he intervenes in discussions or participant reactions.

All respondents try to create and want their community to be a fun and safe place to be a part of or contribute to. A certain sense of togetherness or solidarity is of paramount importance to all of them. This is also underlined in how online participatory culture is defined; a degree of social connection with one another (Jenkins et al., 2009) or as creating a sense of community within the Facebook heritage group or page (Westberg-Gabriel & Jensen, 2017). Sadly, the critique of Lutz and Hoffmann (2017) on the overall positive ideas surrounding online participation is also true; online participation is not all just filled with good intentions, as all respondents have noticed throughout time. Heated discussions, fights, hateful, racist or uncivil remarks prove to be a challenge for every administrator, but especially administrators of Facebook heritage communities in bigger localities or, more specifically, those with groups members can add material to (either controlled or not) seem to have to deal with this issue:

There have been many occasions already (some months after launch) where people are racist, about Muslims, or make racist remarks towards each other, or call each other names, like 'you're ugly' or those kind of things. (Male, 34)

[I]f it's a topic that becomes very popular all of a sudden, you basically have to follow that discussion constantly. Because there only has to one person that suddenly makes some completely weird remark, and then you have a problem. I've seen how it goes in other groups and that's not funny at all, those type of discussions, and I just don't want those. (Male, 68)

Communities formed on the local heritage of villages and pages where the administrator is the sole contributor to the material (i.e. the following can only contribute by giving reactions), have only had to deal with this on occasion and thus their initiatives seem less prone to this behaviour of members or followers.

Administrators respond to unwanted behaviour by warning, blocking or removing participants from the group and blocking further discussion or removing the topic all together. Some have disclaimers or guidelines including notes on member behaviour, which they sometimes 'shield behind' when setting people straight; as sometimes making tough decisions can be hard. Others remark that community members sometimes provide a helping hand, by either warning the administrator in a personal message or by appealing to unwanted behaviour within the group themselves, which underscores the prevailing sense of community in groups like this.

Next to managing the group as a whole, managing commerciality within a Facebook heritage community can be challenging in different ways. One obstacle mentioned by about all administrators is dealing with spam, which is always removed and blocked. Most respondents who had to deal with this say that after a few times they figured out the characteristics of possible spammers and are now cautions of not letting these parties enter their community through membership anymore. One male respondent (62), uses audit questions in membership requests because of this. These audit questions, like ones connection to the locality, the goal of the membership, the name of a specific street and such, act as sort of a failsafe; when these questions are not answered a little background check is done on the Facebook profile of the requester or a private message is sent to check the person's intentions. These measures are also taken by other groups, public and closed, in membership requests, even when they do not make use of such questions.

Reasons for deciding on actual closed membership, only being able to see and participate in the group when allowed as a member, vary; to create more of a group feel, to protect material from all too easy copying or to protect the group as a whole from unwanted insight or interaction by raising a barrier for entry. As one respondent, running a group about a local cemetery, explains:

I don't just let them in. […] I did that (closed membership) on purpose. […] It has been public for three days and nasty things were posted, uhm, hateful things. Death to all Jews. And I was like, it's not even a Jewish cemetery and if it was, excuse me?! Or that someone said: 'I found out I have family lying there'. And someone else replied with: 'Your family this and that', an angry story. (Female, 57)

On the other hand public community administrators feel such barriers could harm participation or reaching the maximum potential of members. They also mention a public community makes it easier to link to other groups, that they have nothing to hide or want to create transparency to what the group is about before people decide to join. This thus corroborates with Westberg-Gabriel and Jensen's (2017) and Jenkins et al. (2009) notion of participatory heritage in the importance of low barriers for contribution or civic engagement. Though in practice this can also be hard to maintain for some initiatives, as the prior example indicates. In relation to Lutz and Hoffmann's (2017) critique of the online participation positivity bias, that participation is not always filled with good intentions, it is indeed telling that in some instances barriers for entry are needed as a form of protection.

Handling regular advertising within the community can prove to be challenging as well. On the one hand in preventing members and followers from placing advertisements. The administrators that provide disclaimers to their community all included notes prohibiting advertising, to prevent turning into a 'marketplace' which has nothing to do with local heritage anymore. All administrators instantly remove advertising by participants from their community. On the other, a few administrators also got approached by companies to sell advertising space in their community, which some have considered acting on. One male respondent (49), did place company advertisements on some occasions, but stopped after he was criticised by his members in not allowing them, yet condoning to advertising himself. Another respondent, trying to pitch a city related initiative of his own, explains:

[T]hat friend of mine generates monthly income (with his heritage page) through advertisements […] publishers who make books about the city. […] I tried to start a T-shirt company once […] where all districts of [locality] were printed very nicely on a T-shirt […] I shared that a couple of times,[…] but I got reactions like: 'Stop that advertising' or 'that nonsense' as well. So I stopped doing that after three or four times. (Male, 39)

Moreover, members and followers also tend to react negatively when something the administrator does for the community, gives just the slightest feel of a commercial interest. As another respondent, who allots local extra's amongst his members, remarks:

[T]hose 'win-activities', people scold me and I get hateful private messages that, uhm, the group is too commercial… and then I think: 'I'm not making any money off of this!' If I can allot a high-tea, do you really think I also get one? Not even close, I get nothing for all of it, nothing! I do it to create a nice group, to give back to the people […] I really think it's a shame that so many people react so terrible. (Male, 34)

Commerciality within the heritage community, whether intended or perceived, thus tends to create a certain difficulty between the administrator and his or her following; even if the (perceived) advertising of the administrator has relation to the locality. Although it is their initiative, their group or page which they have started from their own interest and on which they should basically be able to do whatever they want, administrators take note of what their following appreciates in this or not. At least when it comes to actual commercial interests. Albeit many respondents, much like an official institution (Westberg-Gabriel & Jensen, 2017), exercise a certain amount of control over what happens it their online community in terms of who is allowed membership and what content is approved of, what can be discussed, meaning whether reactions are expected to be on (heritage) topic or not, and when a discussion or participant is broken off or removed, there is a sense of democracy which guides the community's development when it comes to commerciality.

On the other hand, some respondents are quite negative about the commercial character Facebook in relation to their activities; the fact that the platform is trying to money over their backs or regards them as an enterprise. This makes them feel like they are seen and approached as an initiative with commercial interests, while they themselves put a firm emphasis on the non-commercial characteristics of their activity:

Well, as a group we became too big as Facebook. If you are over that many, that were still friends back then, well than it becomes too much and then they (Facebook) say like: 'You are becoming too commercial' and what not. But hey, what we are doing here has nothing to do with commerciality! […] Yeah, then they want to profit from it of course, then they can start letting you pay for stuff if you want to. (Male, 65 and male, 70)

Facebook keeps asking me if I want to promote my shop […]. I don't want to sell anything! […] It's irritating, super irritating that they don't understand you can also manage something without a profit objective. […] I think it's just wrong they think like that. (Male, 67)

There thus seems to be a discrepancy for some administrators, in the way they see their participatory initiative and the fact that they rely on Facebook, a platform which is overtly commercial (Van Dijck, 2013), to deploy their activities.

The final theme relating to online community management is the sustainability of the Facebook heritage initiative; meaning, the future challenge of passing the community on or what will happen to it when a (devoted) administrator, for whatever reason, is not able to manage their group or page anymore (Baker & Collis, 2016). Three, slightly older, administrators expressed their concern about this issue and already think about who should take over and that could be done. In a way, Facebook does seem to add to this challenge, as one respondent expresses:

[T]he page remains a part of my private Facebook account. Yeah, so that worries me a bit […] I haven't yet figured out, really, how to solve that. […] As long as my wife and kids say: 'Well we'll leave his account opened', and we would make a statement (of disablement or passing) […] they (his fellow administrators) could continue. […] But people don't always pay attention too well, so messages could still be addressed to me and I don't think my wife would like that. (Male, 65)

Sustainability challenges can also lie in the nature of the heritage initiative. When the group or page subject is very specific, like a particular local event or a fixed heritage goal that is slowly being realised, there is a mild concern about eventually running out of material or need.

Furthermore, the investment of time can form an obstacle for some to continue the heritage initiative as well. Most administrators in this study that related to this issue, found satisfactory ways of dealing with this. For instance by drafting the most active community members a fellow-administrators or using the option provided for Facebook groups to plan posts ahead. As one respondent highlights:

I: But if you wouldn't have that option (of planning posts ahead), what would...
Than I would have already quit at some point, because yeah, what I'm saying, it all
consumes quite some time. (Male, 54)

Some others more or less 'role with the punches' of the time administrating a community consumes, as joint administration and shared decision making is thought of as upsetting the 'management process' and just more difficult or complex than managing the group alone.

4.3. *Selection criteria of heritage material*

This last section of the results chapter discusses the selection criteria of heritage material the respondents apply in their Facebook local heritage activities. In the selection of material it is important to entice reactions and create engagement by placing images that connect the local past to the present and evoke a sense of recognition, identification or nostalgia in relation to the local past. Local icons and material relating to current topics are popular is selecting material.

Selecting historic photos and topics that sit well with the members or followers of a local Facebook heritage initiative is important to keep people interested and spark the enthusiasm for the shared local past. As mentioned earlier, the recognisability of, or identification with, an image is an essential aspect in this, and moreover the amount of reactions a posted item generates provides most administrators with a sense of appreciation and acknowledgement.

Enticing reactions and as such creating engagement with the selected local heritage material, happens in a number of ways. One strategy is as simple as it is effective, namely asking questions about the photo presented in the Facebook community. Questions are often used when an administrator is looking for specific information on a photo or to create a greater flow of reactions and discussions in general. Some others use sort of picture puzzles; a part or snippet of a picture on which is little information available, more or less to for fun and to create vivid discussions on what, who or where it could be. Deliberately

using misinformation in items posted is also mentioned by one respondent, this tends to facilitate extremely lively debates among the participants. Next to this, all respondents provide (extensive) background information with a photo to create engagement with and extend the knowledge of the locality's history and heritage. Respondents, especially those active in bigger localities, also try to alternate between local districts or parts of town in the material they post; sometimes on member or follower request, but also to give all people the opportunity to participate as less active members do tend to respond to posts about their own surroundings.

Most administrators in this study select local heritage material which is rather easy to relate to for the majority of the members or followers; buildings, shops and streets that still exist (sometimes accompanied by the current situation) or have disappeared over the course of time, streetscapes that show life as it was, people, family photos, local newspaper articles, etcetera, mostly in timeframe between the early to mid-1900's and the nineties. In that sense Facebook heritage initiatives are more concerned with contemporary history and heritage; everything followers can still connect and identify with through their own personal experience or stories and images shared by parents or grandparents.

It can however sometimes be difficult to determine upfront what material, posted by the administrator, will have the greatest effect on the community, as personal likings or preferences are not always shared by his or her following. As a male respondent (56) mentions about selecting material very strikingly:

> *[I]t's very easy to notice of course, if you only get one or two reactions than I'm thinking like: 'Well, this is not such a hit'. So than you move on to another photo, like you're a kind of DJ. If people don't dance to a tune, you have to play another tune. Yeah, because, you have to get people on the dancefloor.*

What generally gets people 'on the dancefloor', according to the vast majority of respondents, is historic material featuring well-known local public spaces or landmarks.

Often these are local places that were or are social sites, visited by many people over time. For instance a shop, swimming pool, post office, bar or other type of construction that was or is defining for the locality and its inhabitants. Very regularly, but not always, the local 'icons' that were demolished give rise to the most reactions. In some instances these are reactions of sadness or incomprehension, either about why a building or site was torn down or just because of the simple fact that it is gone. This underscores Gregory's

(2015) notion of the Facebook heritage group or page as an emotional community and the feelings of loss and reminisce the material can trigger. Moreover, it shows that the material posted by the administrator, or in some cases also members, define the collective memory and lets people engage in the act of remembering together or nostalgia through the reactions they share online (Gregory, 2015; Simon, 2012). This thus shows the historical significance of the local and the meaning it creates by connecting the past to the present (Atia & Davies, 2010; Simon, 2012). This baseline on the material selected and shared and the importance of Facebook local heritage communities is put into words by a male respondent (49), one of the administrators in this study:

[I]t's a band aid. […] A picture always triggers memories […] It (a building) had to go, so be it, but we still have the photos, the memories. That's how it's alive as well. I'm not romanticising it. It's a fact.

Connecting the past to the present is something that many administrators also (unknowingly) do in a more literal sense; by posting historical material of the locality on current topics, which is mentioned as being enjoyed by their following as well. Items featuring the seasons, like an old photo of local snowy rooftops in winter, or old material featuring reoccurring (national) events being celebrated or commemorated in the locality, like for instance carnival, 'queens day' or more serious issues such as World War II.

Overall these findings coincide with the observations of De Groot (2016) and Jackson (2008) that local heritage is more site specific, interested in the visual testimonies and puts emphasis on the individual and the individual event, next to being concerned with the commemoration of large and dynamic heritage, meaning to which meanings and values can be attributed that coincide with social changes, such as (demolished or dilapidated) buildings and landscapes (Gregory, 2015). Furthermore, the material presented and way in which the respondents present it ensures a broad environment of interaction and knowledge accumulation among the participants, as Stock, (2016) and Westberg-Gabriel and Jensen (2017) proclaim as an important feature of administrating a Facebook heritage community.

In general, the historic material for posts is selected from different sources; books, magazines, the internet, online archives, YouTube videos, material provided by locals and community participants and sometimes other groups. For accompanying text or explanation about an image, Wikipedia or online archives and encyclopaedias about the locality are often used. Some respondents get their inspiration for a post through the

images well-known local photographers from the past and even old maps, as one male respondent (31) explains:

> *Often I also use a site like '[locality]kaart.nl', there you have a few old maps of [locality] […] and then I just look at the street pattern. And then there is a 'Schoorsteenvegersgang' (Chimney sweepers alley) and I just type in that name and think like 'O fun!' and then I use that image.*

5. Conclusion

Against the backdrop of online participatory culture, in which many ordinary people have started local heritage initiatives independently of formal institutions, the aim of this study has been to explore how the grassroots initiators of Facebook local heritage communities in The Netherlands understand their role in the preservation and commemoration of local cultural heritage. In the light of this, fifteen semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with the initiators or administrators of such Facebook local heritage communities, as a method of qualitative research.

The thematic analysis of these interviews has shown that motivations are formed by identifying with the local, gaining on and offline acknowledgement and digital motivations for facilitating the maximum growth of the Facebook community, being distinctive and deploying the activities on Facebook. The challenges found in administrating a participatory heritage initiative concern dealing with rights holders to the material used in the Facebook community, other issues regarding the heritage material such as curation, archiving or preserving and accessing new material and managing the online community in dealing with members, commerciality and issues regarding sustaining the activities. Lastly, the selection of heritage material is based on enticing reactions and interaction among members or followers, focusing on recognisable material and relating historic material to 'local icons' and current topics.

The results show that Facebook heritage communities, as participatory cultures, exist by the interaction between the administrator and their community. The administrator, after starting the initiative quite impulsive, needs the community for new (original) material, information, positive input to or the affirmation and acknowledgement of their own personal motivations and historic interest. Both in the online community and the physical world. The community wants to see, share or interact on recognisable, contemporary local historic content they can (still) identify with and gives back positive responses, sought after information or appreciation. The Facebook local heritage communities are characterised by being voluntary, by and for the people initiatives with a great emphasis on mutual interaction. As such, the administrators distinguish their initiatives and themselves, as amateurs, from professional institutions and regard their participatory activities as making heritage more personal and an addition to existing heritage. Yet, within the interaction the administrators have to mediate between their personal and the community's interest in preserving and personal time, sharing and upholding regulations, commerciality and

negative reactions and have to organise the Facebook community in such a way that the participatory experience is a pleasant one for everybody.

Based on these findings, the commemorative role of Facebook heritage administrators in The Netherlands can be understood as being an intermediary between a personal interest and the interest of their community to identify the local past which, often without having the initial intention to do so, creates a broad platform for contemporary and socially relevant local heritage engagement both on and offline, in which preserving is less important than sharing. Within this, the administrators create a positive participatory heritage environment which forms an addition to or alternative for existing heritage engagement.

The findings of prior research, committed to the consumption side of online grassroots heritage, show that these initiatives contribute to collective memory, identity building, and remembering (lost local heritage) together (Gregory, 2015; Simon, 2012). However, on the production side of the heritage spectrum the administrators are not (primarily) motivated by these convictions when engaging in the collective commemoration of history and heritage on a local level. These could rather be considered as secondary motivations flowing forth from the initiative, although most administrators seem unaware of their contribution to or role in the formation of local identity.

Curation of the material plays an important role in how history and memories kept alive (Liu, 2012), and thus how they shape local identity. Of the archetypes and their associated activities Liu (2012) describes in relation to the curation of online artefacts, there are some types most deployed among the Facebook local heritage administrators. The exhibitor, who displays and distributes, next to creating an appealing experience and evoking responses. Another frequently deployed curation type is the docent. The activities belonging to this type are facilitating discussions, guiding the participants and creating engagement with and reflection on the topic. The last one is the archivist who identifies, finds, gathers and collects representative online heritage material. This is not surprising as these activities form the base of the participatory heritage initiatives. Yet, the activities concerning preservation, organising and categorising, the so called librarian and preservationist, are the least deployed. Of the few respondents curating the heritage material in these ways, even fewer make sure the preserved, organised and categorised heritage material is also accessible within the Facebook community; something which ensures the long-term visibility, retrievability and knowledge transference for all participants (Baker & Collins, 2016). The majority of the administrators thus either handles

the heritage material as Baker and Collins (2016) mention, as an unintentional archive or archives by simply keeping the communities collected material in a personal file for more practical reasons. The reposting of older heritage material, which is done by some, could somewhat alleviate the decreased visibility of and knowledge about material in the cases of unintentional or offline archiving. The use of keywords for Facebook searching could potentially do the same, unless properly implemented (Liu, 2012).

Whether the overall lack of preservative activities is also connected to the sources material for posts is often retrieved from (i.e. online archives, books, magazines) and is perhaps therefore thought of as already archived, is a possibility but remains unclear in this study. Yet, original material contributed by community members which is not archived elsewhere can still be at risk of 'disappearing' over time when left on the community's timeline. Nevertheless, the considerable reach through promotion and overall popularity of these local heritage initiatives (Van der Hoeven, 2017) in relation to the lack of long-term preservation and the issues which accessing older material and knowledge, undermines the democratising effect attributed to social media heritage collecting and commemoration in terms of the production of value, significance and meaning (Cameron, 2008).

What furthermore came forth from this study, is that online participatory culture as defined by Jenkins et al. (2009) and in part underlined by Westberg-Gabriel and Jensen (2017) in relation to online heritage, does not seem to hold on all accounts. Such as that every contribution matters (Westberg-Gabriel and Jensen, 2017) or that 'members believe their contributions matter' and contributions of members 'will be appropriately valued' (Jenkins et al., 2009, p. 7), which is contradicted by the actions taken by some administrators; especially those leading groups to which members can also contribute heritage material. By approving or disapproving of contributions, thus judging them on their appropriateness, not every contribution seems to matter equally. On the other hand, doing this does however facilitate the curation process as it becomes less improvised by not allowing highly personalised and informal material; something Lewi et al. (2016) note as a pitfall of 'insider curation'.

Moreover, having to raise barriers for entry by closed membership in order to protect the shared material or the integrity of the group itself, does not comply with the importance of low barriers for entry as underscored by Jenkins et al. (2009) and Westberg-Gabriel and Jensen (2017) as this proves hard to maintain in online participatory culture for some initiatives. By raising barriers for entry and exercising control over content administrators function in a similar way as official institutions (Westberg-Gabriel and Jensen, 2017).

Screening members or drafting audit questions before people are allowed membership in relation to spam, monitoring behaviour in relation to whether reactions are expected to be on (heritage) topic or not and when a discussion or participant is broken off or removed, which is especially so for groups in bigger localities members can freely add to, fit the same frame. Such interventions are needed because online participation is not just filled with good intentions, as Lutz and Hoffmann (2017) state in their critique of the overall positive notion of online participation. Yet, in Facebook heritage communities this is needed in order to create a sense of togetherness, which is deemed very import by the respondents, and this does adhere to Jenkins et al. (2009) and Westberg-Gabriel and Jensen (2017) explanation of online participatory culture.

Besides this, further critiques on the positivity bias of online participation (Lutz and Hoffmann, 2017) is diverted by the fact that many respondents have no trouble at all to convert their online activities to the real world and in doing that strengthen contacts or make new connections rather than neglecting offline ties. In doing so they contribute to the wider spread of local heritage commemoration beyond their Facebook community and thus provide an even broader platform for people to identify with the local.

Moreover, although administrators overall see their initiative as an addition to existing heritage collections (Freeman, 2010; Lutz & Hoffmann, 2017), in relation to formal and other grassroots organisations copyright is often handled in quite an improvised and creative way. Overall administrators seem to be more protective of their own collection and the work that went into that, then they are of the work organisations put in their collections. Referencing to the organisations that claim the ownership rights of the material is thus not always done, at most to organisations the administrators feel connected to in one way or the other, also because the original source of the material is can be hard to trace in the participatory cultures these Facebook initiatives provide for. Even so, violating ownership rights can upset the relationship with other local heritage organisations.

By researching the working methods, motivations and aims of the administrators of Facebook local heritage communities, this study has formed an empirical contribution to the fields of media and heritage by providing a broader understanding how the production of amateur local heritage is shaped in online participatory culture and how this in turn shapes participatory culture in heritage commemoration. Furthermore, this study has given a theoretical insight into the importance of the relationship between the administrators, their Facebook communities and local heritage. Moreover, it has underlined the function of social media to give form and content to this relationship in the field of local heritage. This

has provided a greater awareness of how the initiators of online participatory local heritage activities produce, shape and provide meaning to the heritage material shared and how they attract and attach other people to their cause.

Yet, due to the explorative nature of this study and the relative lack of prior academic attention given to the research topic at hand, a need was felt for a broader formulation of the research and interview questions. This has formed somewhat of a limitation in relation to the time available for this study; in the analysis of the data new bits of information kept surfacing to the last interview analysed. Hence, a little more time to interview a larger group of respondents would have perhaps given more nuance to some topics. The broad scope of this study furthermore implied that certain other research methods, like for instance surveys, were less suitable to use. If surveys would have been possible, however, a larger group of respondents could have been approached. Because as mentioned before, there are many such local grassroots Facebook initiatives out there; about every city, town or village at least has one such initiative.

Nevertheless, this study might also form a base on which surveys could be conducted. One outcome of this study, how online participatory culture in local heritage commemoration is influenced by the way Facebook administrators deploy their initiatives, deserves more attention in my opinion; conducting surveys under a large group of Facebook local heritage administrators on this theme could develop further understanding of this. Moreover, further research could be conducted on the place of commerciality within Facebook heritage communities, as the aspect of commercial advertising by an administrator in his or her group deserves more attention in my opinion. This means also looking into initiatives that do maintain successful paid (heritage topic related) advertising within their group or page and whether this type of advertising perhaps changes the perspective of the community in comparison to non-advertising communities. How this relates to the ideas among administrators that Facebook generally sees groups and pages as more or less commercial entities could be part of this. Furthermore, looking at this from the other end of the spectrum, the question rises what it is that makes the heritage group participants agitated about everything even remotely resembling advertising or commerciality.

References

Alhojailan, M. I. (2012). Thematic analysis: A critical review of its process and evaluation. *West East Journal of Social Sciences*, *1*(1), 39-47.

Atia, N., & Davies, J. (2010). Nostalgia and the shapes of history: Editorial. *Memory Studies, 3*(3), 181-186. DOI: 10.1177/1750698010364806.

Ashworth, G.J., Graham, B., & Tunbridge, J.E. (2007). *Pluralising pasts: Identity and place in multicultural societies*. London: Pluto Press.

Assman, J., & Czaplicka, J. (1995). Collective memory and cultural identity. *New German Critique, 65*, 125-133. DOI: 10.2307/488538.

Baker, S., & Collins, J. (2016). Popular music heritage, community archives and the challenge of sustainability. *International Journal of Cultural Studies, 20*(5), 476-491. DOI: 10.1177/1367877916637150.

Bishop, R. (2005). The essential force of the clan: Developing a collecting-inspired ideology of genealogy through textual analysis. *The Journal of Popular Culture, 38*(6), 990-1010. DOI: 10.1111/j.1540-5931.2005.00172.x.

Boeije, H. (2009). Kwalitatief onderzoek. In: H. Boeije, H. 't Hart & J. Hox (Eds.), *Onderzoeksmethoden* (8th edition) (pp. 246-281). Den Haag: Boom Lemma.

Boeije, H. (2010). *Analysis in qualitative research*. London: Sage Publications

Bowen, G. (2008). Grounded theory and sensitizing concepts. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 5*(3), 12-23. DOI: 10.1177/160940690600500304.

Brandellero, A., Van der Hoeven, A. & Janssen, S. (2015). Valuing popular music heritage: Exploring amateur and fan-based preservation practices in museums and archives in The Netherlands. In: S. Baker (Ed.), *Preserving popular music heritage: Do-it-yourself, do-it-together* (pp. 31-45). London: Routledge.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77-101. DOI: 10.1191/1478088706qp063oa.

Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods* (4th edition). USA: Oxford University Press.

Cameron, F. (2008). Politics of heritage authorship. In: Y. Kalay, T. Kvan & J. Affleck (Eds.), *New heritage: New media and cultural heritage*, (pp. 170-183). New York: Routledge.

Cohen, A. (1985). *The symbolic construction of community*. London: Routledge.

De Groot, J. (2016). *Consuming history: Historians and heritage in contemporary popular culture* (2nd edition). London: Routledge.

Elkington, S. & Stebbins, R.A. (2014). *The serious leisure perspective: An introduction.* New York: Routledge.

Fuchs, C. (2014). *Social media: A critical introduction.* London: Sage Publications.

Giaccardi, E. (2012). Reframing heritage in a participatory culture. In: E. Giaccardi (Ed.), *Heritage and social media: Understanding heritage in a participatory culture* (pp. 1-10). New York: Routledge.

Gregory, J. (2015). Connecting with the past through social media: The 'Beautiful buildings and cool places Perth has lost' Facebook group. *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 21*(1), 22–45. DOI: 10.1080/13527258.2014.884015.

Han, K., Shih, P.C., Rosson, M.B., & Carroll, J.M. (2014, February 15-19). Enhancing community awareness of and participation in local heritage with a mobile application. CSCW '14 Proceedings of the 17th ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work and Social Computing, 1144-1155. DOI: 10.1145/2531602.2531640.

Hanselman, J. [Joke]. (2018, April 10). Timeline ['t Dordrecht van toen – Geschiedenis van een eiland]. Retrieved June 3, 2018, from: https://www.facebook.com/groups/496140744087845/search/?query=Postkantoor.

Hermanowicz, J.C. (2002). The great interview: 25 strategies of studying people in bed. *Qualitative Sociology, 25*, 479-499. DOI: 10.1023/A:1021062932081.

Jackson, A. (2008). Local and regional history as heritage: The heritage process and conceptualising the purpose and practice of local historians. *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 14*(4), 362-379. DOI: 10.1080/13527250802155877.

Jenkins, H., Clinton, K., Purushotma, R., Robison, A.J., & Weigel, M. (2009). *Confronting the challenges of participatory culture: Media education for the 21st century.* Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Kaplan, A.M., & Haenlein, M. (2010). Users of the world, unite! The challenges and opportunities of social media. *Business Horizons, 53*(1), 59-68. DOI: 10.1016/j.bushor.2009.09.003

Kazmer, M.M., & Xie, B. (2008). Qualitative interviewing in internet studies: Playing with the media, playing with the method. *Information, Communication and Society, 11*(2), 257-278. DOI: 10.1080/13691180801946333.

Keen, A. (2007). *The cult of the amateur: How today's internet is killing our culture.* New York: The Doubleday Broadway Publishing Group.

Krueger, R.A., & Casey, M.A. (2015). *Focus groups: A practical guide for applied research* (5th edition). London: Sage Publications.

Kvale, S. (1983). The qualitative research interview: A phenomenological and a hermeneutical mode of understanding. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology, 14*(2) 171-196. DOI: 10.1163/156916283X00090.

Lewi, H., Smith, W., Murray, A., & Cooke, S. (2016). Visitor, contributor and conversationalist: Multiple digital identities of the heritage citizen. *Historic Environment, 28*(2), 12-24.

Liu, S.B. (2012). Socially distributed curation of the Bhopal disaster: A case of grassroots heritage in the crisis context. In: E. Giaccardi (Ed.), *Heritage and social media: Understanding heritage in a participatory culture* (pp. 30-55). New York: Routledge.

Logan, W., & Reeves, K. (2009). Remembering places of pain and shame. In: W. Logan & K. Reeves (Eds.), *Places of pain and shame: Dealing with 'difficult heritage'* (pp. 1-15). New York: Routledge.

Lutz, C., & Hoffmann, C.P. (2017). The dark side of online participation: Exploring non-, passive and negative participation. *Information, Communication & Society, 20*(6), 876-897. DOI: 10.1080/1369118X.2017.1293129.

Meijer-Van Mensch, L., & Van Mensch, P. (2012). Proud to be Dutch? Intangible heritage and national identity in The Netherlands. In: M.L. Stefano, P. Davis & G. Corsane (Eds.), *Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage* (pp. 125-136). Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap [OC&W]. (2017, December 7). *Europees erfgoedjaar van start* [Press release]. Retrieved from: https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/actueel/nieuws/2017/12/07/europees-erfgoedjaar-van-start.

Mydland, L., & Grahn, W. (2012). Identifying heritage values in local communities. *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 18*(6), 564-587. DOI: 10.1080/13527258.2011.619554.

Nelissen, N. (2008). *Geloof in de toekomst! Strategisch Plan voor het Religieus Erfgoed.* [Foundation study] Retrieved from: https://adaptalkmaar.nl/wp-content/uploads/strategisch-plan-voor-het-religieus-erfgoed.pdf.

Opdenakker, R. (2006). Advantages and disadvantages of four interview techniques in qualitative research. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 7*(4). DOI: 10.17169/fqs-7.4.175.

Paulos, E. (2012). You amateur! *Interactions, 19*(1), 52-57. DOI: 10.1145/2065327.2065338.

Ridge, M. (2017). The contributions of family and local historians to British history online. In: H. Roued-Cunliffe & A. Copeland (Eds.), *Participatory heritage* (pp. 57-66). London: Facet Publishing.

Rijksoverheid, Regeerakkoord 2017 – 2021, VVD, CDA, D66 en ChristenUnie. (2017). *Vertrouwen in de toekomst* [Governmental publication]. Retrieved from Rijksoverheid website: https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/publicaties/2017/10/10/regeerakkoord-2017-vertrouwen-in-de-toekomst.

Roued-Cunliffe, H. (2017). Collection building amongst heritage amateurs. *Collection Building, 36*(3), 108-114. DOI: 10.1108/CB-01-2017-0003.

Silverman, D. (2011). Credible qualitative research. In: *Interpreting qualitative data. A guide to the principles of qualitative research* (4th edition) (pp. 351-395). London: Sage.

Simon, R.I. (2012). Remembering together: Social media and the formation of the historical present. In: E. Giaccardi (Ed.), *Heritage and social media: Understanding heritage in a participatory culture* (pp. 89-106). New York: Routledge.

Smith, J. (2006). *Uses of heritage*. New York: Routledge.

Stock, M. (2016). Facebook: A source for microhistory? In: K. Knautz & K. S. Baran (Eds.), *Facets of Facebook: Use and users* (pp. 210-241). Berlin: De Gruyter.

Valtysson, B. (2010). Access culture: Web 2.0 and cultural participation. *International Journal of Cultural Policy, 16*(2), 200-214. DOI: 10.1080/10286630902902954.

Van Dijck, J. (2013). *The culture of connectivity: A critical history of social media.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Van Raalte, J. (2018, May 1). Archieven verwijderen historische foto's in paniek na rechtszaak om auteursrecht. *De Volkskrant*. Retrieved from: https://www.volkskrant.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/archieven-verwijderen-historische-foto-s-in-paniek-na-rechtszaak-om-auteursrecht~bd3de7e9/.

Van den Broek, A., & Van Houwelingen, P. (2015). *Gisteren vandaag: Erfgoedbelangstelling en erfgoedbeoefening.* (Het culturele draagvlak report No. 2015-9) [SCP publication]. Retrieved from SCP website: https://www.scp.nl/Publicaties/Alle_publicaties/Publicaties_2015/Gisteren_vandaag.

Van der Hoeven, A. (2017). The mediatization of urban cultural heritage: participatory approaches to narrating the urban past. In: O. Driessens, G. Bolin, A. Hepp & S. Hjarvard (Eds.), *Dynamics of mediatization: Institutional change and everyday transformations in a digital age* (pp. 293-312). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Westberg-Gabriel, L., & Jensen, T. (2017). Who is the expert in participatory culture? In: H. Roued-Cunliffe & A. Copeland (Eds.), *Participatory heritage* (pp. 87-95). London: Facet Publishing.

Appendix

A1. Overview of the respondents

All administrators that took part in this study were anonymised by means of name and name of their community, in order to protect their privacy. This in relation to statements made about other groups or administrators that could possibly be regarded as sensitive information and to protect the information they shared about themselves and their own initiative.

Interview 1

Administrators:	1
Age:	62
Education:	Intermediate Vocational Education (technically oriented towards house painting)
Career:	Calculator house painting sector
Date interview:	04-04-2018
Type of interview:	Telephone
Duration interview:	61 minutes

Interview 2

Administrators:	2 (one fellow-administrator)
Age:	54/67
Education:	University/Pre-university education
Career:	Doctor (MD)/Administrative employee, journalist and media photographer (retired)
Date interview:	05-04-2018
Type of interview:	In person
Duration interview:	68 minutes

Interview 3

Administrators:	1
Age:	68
Education:	Lower General Secondary Education
Career:	Plumber/Mechanic central heating systems (retired)
Date interview:	10-04-2018
Type of interview:	Messenger video chat
Duration interview:	65 minutes

Interview 4

Administrators:	1
Age:	34
Education:	University
Career:	Student, Middle East studies, Hebrew language and culture
Date interview:	10-04-2018
Type of interview:	Skype
Duration interview:	70 minutes

Interview 5

Administrators:	1
Age:	31
Education:	University
Career:	History teacher
Date interview:	11-04-2018
Type of interview:	In person
Duration interview:	54 minutes

Interview 6

Administrators:	3 (two fellow-administrators)
Age:	65/70/67
Education:	Intermediary Vocational Education/Primary education/Lower General Secondary Education
Career:	Manager (retired)/Builder-technician of busses/Ships carpenter (retired)
Date interview:	12-04-2018
Type of interview:	In person
Duration interview:	75 minutes

Interview 7

Administrators:	1
Age:	62
Education:	Intermediary Vocational Education (technically oriented towards manufacturing wristwatches/clockworks)
Career:	Jeweller
Date interview:	13-04-2018
Type of interview:	Skype
Duration interview:	44 minutes

Interview 8

Administrators:	1
Age:	70
Education:	Lower General Secondary Education
Career:	Entrepreneur/bar-owner (retired)
Date interview:	14-04-2018
Type of interview:	In person
Duration interview:	72 minutes

Interview 9

Administrators:	1
Age:	58
Education:	Intermediary Vocational Education
Career:	Security guard
Date interview:	17-04-2018
Type of interview:	In person
Duration interview:	70 minutes

Interview 10

Administrators:	1
Age:	67
Education:	University
Career:	Urban planner UVA and publisher (retired)
Date interview:	17-04-2018
Type of interview:	Telephone
Duration interview:	75 minutes

Interview 11

Administrators:	1
Age:	57
Education:	Primary education
Career:	Divisional officer cleaning company
Date interview:	23-04-2018
Type of interview:	In person
Duration interview:	63 minutes

Interview 12

Administrators:	1
Age:	39
Education:	Higher Vocational Education
Career:	Marketer non-profit sector
Date interview:	24-04-2018
Type of interview:	Telephone
Duration interview:	58 minutes

Interview 13

Administrators:	1
Age:	49
Education:	Intermediary Vocational Education
Career:	Employee Leerdam glass factory
Date interview:	25-04-2018
Type of interview:	In person
Duration interview:	58 minutes

Interview 14

Administrators:	1 (spouse as helping hand)
Age:	56/59
Education:	Lower General Secondary Education/ Lower General Secondary Education
Career:	Housewife/Owner of meat processing company (retired)
Date interview:	26-04-2018
Type of interview:	In person
Duration interview:	63 minutes

Interview 15

Administrators:	1
Age:	56
Education:	Higher General Secondary Education
Career:	Entrepreneur construction work and video analyst Feyenoord
Date interview:	26-04-2018
Type of interview:	In person
Duration interview:	70 minutes

A2.	*Topic list*

Introduction to the interview

Thank you for doing this interview with me. Before we start, I would first like to briefly explain the purpose of this interview and research to you. I am conducting this interview with you in relation to my Master thesis, for my study Media, Culture and Society at Erasmus University Rotterdam. In short, the questions I will ask you are about your ideas on cultural heritage, Facebook and the group or page you are managing as administrator. I expect that this interview will take about 60 minutes of your time and with your permission, I would also like to record this interview, so I can really concentrate on our conversation and so that it will be easier for me to process your answers and comments later on. It is also important to know that there are no good or bad/right or wrong answers to the questions that I have for you: it are really your ideas, experiences and thoughts about your activities in relation to (*name of page/group*) that I am interested in.

All information you will give me and the outcome of this interview will be treated confidentially and will only be used to complete my thesis. If you do not want me to use your name, I can provide you with a pseudonym for this study so you will remain anonymous in the analysis of the answers. If you want this, I can also ensure that references to your Facebook group or page are made without a name, place or other identifiable characteristics. If you want to discuss specific details or topics that you do not want to become public, please indicate this so I can take this into account in the analysis of our conversation. Finally, if a question is unclear, you can always ask for a clarification. Let me know if you feel uncomfortable with a question in some way or if you, for any reason, do not want to answer a specific question. If you have any comments or questions about the interview or your participation afterwards, you may contact me at any time. Last but not least, I would like to ask you to sign this consent form. This is a formality, for my own administration, and to ensure that everything about your participation in this study is clear to you. Do you have any questions or comments before we start?

Date:

Name respondent:

Time of starting interview:

Time of ending interview:

Thoughts and ideas on the initiative

The following questions relate to the reasons of and grounds on which you started your group/page and the possible goals you have with it

1. Can you tell me how you came up with the idea to start (*name of page/group*)?
   a. When did you start this group/page? / How much time do you spend on this per day/week?
   b. Why did you make the choice for public accessibility/closed membership? / Some groups ask a number of questions before you can become a member, why did you choose for this option or not?
   c. Were you collecting historical facts before starting this group/page? If so, can you tell me a little about that and why you did that? If not, what sprung you to set up this group/page about the history and heritage of (*place*)
   d. What does having this group/page personally mean to you?

2. Why did you want to start a Facebook group/page specifically about the past of (*place*)? Can you tell me a bit more about this/give me some examples?
   a. Is this the only historical and heritage group/page about (*place*) you manage? If not, why did you start several/different historical and heritage initiatives?
   b. What are the benefits of this for you? Do you also experience disadvantages?
   c. Can you tell me something about the possible differences in popularity between these groups/pages? Why do you think this is so/not?

3. Can you tell us something about the underlying ideas for starting this group/page?
   a. What goal(s) do you have with this initiative? Can you give me some examples of this/tell a bit more about that?
   b. What can you tell me something about the effects of this group/page? Why do you think this appeals to members/ followers?/ How active are you towards them?
   c. Why is it important for you to keep the local past alive in this way? (if respondent in any way possible relates to nostalgia and local identity/reinforcement, go into in what sense do they think it might work like this)

4. Why is it important for you to share the past of (*place*) with others in a Facebook group/page?
   a. How do you see your own role in this?
   b. How would you describe yourself as the administrator of the group/page in this?

Perceptions and experiences in posting and administrating

The next questions cover how you manage your Facebook group/page, the posts and the shared material

5. Can you tell me how you get the idea for a post? / How do you select a specific item for a post?

   a. Which sources do you use for this?/Where do you get the footage from?

   b. On which type of post do you get the most reactions? Why do you think this is?

   c. How do you determine the authenticity of that (added) material?

6. How do you deal with Facebook as a medium/platform within your initiative?

   a. How do you deal with advertisers or advertisements /changing settings or algorithms / Facebook basics such as 'liking' (or emojis) in specific cases?

   b. How do you deal with (current) privacy issues concerning Facebook in relation to your group/page?

   c. Why is Facebook a good medium for activities such as (*name page/group*) in your view? Can you elaborate on this?

7. Can you tell me how this initiative has developed to date?

   a. How did that go?/What was needed for that? Can you give examples of this?

   b. How do you deal with negative online behaviour of members or followers/ adding material / copyright issues / sharing from or to other groups?

8. Can you tell me what you do with the material you post and/or is posted?

   a. Do you treat it in a certain way? If not, why not? If so, how?

   b. Do you store/archive the (collected) material?

   c. If not, why not? If so, how do you go about this? / Can you give examples of this?

   d. Which material do you select for this? / What criteria do you use for this?

9. Do you work together with other administrators/groups/official (heritage) organisations?

   a. If not, does this have a particular reason?

   b. If so, on what level/in what way? Can you give examples of this?

   c. Can you tell me something about how you experience this cooperation?

   d. Do you feel that you can continue to function autonomously as a page/group in this cooperation?

General attention for (local) cultural heritage

These questions entail your viewpoints of cultural heritage/history in general and with respect to your group/page or groups/pages like yours

10. Can you tell me something about how you think about the general focus on cultural heritage in The Netherlands?
    a. How do you see your own initiative in this perspective?
    b. In respect to the attention for cultural heritage in general, can you say something about why you think Facebook groups/pages about local heritage/local history are popular nowadays? / What is your take on the popularity of groups/pages like yours? Can you give examples of this/elaborate on this some more?

11. Can you tell me what you think about the fact that official organisations, such as historical museums or heritage foundations, interact with their public via social media, apps or websites (explain/give example to respondent if necessary)?
    a. How does this relate to your initiative in your opinion?
    b. In what sense do you think that such 'official initiatives' (explain if necessary) correspond with an initiative such as (*name of group/page*)?
    c. Can you say something about what in your opinion are the differences between what is different in 'official initiatives' and groups/pages such as yours?
    d. How do you think your group contributes to cultural heritage/history in general? Can you give examples of this?

12. What do you think about the overall attention given to local heritage?
    a. Why are you positive/negative about this? Can you explain?
    b. What do you think in general of the attention paid to the heritage/past of (*place*)? Can you tell a little more about this/give some examples?

Closing questions

Thanks again for taking the time to do this interview with me!

13. Are there things related to your Facebook heritage activities that I may not have asked about, but you still want to share/tell me something about?

14. What did you think of our conversation/how did you experience the interview?

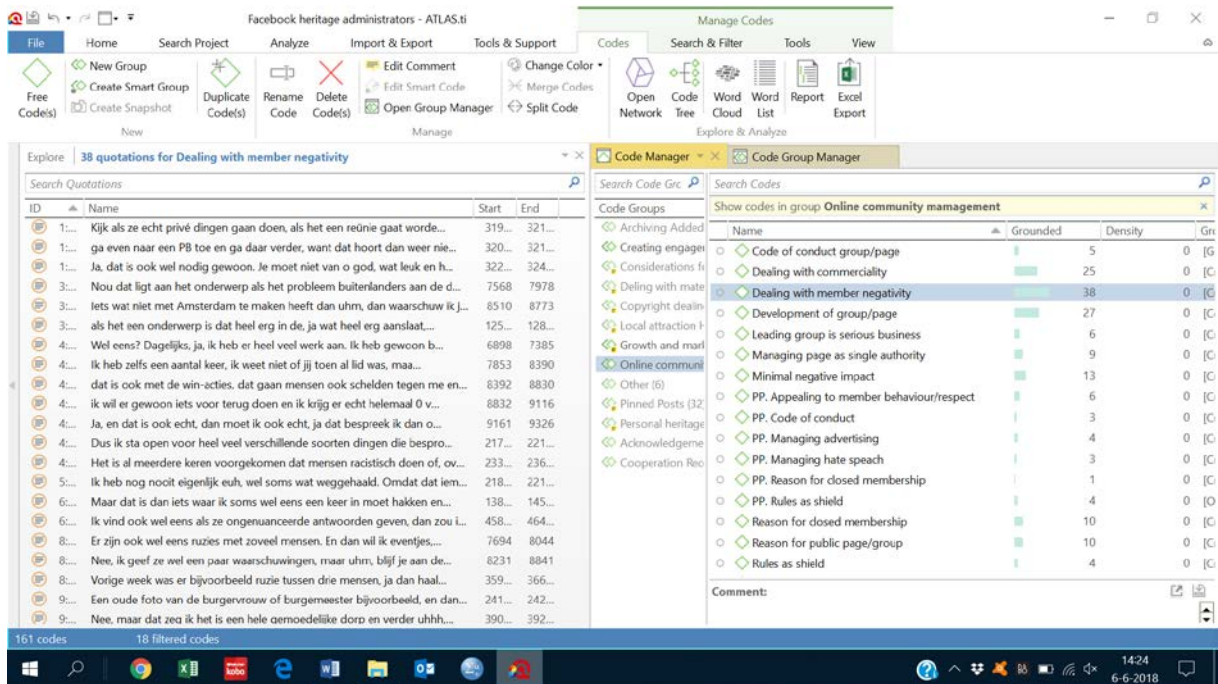15. Do you have any final remarks about our conversation?

If still necessary, when not mentioned during the interview already:

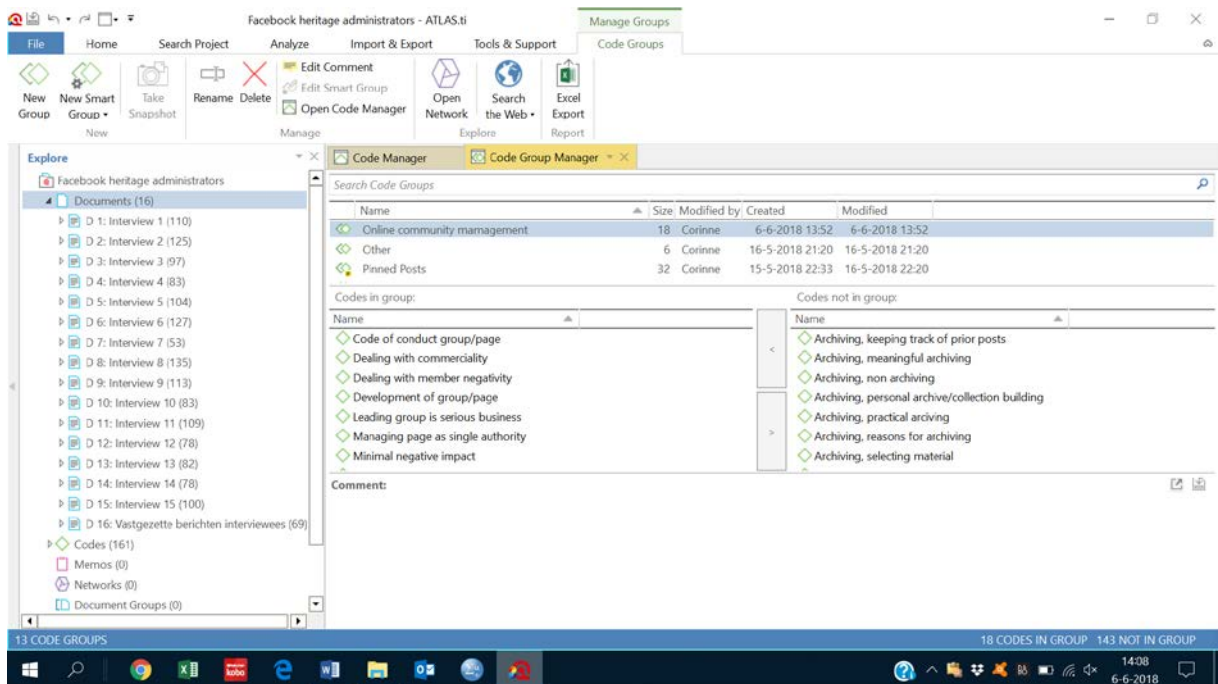What is your age / Where do you currently live / Do you originally come from (*place*)? / What is your educational background? / What kind of work do you do/have you done?

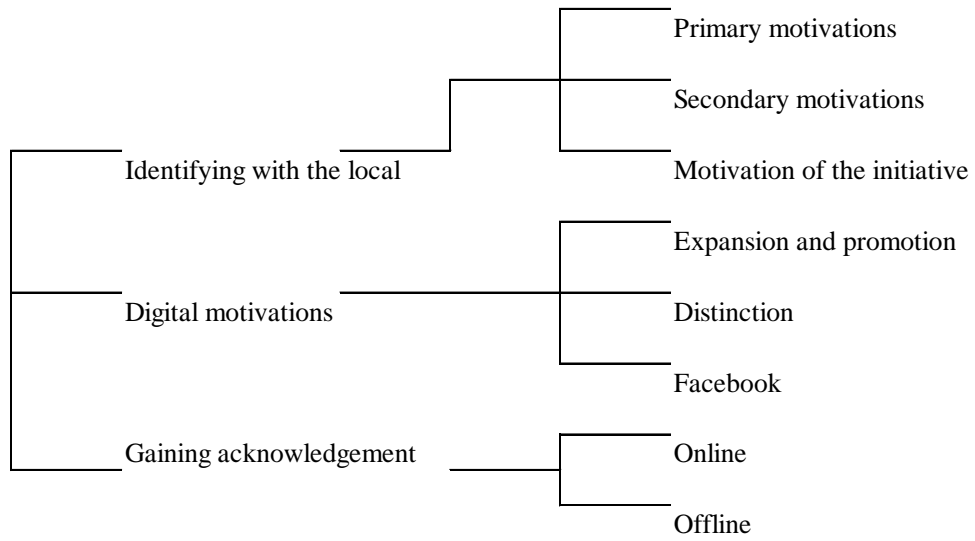## A3. Atlas.ti coding screenshots
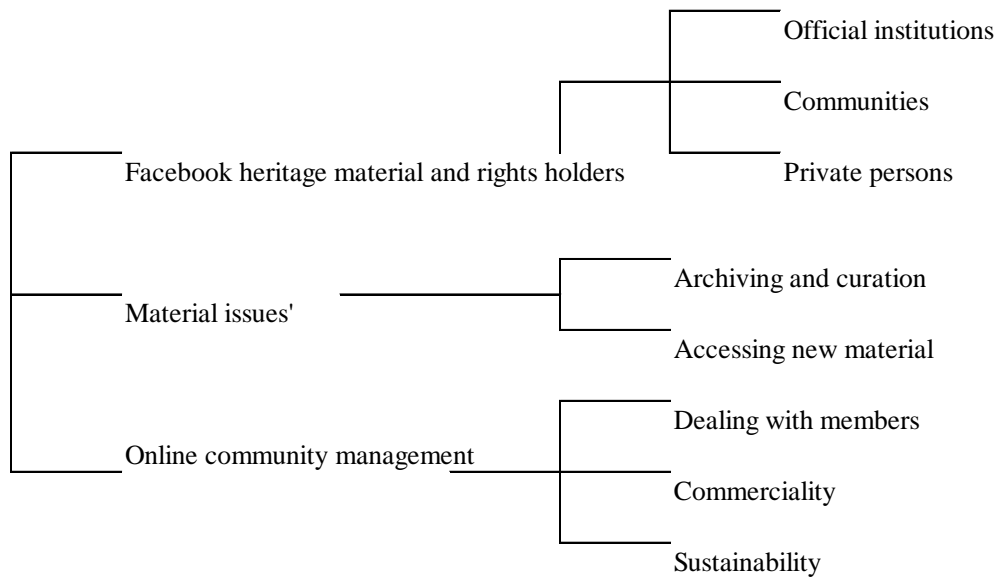
Screenshot 1

Screenshot 2

A4. *Coding scheme*

Motivations for local heritage commemoration

- Identifying with the local
  - Primary motivations
  - Secondary motivations
  - Motivation of the initiative
- Digital motivations
  - Expansion and promotion
  - Distinction
  - Facebook
- Gaining acknowledgement
  - Online
  - Offline

Challenges in the Facebook heritage activity

- Facebook heritage material and rights holders
  - Official institutions
  - Communities
  - Private persons
- Material issues'
  - Archiving and curation
  - Accessing new material
- Online community management
  - Dealing with members
  - Commerciality
  - Sustainability

Selection criteria of heritage material

- Recognisability
- Enticing reations
- Local icons
- Sources