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Participatory heritage: a multiple-case study of Lithuanian grassroots cultural heritage communities on Facebook

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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Information and Communication (S 008)

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ABBREVIATIONS

API – Application program interface

COCRI – Collaboration Index

CONVI – Communication Index

EI – Engagement index

ICT – Information and communication technologies

MoP – Matrix of participation

SECR – State Enterprise Centre of Registers

SPSS – Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Research topic, relevance and background

Significant economic, political, social, and cultural changes taking place in 21st-century societies are closely related to the development of information technology and the evolution of the World Wide Web, which has led to the global dissemination of information and new ways of communication. An array of well-known concepts, such as *network society* (Castells, 1996), *convergence culture* (Jenkins, 2006), *culture of connectivity* (Dijck, 2013), and *participatory culture* (Jenkins et al., 2015) point to the increasing role of new technologies in influencing and changing society, and are connected with social transformations caused by the information age. "Virtual cultural participation has become possible thanks to the rapid rise of the Internet and smartphones, the digitization and online availability of cultural content and the digital skills amongst populations" and "[a]s more and more people take up these new opportunities it becomes clear that a new dimension has been added to the concept of cultural participation" (ESSnet-CULTURE, 2012, p. 236).

Digital technologies, such as social media, are "generating new kinds of heritage practices from the bottom-up" known as "grassroots heritage" (Liu, 2010, p. 2975), where individuals are being driven by a strong desire to engage with cultural heritage content in order to gain, share and create new knowledge (Roued-Cunliffe and Copeland, 2017). The dissemination and communication of cultural heritage on social media act as a means to promote community dialogue with the past, and are greatly influenced by people-centred perceptions of cultural heritage, personal attitudes, decentralization of resources and narratives, and unification of interests that shape the community and give meaning to its existence (Silberman and Purser, 2012). Cultural heritage has become a resource for public usage, which could be used and modified more drastically and more creatively than ever before, and is becoming dependent on its users and social contexts they act upon, meaning that currently, it manifests in a broader variety of forms and shapes thus distancing it from the traditional views and interpretations usually offered by cultural heritage organizations. It was noted that a pro-amateur community is much better at interacting with online audiences than memory institutions and the field is worthy of further consideration, because it compliments existing museum and archive collections, providing an alternative free discussion

space for enthusiasts (Terras, 2010). Therefore, institutions as everlasting custodians and communicators of cultural heritage perceive current cultural heritage practices as a challenge, because "[t]he exposure of collections to the public often led to unintended consequences for the cultural heritage organizations, affirming their lofty ideals about appropriations of the institutional heritage space by the public" (Dalbello, 2009, p. 18). However, as the field of cultural heritage communication on social media is still in the process of building its theoretical foundations, many of these claims derive from opinion publications, as a rule lacking empirical substantiation. On the other hand, there is a movement among researchers and practitioners to increase and deepen existing knowledge on public participation and engagement with cultural heritage, in some cases, such as with N. Simon's "The participatory museum" (2010), "to transpose 'lessons' from the participatory cultures from the Web, as well as general insights from the fields of social psychology and experience into institutional setting" (Tan, 2012, p. 197).

Social networking sites that appeared two decades ago as part of social media applications are common communication tools used by contemporary society due to their broad adoption that penetrates both public and personal spheres. Since their emergence, they have been tools for content production, marking the beginning of participatory culture, whereby users who employed them became active participants in creating and sharing content and knowledge through virtual social networks. Participatory culture is one that "embraces the values of diversity and democracy through every aspect of our interactions with each other – one which assumes that we are capable of making decisions, collectively and individually, and that we should have the capacity to express ourselves through a broad range of different forms and practices" (Jenkins et al., 2015, p. 2). New affordances enabled by digital, networked, and mobile technologies, which advocate a move beyond individualized personal expression and enable an ethos of 'doing it together' in addition to 'doing it yourself' (Jenkins et al., 2015) are essential principals of participatory culture. In this way, "the fabric of participation and conversation offered by social media is not simply made of online interactions and virtual experiences; it is also interwoven with physical objects, places, and activities that are augmented and enhanced with social data and connectivity" (Giaccardi, 2012, p. 4). Thus, another concern about the use of Information and communication technologies (ICT) poses a question of its role and capabilities to interconnect communities and cultural heritage objects meaningfully. However, social media as a technology does not necessarily

translate into forms of participatory culture as it only serves as a tool which can encourage interactions (Jenkins et al., 2015).

The rapid and pervasive adoption of social networking sites has not bypassed cultural heritage spaces, where the successes and failures of using social media, mainly in organizational contexts, has been recorded for over a decade now. The attempt to understand the practical and functional implications of the practice, as well as the impact it has on different audiences, suggests that social networking sites, like all information and communication technologies (ICT), are often viewed too instrumentally as just another tool to improve ways of already established approaches to cultural heritage communication. However, the scope of ICT grew beyond the organizational realm, where new ways to communicate cultural heritage gave birth to new forms of cultural heritage representations created by grassroots communities. These new participatory activities enabled by grassroots participation on social networks, fostering new forms of cultural heritage communication and representation, is the object of this study. The process directly involves enthusiasts of cultural heritage in engaging and encourages them to take the lead in creating new approaches to digital heritage and its communication. It also opens up a discussion on the existence of creolized peripheral spaces (Laužikas et al., 2018), where two principal approaches to cultural heritage communication collide. One is a traditional curatorial approach, which relies on a long-lasting authoritative tradition of communicating heritage in a top-down manner, usually practiced by memory institutions. The other, a community-driven or participatory approach, also referred to as "digital curation practices "in the wild" (such as content curation, personal archiving, and pro-am digitization)" (Dallas, 2015, p. 421), is directly linked to public participation fostering bottom-up initiatives and innovative socially defined heritage interpretations. The production and transmission of cultural values "happens ordinarily and collaboratively, through the convergence of different activities, both solitary and convivial; distinctive involvements, between amateurship and professional background; and various practical situations, online and offline, such as photography, uploading, strolling and surfing" (Rautenberg and Rojon, 2014, p. 16). This calls for cultural heritage institutions to participate in an active debate on the benefits of this phenomenon and the changing values of cultural heritage, as well as to consider and learn from successful public initiatives how to enhance existing curatorial practice. By failing to do so, it has been argued, cultural heritage institutions will lose their connections to those very persons they are trying to serve (Roued-Cunliffe and Copeland, 2017).

Existing research literature on the subject does not fully explain the use of social networking sites in cultural heritage, especially concerning grassroots participation. By mainly focusing on institutional communication, mainstream research work discusses the strategies and challenges in applying social networking sites in museum communication and the professional cultural heritage sector (Russo et al., 2006; Rentschler and Hede, 2007; Alexander et al., 2008; Bernstein, 2008; Kotler et al., 2008; Kelly, 2009; Russo and Peacock, 2009; Kidd, 2011; Holdgaard 2011; Whitcher Kansa and Deblauwe, 2011; Pett, 2012; Richardson 2012; Cadell, 2013; Drotner and Schrøder, 2013; Šuminas ir Armontaitė, 2013; Liew, 2014; Marakos, 2014; Rodriguez Temiño and González Acuña 2014; Walker, 2014a; Dovydaitytė, 2015; Matthews and Wallis, 2015; Tutlytė, 2015; De Man and Oliveira, 2016). It showcases that research in the area to a greater extent was focused on the technical and instrumental use of social networking sites by heritage organizations, but social factors and their effects, such as the ones related to participation, have been little discussed in the field.

In addition, social networking sites with user-generated content have been also seen as boundary-crossing global formations occupying the 'middle space' between traditional cultural heritage dissemination and casual conversation, thus linking amateurs with professionals (Terras, 2010; Whitcher Kansa and Deblauwe, 2011; Brown & Nicholas, 2012; Laracuente, 2012; Richardson 2014a, 2014b; Huvila, 2014; William and Atkin, 2015; Morgan and Pallascio, 2015; Perry and Beale, 2015; Richardson, 2015). However, for a genuine linkage between amateurs and professionals to happen, the system (site) and communication should operate on the principles of a network rather than as a hierarchical structure. Because of this, in some cases these engagements bear a significant difference in presenting cultural heritage content (Morgan and Pallascio, 2015) which still indicates a gap in cultural heritage interpretation between professional and non-professional knowledge (Richardson, 2014b).

Some studies have attempted to explain these differences by looking into community-driven initiatives and the role of people in social networking site engagement. It has been argued that online social networks provide a "virtual contact zone" in which diverse, unofficial and personal narratives can be presented together (Purkis, 2017, p. 434). The communities on social networking sites are gathered around different kinds of "affiliative objects" with their "affiliative power" being "enacted as memory work, as cultural capital, and as civic participation" (Dallas, 2018, p. 10). One study

emphasized the role of "emotional communities" brought together usually by nostalgia related to the people's perception of the past (Gregory, 2014, p. 22), while another focused on the users' participation and the role of the curator in maintaining interaction between users, but not controlling access to the material (Westberg and Jensen, 2017). However, these are only a few case studies that touched upon the subject of grassroots participation in cultural heritage through social networking sites, even though it is argued that "emerging uses of social media are generating new kinds of heritage practices from the bottom-up", which refines the notion of heritage representing people's cultural legacy in a participatory age (Liu, 2010, p. 2975). There has been an attempt to define "participatory heritage", which described it "a space in which individuals engage in cultural activities outside of formal institutions for the purpose of knowledge sharing and co-creating with others" (Roued-Cunliffe and Copeland, 2017, p. XV). However, the latter definition bears some complexities and inaccuracies, which I describe in detail in Section 2. 2, and thus formulates a new premise for this research.

1.2. Study objective and research questions

This study is driven by a need to understand the effects of public participation through social networking sites, in particular Facebook, in shaping cultural heritage practices. Social networking sites are widely used social media services, mainly characterized by their ability to enable users to communicate based on virtual personal profiles and their interfaces to other profiles, or networked structures, where people come together to share their knowledge, opinions, and creative outputs. In this way, they are essential frameworks enabling participation and fostering socially defined cultural heritage interpretations. The focus on grassroots cultural heritage communication is driven by the research ambition to provide insights about the participatory heritage that manifests in these digital spaces outside of institutional boundaries.

I chose the Facebook social networking site for my investigation, which, created in 2004, currently has more than 1.5 billion daily users worldwide (Facebook Newsroom, 2019) making it one of the most popular social networking platforms. It is also the most popular social network platform in Lithuania, being used by 55.1% of the population (Facebook users in Lithuania, 2019) and nine out of ten online users (Jurkevičienė, 2015). Such popularity makes it well-suited for a multiple-case study of Lithuanian cultural heritage communities as it provides a critical mass of people to

represent reliably the national situation. Furthermore, it seems that Lithuanian cultural heritage enthusiasts are very keen to embrace Facebook for cultural heritage communication, and usually, they are very successful in building large communities. For example, the 'Lietuva senose fotografijose' (tr. 'Lithuania in old photos') Facebook page, which has a vast community of more than 140 000 followers, acts as a public photo archive crowdsourcing and sharing old photos about Lithuania, and about its people in the past. Another Facebook page 'TV Archyvai' (tr. 'TV Archives') represents popular culture by sharing fragments of TV programs and commercials from recent Lithuanian TV history, which is a subject of interest for a community of over 60 000 followers. I also see very active participation happening in Facebook groups, such as 'Metalo Detektoriai Lietuva (radiniai, diskusijos, klubas, turgelis)' (tr. 'Metal detectors Lithuania (finds, discussions, club, market)'), a community of hobbyist and professional metal detectorists, where members may create over 100 posts per day. There are also collaborative initiatives, such as the Facebook group 'Genealogijos kooperatyvas' (tr. 'Genealogy Cooperative') in which people come together to index and transcribe archival records. These are only a few of the successful initiatives driven by enthusiasts who build large communities of interested public and are engaged in meaningful and useful work. Nevertheless, major national cultural heritage institutions and organizations, which accumulate more financial, human and cultural resources, mainly use Facebook do the work of outreach and dissemination, and are far less popular and engaging. For example, two Facebook pages 'Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus' (tr. 'National Museum of Lithuania') and 'Lietuvos ypatingasis archyvas' (tr. 'Lithuanian Special Archives') have ~6000 followers, which is at least ten times less than some public-driven groups. Also, their content is shaped around providing information, rather than building a collaborative or participatory space. Of course, these indicators are only my preliminary observations, but they reflect increasing public attention towards amateur-driven cultural heritage initiatives and the role they have in shaping broader cultural heritage practice.

The national study on "Cultural participation and satisfaction of cultural services" (Lietuvos Respublikos Kultūros ministerija, 2017) concluded that 41% of Lithuanians participate in cultural activities and are active culture lovers and fosterers. Furthermore, the share of people actively participating in culture is gradually increasing, especially in smaller towns and villages. It also reports that due to the expanding capabilities of the virtual information space and the growing needs for the quality of experience, the attendance at museums, galleries, and exhibitions is decreasing, and the

consumption of cultural products is increasingly migrating to virtual space. It concluded that 48% of the population virtually visited cultural heritage objects (48%), while 55% used social networks for cultural purposes (Lietuvos Respublikos Kultūros ministerija, 2017). One of the recommendations to heritage institutions proposed in the report was to increase public participation in culture by developing practical tools for cultural engagement on social networks, such as the creation of pages and groups of a cultural nature on Facebook, that could promote the use of cultural content and foster collaboration between cultural institutions and people (Lietuvos Respublikos Kultūros ministerija, 2017). However, as many cultural organizations are already present on social media, but do not perform very effectively, it seems that the development of engaging strategy is not a simple endeavour and calls for more insights into what success, engagement, and better participation entails. Thus, this study will also bring practical benefits to memory institutions and heritage professionals, continually seeking to develop the most effective and meaningful ways to engage with the public.

Concerning online social network participation, another Lithuanian study (Jurkevičienė, 2015) concludes that the general population of Lithuanian Facebook users does not tend to interact with like-minded groups, organizations, associations or communities in virtual networks, which indicates that participation in electronic social networks in Lithuania has not developed into a form of civic or political activity, but there is a potential in the future, especially among active members. These insights propose valuable considerations for the study of cultural heritage use on social networking sites by prompting us to attempt to define the role of public participation and ask if it genuinely leads to citizen empowerment?

This consideration of examples of successful grassroots initiatives on Facebook and concerns raised in previous qualitative studies examining public participation in Lithuania (Jurkevičienė, 2015; Lietuvos Respublikos Kultūros ministerija, 2017) invites us to look closer into the phenomenon of cultural heritage practice on social networking sites. There are already some studies on social media in Lithuania (Gaižutytė-Filipavičienė, 2012; Šuminas ir Armontaitė, 2013; Kapleris, 2014; Dovydaitytė, 2015; Juraitė et al., 2015) that cover important aspects on the role of memory institutions, and museum communication, though grassroots activity still remains poorly understood in Lithuania. From my initial observations on what is happening on Facebook, I see the formation of large communities of interest, the introduction of new types of digital heritage that are relevant to people, emerging collaborative initiatives aimed at helping the public to use cultural heritage resources, and

in some cases immensely active participation, involvement and dedication. Grassroots cultural heritage communication on social networks displays a complex picture of different levels of engagement and different types of cultural heritage content, as well as a variety of motives fostering participation. All these aspects indicate that it is a worthwhile field of research, which could help us to better understand the nature of public participation and contemporary trends in cultural heritage communication online.

The focus on grassroots initiatives is drawn by the research ambition to assess the role of rising participatory activities fostered by online social networks, which shape public experiences of cultural heritage online. My research objective is to develop an understanding of how participatory heritage works in the cultural heritage practices of grassroots Facebook communities in Lithuania. This study will scope and assess existing cultural heritage communities (pages and groups) created outside of institutional boundaries on Facebook and will evaluate their role in shaping participatory heritage by providing evidence-based examples from the Lithuanian Facebook, as a case study. I formulated the aim and focus of the research through a set of research questions:

- RQ1. What are the grassroots cultural heritage communities on Facebook in Lithuania, and what is the scale of grassroots activity?
- RQ2. What does cultural heritage engagement and participation on Facebook entail, and to what extent grassroots communities could be described as engaged or participatory communities?
- RQ3. Which themes of cultural heritage objects attract most attention and activity on Facebook, and what are the traits of such participatory heritage activity across different themes?
- RQ4. How, and to what extent, does grassroots activity around cultural heritage on Facebook contribute to community participation and empowerment?

This study draws from a cross-disciplinary range of theories of participation, cultural heritage studies, and social networking sites research to conceptualize the main principles of participatory heritage fostered by grassroots communities on social networking sites. I consider grassroots participation to be a phenomenon that illustrates new emerging practice relevant to contemporary online communication and to current cultural heritage dimensions that emerged from participatory culture and networked society. It is known that grassroots communities are involved in the creation and curation of digital heritage resources, thus representing and interpreting

the past in a way that is meaningful to people. However, the field of the grassroots use of social networking sites in cultural heritage practice is still building its theoretical foundations. These concerns led me to adopt grounded theory as an inductive data-driven theoretical approach suitable for this study. The application of grounded theory serves to fill this knowledge gap by generating new insights on the phenomenon at hand based on a substantial amount of empirically attested qualitative and quantitative data on Facebook. My investigation is planned as multiple-case study research, which will provide an evidence-based conceptualization of the emerging social network effects across different cases of Lithuanian grassroots Facebook pages and groups. It will do this by building a middle-range theory that will take into account the contextual and constructed nature of community knowledge and will cover a closer-to-evidence range of phenomena. Descriptive coding will help to identify relationships between different factors, cultural heritage objects, their attached significance, and interaction patterns between users in the field of cultural heritage on Facebook sites. Middle-range theory developed through theoretical coding, analysis and theory building will connect these patterns with underlying factors, drawing from the theoretical framework described in Chapter 2, as well as advance new concepts emerging from the evidence.

The research scope and the decision to investigate a corpus of selected cultural heritage communities from Lithuania on Facebook was determined by the necessity to have enough knowledge in understanding cultural heritage and how it is defined in national legislation (especially, in determining the selection of relevant keywords), as well as what is emphasized regarding cultural heritage policy, to see if it does align or counter grassroots cultural heritage activities. Lithuania was also selected because the purpose of research calls for an adequate level of and familiarity with existing political, social and cultural contexts (discussed below), and an understanding of how these contexts might influence grassroots cultural heritage communities. It also asks for sufficient knowledge in understanding the language and its discursive context, so to be able to interpret textual information (posts, comments, messages), which are an essential part in the analysis of the communication process. On the other hand, it is clear that Lithuanian grassroots heritage discourse bears some specificity related to the national political and socio-cultural landscape. Accordingly, the research results will be more relevant and applicable in countries having similar characteristics as discussed below.

Lithuania has a relatively large population of social networking site users, which consists of more than half of all Internet users and 1/3 of the overall population, with Facebook taking a dominant position among preferred online social networks (Jurkevičienė, 2015). The latest statistics present an even higher number of users concluding that Facebook users consists of 55.1% of the entire Lithuanian population (NapoleonCat, 2019). Consequently, Facebook appears to be the dominant social networking site among cultural organizations, whereas YouTube, the leading content community, is the second most popular social media platform (Tutlytė, 2015).

The context of participatory culture in Lithuania, first and foremost, is understood through a global perspective, where Lithuania is not excluded from global tendencies and their effects (Klivis, 2015). However, it is hard to say to what extent these effects work on the national scale as they are discussed fragmentally throughout cultural sectors. The most recent national study on the general trends of cultural participation and consumption of culture "Cultural participation and satisfaction of cultural services" (Lietuvos Respublikos Kultūros ministerija, 2017) reflects positive changes in terms of cultural participation concluding that 99.8% of the population are users of culture, while 41% of Lithuanian respondents participate in cultural activities and 19% work as volunteers. I should note that the two terms are related but they are not synonymous. Therefore, the study makes a valuable distinction between consumption of culture and participation in culture (including volunteering). As the results of the report suggests, the cultural heritage sector is more related to public participation (2nd place) and less to heritage consumption (5th place). Furthermore, the report notes that due to the expanding capabilities of virtual information and the growing needs of users, attendance at museums, galleries and exhibitions is decreasing, and more of it is migrating to virtual space (Lietuvos Respublikos Kultūros ministerija, 2017). However, the creation of cultural content on the Internet as a form of cultural participation does not exceed 4%. The more general involvement in culture through social networking sites is relatively high and constitutes 60% of the population in big cities, 55% in towns and 50% in villages; but the latter indicates the highest increase (17%) of use since 2014 (Lietuvos Respublikos Kultūros ministerija, 2017).

Participatory approaches in the Lithuanian cultural heritage sector have been discussed in the museum sector by exploring the shifts in museum communication on a national scale. They concluded that digital media (including social media) led to a change in the way in which Lithuanian

museums communicate with visitors, similarly to the trends reflected in the participatory museum paradigm (Gaižutytė-Filipavičienė, 2012; Kapleris, 2014; Dovydaitytė, 2015). However, the movement from old to new museum paradigms has been recorded to be a slow and gradual process, with the limited application of new technologies and failures in adopting technologies to their full potential (Gaižutytė-Filipavičienė, 2012; Šuminas ir Armontaitė, 2013; Dovydaitytė, 2015). It seems that the tendency is generally applicable to other cultural institutions as well, because even though Lithuanian memory institutions and cultural organizations perceive social media as highly useful in public communication, more effective application of them is bounded by individual and structural factors (Juraitė et al., 2015). For example, for the large and long-standing institutions, such as national museums, it is more difficult to implement any communication reforms (including digital) than for small and young organizations with a flexible and adaptive structure that favours innovation and structural reforms (Juraitė et al., 2015). However, 2010 marked the start of the plateau of productivity (The Gartner…, 2011) in Lithuanian museums (Kapleris, 2014) meaning that the mainstream adoption of digital technologies in museums (and perhaps in other institutions) has been recorded for over a decade now, so the emergent signs of their positive impact should start to appear soon.

Another aspect relevant to people's participation in cultural heritage is the scale of digitization and public access to these resources. National legislation regarding cultural heritage digitization started to develop in 1999 (Migonytė, 2005), so the digitization of cultural heritage has been taking place in Lithuania for more than 20 years. During this time, nearly 100 different information infrastructures were developed. However, many cultural heritage digitization projects have taken a banal, fragmentary technological course of action, whereas technological innovation should be neutral, spontaneous, and often random (Migonytė, 2015). The main drawback was the lack of coordination in developing digital information systems, because governance and the cultural heritage digitization policy is divided between the Ministry of Culture (coordinating memory institutions) and the Ministry of Science (coordinating scientific institutions) (Laužikas and Vosyliūtė, 2012). Another issue of cultural heritage digitization relates to the process itself, where in many cases it was carried out without fully evaluating the social context and consolidation of resources, thus resulting in poor quality digitized products, which were unrelated and satisfied the needs of institutions rather than those of the users (Laužikas and Varnienė-Janssen, 2014).

A recent usability study of the websites of Lithuanian art and cultural organizations concludes that these disadvantages exceed advantages (62%) (Tutlytė, 2015). The main issues are associated with old technologies, inadequate structure of information and low interactivity (Tutlytė, 2015). The websites in cultural heritage communication serve as information providers, while cultural heritage professionals perceive social networking sites as tools to connect and communicate with audiences (Tutlytė, 2015). However, one of the shortcomings mentioned by audiences is the lack of links between websites and online social networks (Tutlytė, 2015), thus suggesting that social networking sites are not used to their greatest potential. Overall, the process of digitalization of cultural heritage in Lithuania is more concerned with the mechanical reproduction of digital images but not with the active interpretation of content (Migonytė and Petrulis, 2014). Therefore, the rise in enthusiasts' activities could be a direct outcome of shortcomings deriving from institutional communication. The function of interpretation is reserved for enthusiasts, while the professional field is associated with traditional forms of dissemination, such as publishing books and carrying out lectures (Migonytė and Petrulis, 2014).

1.3. Limitations of the study

The conceptualization of participatory heritage builds upon the national case of grassroots cultural heritage communities on Facebook; thus, it is associated with certain limitations related to the scope of the study. Three dimensions condition these limitations: 1) national context (i. e. Lithuania); 2) type of social networking site (i. e. Facebook); 3) scope of activity (i. e. grassroots).

The selection of the Lithuanian scope for this study was determined by the purpose of the research calling for a deeper understanding of existing contexts (political, social, cultural), which is crucial for the interpretation of empirical data. The research results drawn from the Lithuanian study will be conceptualized into patterns which could elaborate the notion of participatory heritage as a whole and on a broader scale. Participatory culture is a global phenomenon, and while its models are present and functioning in Lithuania the conceptualization developed here should be applicable on a broader (global) scale. However, even though conceptualized outcomes drawn from the Lithuanian case will be relevant to understanding the participatory cultural heritage concept, they also pose particular limitations related to the national context. The adoption of proposed concepts and patterns should be taken with

caution in every other case as it does not account for the country-based specifics. Therefore, I can assume that the research results should be more applicable (and relevant) to smaller European countries with a similar geopolitical situation (in central, eastern or northern parts of Europe), with similar cultural policy and socio-cultural characteristics, and having similar patterns of using digital technologies. It is also worth noting that some participatory processes, especially those related to civic participation, on a national scale might be completely different (non-existent or low) if compared to other countries having strong democratic traditions.

Another limitation is associated with the choice of a particular social networking site, i.e., Facebook, which I chose to provide evidence illustrating the phenomenon under study. It remains unclear to what extent the outcomes of the study could be applied to other social networking sites (e. g. Instagram, Twitter, etc.), and how well the Facebook research data would correlate with the data provided on other social media.

Finally, the institutional and organizational contexts and their relations to grassroots cultural heritage practices, and to participatory heritage, will not be examined in this study. Thus, the conceptualization of participatory heritage does not represent (or represents only to some extent) institutional or professional dimensions. The particular focus on the space where these approaches collide, and how they work together on social networking sites, might be useful and insightful for future research.

A different kind of limitation of this study is also associated with Facebook's privacy settings and the means to collect data. The introduction of restricted use of Facebook Graph API in 2018, which was the primary way to get data out from the platform and to perform automated tasks, has a significant effect on data collection and choices in performing the quantitative analysis (counting posts, likes, shares, comments), as well as possibilities to research the community through a time dimension. Thus, data collection and analysis were done manually, which means that it was not possible to account for the community dynamics through time, as well as to work with large data sets.

1.4. Structure of the dissertation

The dissertation consists of an Introduction (Chapter 1) and seven more chapters introducing the theoretical framework (Chapter 2), explaining the methodological approach (Chapter 3) and presenting the analysis and

interpretation of results (Chapter 4-7). Conclusions are presented in a separate chapter (Chapter 8).

Chapter 1: Introduction. Apart from the structure of the dissertation presented in this subchapter, the introductory chapter describes the topic of the research, its relevance and the background of the study. Chapter 1 also introduces the research rationale and the need for research, as well as presenting its research objectives and research questions. Furthermore, the chapter also reflects on the theoretical framework and on the methodological approach, and presents the scope of the study by describing the specifics of the Lithuanian context. Finally, it considers the possible limitations of the research.

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework discusses foundational theories and concepts relevant to the present study, such as participation, engagement, participatory institution, participatory heritage, online community and virtual identity, as they are developed in the context of theories of participation, and related theorizations within cultural heritage studies and social networking sites research. It also provides a critical review of cross-disciplinary scholarly literature and substantive research on cultural heritage communication on Facebook and other social networking sites, discussing the main research results and considering possible relations with the topic of the dissertation. This framework is the basis for the establishment of key sensitizing concepts relevant for the analysis and interpretation of empirical data for the study of grassroots cultural heritage communities on online social networks.

Chapter 3: Methodological approach focuses on data-driven research design, methods, and process, introduces grounded theory as a methodological approach adopted in the study, and explicates the reasons for this choice. It also presents specific criteria for case selection, data collection, and quantitative-qualitative data analysis methods included as part of a mixed methods research protocol, describing how each of them will contribute to the study. It also explains how the theoretical framework and sensitizing concepts introduced in the previous chapter serve the research process, and the development of conceptual understanding deriving from Facebook data.

Chapter 4: Scoping Lithuanian grassroots cultural heritage communities on Facebook presents the first-stage research results derived from a scoping study. It analyses a composed data sample (corpus) of grassroots cultural heritage communities on Facebook, and characterizes each unit in the sample, thus providing an overview of Lithuanian grassroots activity on Facebook.

Chapter 5: Conceptualizing engagement on Facebook presents the results of a quantitative content analysis and cluster analysis, and the development of the 'Matrix of Participation' (MoP). The interpretation of the MoP takes into account different engagement levels and identified clusters of communities, thus distinguishing the sample of participatory communities associated with the highest level of engagement.

Chapter 6: Analysing cultural heritage focus presents the results of quantitative and qualitative content analysis, and the application of a grounded theory approach to the sample of participatory communities. It emphasizes the importance of certain types of cultural heritage categories that are relevant in understanding the notion of participatory heritage.

Chapter 7: Analysing modes of participation and conceptualizing participatory heritage communities provides further analysis and interpretation of the results. It analyses the process of cultural heritage communication by connecting modes of participation and cultural heritage topics dominating in a participatory communities' sample. The chapter also incorporates a discussion of integrated results and refines the notion of participatory heritage.

Chapter 8: Conclusions. The final chapter of the dissertation summarizes the whole study by drawing conclusions based on the main findings and outlining the contributions this study makes to the field of research. Also, it addresses considerations for future research.

# 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR GRASSROOTS CULTURAL HERITAGE PARTICIPATION ON SOCIAL NETWORKING SITES

2.1. The theoretical principles of the participation and the notion of engagement

The term *participation* is described as the act of taking part in an event or activity (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020), whereas the adjective *participatory* relates to a circumstance or a factor allowing people to take part in or become involved in an activity (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020). Even though these terms basically describe the involvement of people, they bear a significant complexity in explaining public involvement in the realm of human social activity. Naturally, it raises questions, such as, what kind of actions, and what level of involvement constitutes participation? How does participation lead to decision making and public empowerment? As noted, "(t)he participatory approach is at the centre or a semantic field filled with familiar if vague notions of 'engagement', 'ownership', 'empowerment' (…)" (Hertz, 2015, p. 25), which are the complex concepts on their own right and require clearer definition. The failure to explain these notions and to define participation as a whole makes participation only "a buzzword" that is overused and blurred, especially in the fields of administration, political processes, and research (Ledinek Lozej, 2019, p. 128). The main principles of participation theories developed in certain contexts, such as economic, political, administrative, or urban management, but it is not clear to what extent these principles apply to the area of cultural heritage participation on social networking sites. The theoretical framework for this study in the realm of participation is framed in conversation with a set of selected theories explaining the fundamental principles of participation (Arnstein, 1969; Silverman, 2005; Fung, 2006; Mayfield, 2006; Rocha, 2011), which I propose to adapt to analyse grassroots cultural heritage communities on Facebook, raising the essential question: what does online participation on Facebook mean?

The fundamentals of public participation describe it as a level of involvement and offer a typology known as *a ladder of citizen participation* (Arnstein, 1969). The ladder that was created in a political and economic context of urban and community development argues that "citizenship participation is a categorical term for citizen power" and presents a three-level "ladder of participation" indicating eight rungs, ranging from what is called non-participation or "empty ritual of participation" (1. Manipulation and 2.

Therapy), to different degrees of tokenism (3. Informing, 4. Consultation, and 5. Placation), and, finally, to actual citizen power (6. Partnership, 7. Delegated power, and 8. Citizen control) (Arnstein, 2019, p. 25) (Figure 1).
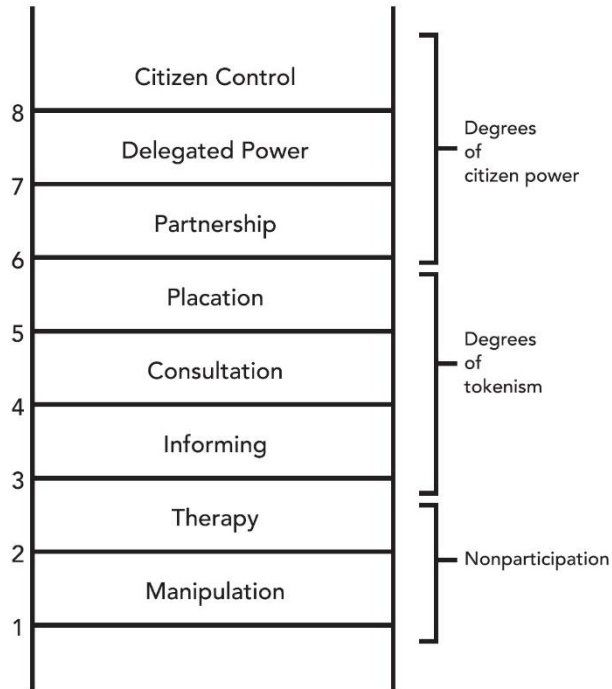
Figure 1. Eight rungs on the ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein, 2019, p. 26)

One of the interpretations of the ladder of participation considers the notion of citizen empowerment (Rocha, 2011), which offers coherence to Arnstein's participation theory by considering the agency of people. Rocha (2011) enriched Arnstein's model by focusing on citizen power, thus developing the "ladder of empowerment" (Figure 2), which explains how individual power turns into community power through five rungs of empowerment, which are "atomic individual" (1); "embedded individual" (2); "mediated" (3); "socio-political" (4); "political" (5) (Rocha, 2011, p. 34). According to the ladder, empowerment at the lowest level considers the individual and how they get gradually embedded into the larger structure or setting, such as community. Mediated relationships between community members enable community power and leads to community authority. According to Rocha's model, the real power comes from community or

collaborative effort, where different levels of that effort could indicate the impact that the community can make.

Community Empowerment

RUNG 5	Political Empowerment
RUNG 4	Socio-Political Empowerment
RUNG 3	Mediated Empowerment
RUNG 2	Embedded Individual Empowerment
RUNG 1	Atomistic Individual Empowerment

Individual Empowerment
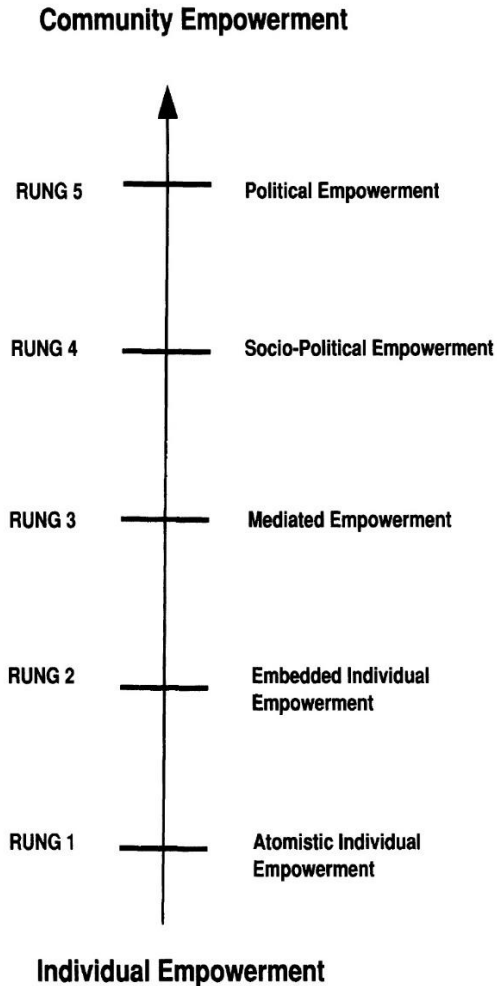
Figure 2. The ladder of empowerment (Rocha, 2011, p. 34)

The notion of citizen empowerment is particularly relevant to social media as it is seen as one of the ways leading to a democratic revolution as the internet bypasses old structures of control and power (Castells, 2007; Zhang et al., 2009; Buhl, 2011; Swigger, 2012; Hjorth and Hinton,2013). Social media greatly expanded access to the information of networked individuals, decentralized control, and enabled the mobilization of community (Hjorth and

Hinton, 2013). Therefore, one of the means to understand participation on Facebook is to measure the effort of collaboration and the sense of community among Facebook pages and groups, to perceive the potential impact. In the area of cultural heritage, grassroots activity on Facebook could be perceived as a certain form of citizen power. Thus, the investigation of cultural heritage interests and of ways that enable mobilization of community could pinpoint where such public power occurs.

Another aspect, related to the application of Arnstein's ladder model, is useful to consider in light of community as an organizational structure as it explains the role of a community-based organization in shaping participation (Silverman, 2005). The model introduces extremities to the ladder (Figure 3) which are two distinct forms of citizen participation; "grassroots participation" driven by citizens and "instrumental participation" or moderation of citizen participation led by organizations (Silverman, 2005, p. 37). Silverman's analysis of community-based organizations showed that usually, they are in conflict between these two forms. Therefore, it is always important to find balance between instrumental participation, which is needed to support project or program activities, and grassroots participation, that expands the role of citizens in decision-making. Thus, many organizational activities usually do not represent the "ideal-types" of community developments and evolve somewhere in the middle of the "citizen participation continuum", where the adjacent elements are not perceptibly different from each other, even though the extremes are quite distinct (Silverman, 2005, p. 35). In this way, Silverman's model expands the understanding on the role of nonprofit organizations and their capabilities to shape participation by making a clear distinction between formal organizations (e. g. private corporations, government agencies, universities, or foundations) needing control to implement their agendas, and informal social organizations (networks of residents, issue-based groups, clubs, or associations) bearing a higher level of participation and being more capable of producing participatory outcomes. Based on Silverman's model, the more participatory the community is, the less formal it is. Thus, the model connects the level of participation with the nature of the organizational structure, which could be useful in interpreting different types of grassroots communities on social networking sites.
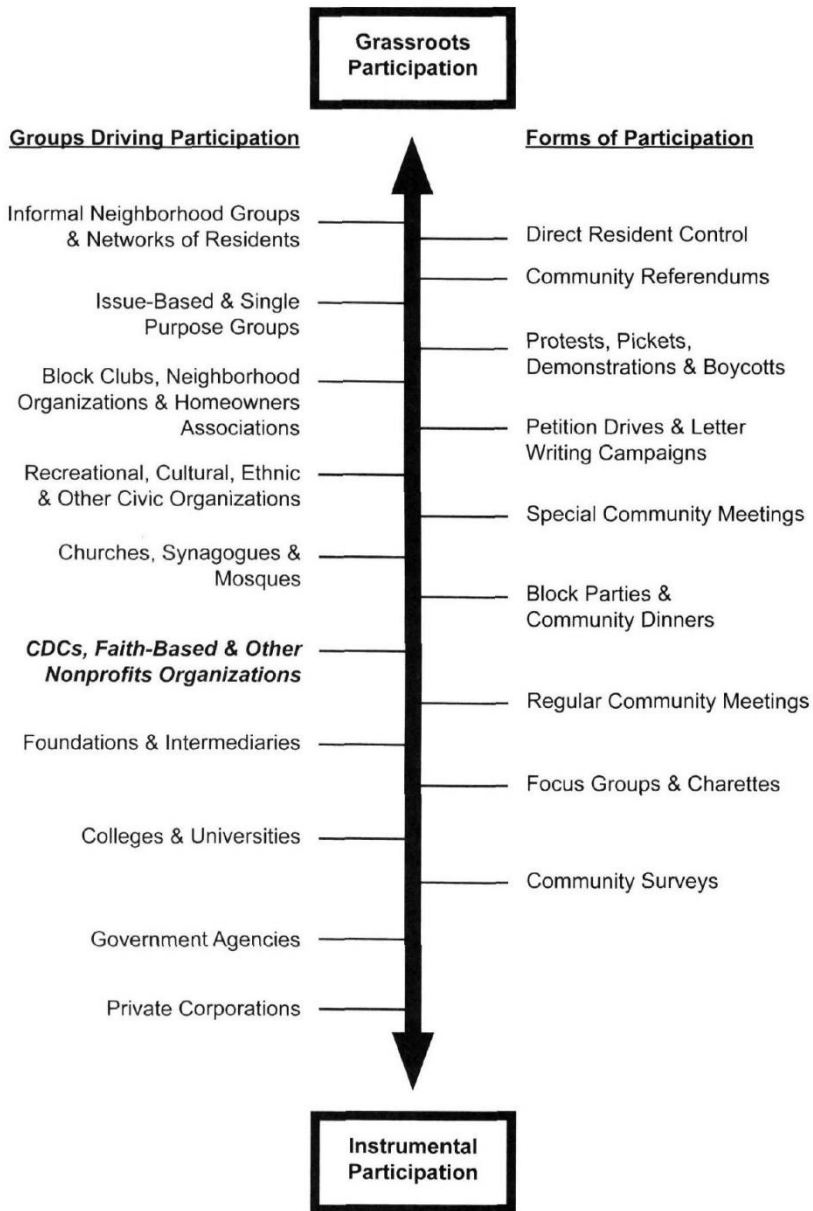
**Figure 3.** Groups driving the participation process (Silverman, 2005, p. 37)

The ladder-based models of participation/empowerment are valuable for this study as they offer a fundamental understanding of participation, seeing it as a process of different levels of involvement or engagement. By introducing different levels of engagement, it helps us to understand the

communities in a way that is measurable with categories being shaped by the degree of control citizens have. However, as the rungs of the ladder were developed a while ago and focus on explaining citizen governance and a community's political and socioeconomic infrastructure, the use of the proposed ladder models in this study seems to be limiting. Firstly, they do not take into account particular participatory approaches related to cultural heritage (the latter are explained in the following chapter). Also, the ladder model could be easily criticized as it proposes a solely vertical explanation of power and does not consider other dimensions that interplay. As an analytical tool, the ladder of participation seems to be obsolete and defective, because it favors citizen control over lower forms of participation, which is not always the case and does not account for the complexity of contemporary participation, which cannot be put in a single power structure (Fung, 2006). Fung's model criticizes the linear structure of participation and introduces three-dimensional participation or "the democracy cube" (Figure 4): 1) participant selection (who participates and how well they represent the population); 2) communication and decision (how intensively participants express their views and make decisions); 3) influence and authority (how much it impacts the decision making process) (Fung, 2006, p. 71).

The combination of these three categories defines different participatory mechanisms and argues that not always the highest level of participation is desired for a community or organization to participate and implement competent decisions effectively. The proposed elaboration of understanding participation based on the three dimensions seems to be the most reflective for participatory practices on social networking sites as it offers valuable insights on different dimensions. In general, the model is unique if compared to the notion of the power ladder as it does not force us to view participation in a top-down manner but offers a holistic view on the participatory mechanisms in a three-dimensional space.

For example, with regards to the dimension of participant selection, it is widely expected that many online grassroots social network communities should be governed (or managed) by participants from the wider public, or Fung's model employs the term "encompassing participant selection" from the "(macro)public" representing a "diffuse public sphere" (Fung, 2006, p. 68). Actually, in many cases, they also represent a less encompassing and more exclusive form of participation, in which an individual steps in and initiates, as well as moderates the community, through "open self-selection" acting on behalf of his/her self-interest (Fung, 2006, p. 68). In such cases that involve the active role of a community administrator or moderator,

participation on Facebook is a representation of *minipublics*, which is actually unrepresentative of any broader public. On the other hand, most institutional social media communication usually relies on hired professional stakeholders, which stand on the other end of the so-called *minipublics*, and should be perceived as the least encompassing participant selection.
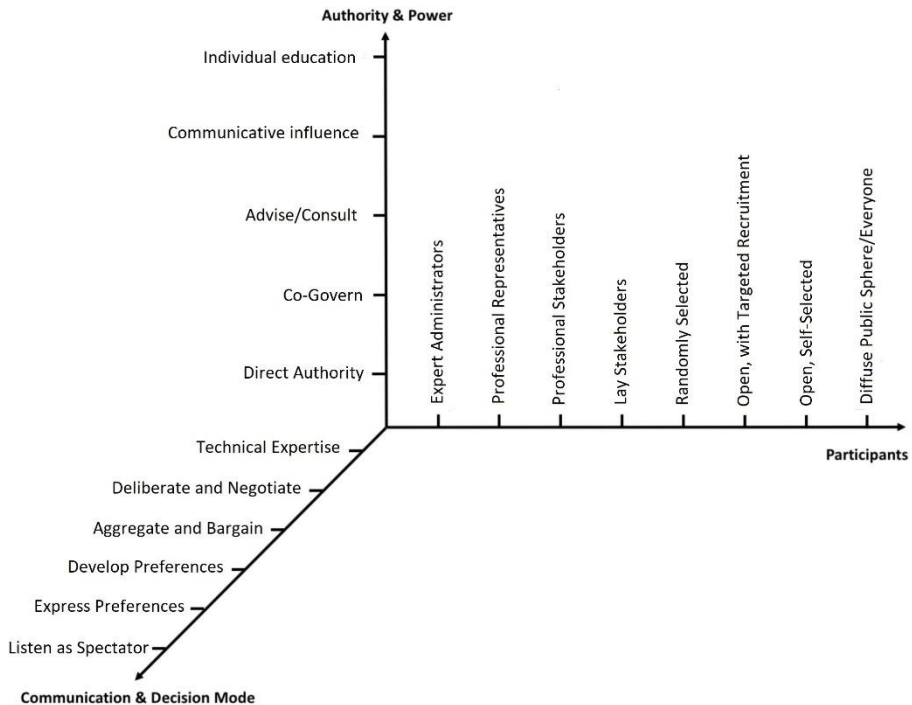
Figure 4. "The democracy cube" model representing three-dimensional participation. Adapted from Fung (2006)

Secondly, in regard to the type of communication and decision making, the model invites us to consider the intensity of communication from the least to the most intensive form of participation (from listening to taking action). More importantly, it does not underestimate the power of discussion or a forum over taking action or voting, concluding that, in some cases, the forum acts as a desired and useful tool that involves the public and reflects its preferences, values, and beliefs.

Finally, Fung's model considers authority in terms of the impact (influence) that the community has over the practice but does not prioritize high impact as the best outcome of the participation process. As noted, in

many (perhaps most) participatory venues, the typical participant has little or no expectation of influencing policy or action. Instead, he or she participates to derive the *personal benefits* of edification or perhaps to fulfil a sense of civic obligation (Fung, 2006). Authority depends upon the alteration and mobilization of public opinion enacted in different participatory mechanisms. The lowest impact is seen in cases where people get involved mainly for personal benefits, but impact could start to grow, or public opinion could start to make an impact, when it becomes altered or mobilized (i. e. communicative influence), which could be followed by more impactful stages, such as "advise and consult", "co-governance", or "direct authority" (Fung, 2006, p. 70). The top level marks the point, where participation turns into citizen empowerment. Similarly, Rocha's model of empowerment names stages, which are "atomistic individual empowerment" (1); "embedded individual empowerment" (2); "mediated empowerment" (3); "socio-political empowerment" (4); "political empowerment" (5) (Rocha, 2011, p. 34), where individual power (or personal benefit) turns into the power (political) of people as a group. Both models suggest that influence or impact, and real power, come from the community or the higher level of collaboration of people. The latter considerations in the social networking environment (i. e. Facebook), mean that when people join a page and group as interested individuals (i. e. personal benefits), and start to contribute content or get involved in a dialogue, then influence starts to grow. This influence through time has the potential to enable community or to make an impact. In other words, the higher the contribution of people or the extent of dialogue, and the higher a sense of community (or embedment and mediation of individuals), the higher is the potential that the online community will make the real impact.

However, in the case of cultural heritage communities on Facebook, the power of community does not necessarily constitute civic (political) power or is orientated to co-governance as public participation in culture heritage manifests through a variety of forms (discussed in Section 2. 2.). Moreover, at the national level, the notion of civic participation, and especially the development of civic society in Lithuania is discrete and represents a certain challenge because Lithuania does not have any substantial experience of the non-interrupted co-existence of the civic society and the state (Laurėnas, 2003). For example, public participation in the context of urban and community development, that gave birth to the theory of participation (Arnstein, 1969) some decades ago in the United States of America, in the current process of urban management in Lithuania is seen as far from participatory and highly procedural and formalistic (Cirtautas, 2011). Similar

observations apply to other areas as well. Public activism in social and political life, and participation in the non-governmental sector is still low as only around 13% of the population take part in the activities of non-governmental organizations (Butkuvienė, 2005). Low civic participation in Lithuania is associated with the relatively low level of social capital, which is the consequence of the Soviet period (small and closed social networks, lack of trust in interpersonal and institutional relations) (Imbrasaitė, 2004). On the other hand, low participation in sociopolitical sectors does not prevent public participation in other areas or at the grassroot level. More than half of the Lithuanian population participate in various communities of interest (sports, tourists clubs, dwellers associations, committees at kindergartens and schools) (Butkuvienė, 2005). In regard to national online spaces, we still lack studies investigating grassroots citizen participation, so it remains unclear how it transforms and manifests through virtual social networks.

One of the attempts to theorise online participation is Mayfield's model known as *the Power Law of Participation* (2006), which was developed to explain online participation in relation to the design of social software, and offers a classification of activities from least to most participatory (Figure 5). In Mayfield's model, "low threshold" relates to "collective intelligence" and "high engagement" stands for "collaborative intelligence". Participation in communities is equivalent to the "power law" representing different intellectual capacities that manifest through a variety of gradually evolving activities, such as reading, favouriting, tagging, commenting, subscribing, sharing, networking, writing as part of collective intelligence and refactoring, collaborating, moderating, and leading, which constitute collaborative intelligence (Mayfield, 2006, para. 4). The application of the model to social networking sites, similar to Arnstein's model, invites us to consider different levels of community engagement that relate to participation, though Mayfield's model offers more insights about the particular actions happening in online spaces developed throughout different social software tools that represent online engagement.

The notion of engagement has been widely used in the context of computer-human interaction and digital communication and is central to understanding participation. Researchers agree that engagement is a complex notion as it "may refer to a combination of a *psychological* state, such as commitment, attachment, involvement, or mood; or a *performance*, such as observable behavior, or disposition" (Shaw and Krug, 2013, p. 242).

Collective Intelligence

Collaborative Intelligence

Lead
Moderate
Collaborate
Refactor
Write
Network
Share
Subscribe
Comment
Tag
Favorite
Read

Low Threshold
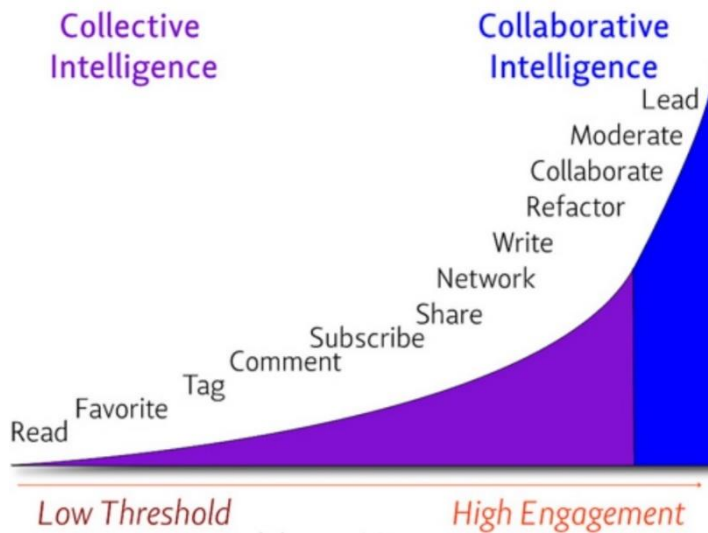
High Engagement

Figure 5. The Power Law of Participation (Mayfield, 2006)

Understanding engagement in a particular environment, such as social media, suggests the term has been applied inconsistently across the literature because it is hard to delineate engagement from similar concepts such as user experience and actual usage (Gangi and Wasko, 2016). Some authors make a distinction in defining user engagement as a category of user experience (O'Brien and Toms, 2008), while others follow the more traditional approach of involvement (Hwang and Thorn, 1999) and participation (Lehmann et al., 2012; Claussen et al., 2013) pointing to behavior patterns. Given the contradiction, an integrated definition suggests that engagement is a holistic psychological state of involvement deriving from personal meaning (Ray et al., 2014; Gangi and Wasko, 2016) or "a user's state of mind that warrants heightened involvement and results in a personally meaningful benefit" (Gangi and Wasko, 2016, p. 4). The fundamental idea in engagement theory, which emerged from technology-based learning and teaching environments, is that meaningful engagement happens through interactions with others and worthwhile tasks, while technology can facilitate engagement in ways that are difficult to achieve otherwise (Kearsley and Shneiderman, 1998). The theory builds upon the idea that successful engagement happens if three components, summarized as "Relate-Create-Donate", are present (Kearsley and Shneiderman, 1998, p. 20). The "Relate-Create-Donate" principle explains engagement in an educational technology-based environment, but these

principles, to some extent, could be applied to social networking sites as well. For example, the *"relate"* component emphasizes the meaning of *relations* built through *collaborative efforts*, that is part of *communication*, planning and *social skills*, which is important because working with others from different backgrounds facilitates an understanding of diversity and *multiple perspectives*. The *"Create"* principle represents learning as a *creative, purposeful activity*, which is about bringing your ideas in a specific context, where one could have a sense of control over the activity. *"Donate"* is about making a *useful contribution* that matters for the *community* and for outsiders (it could be compared to crowdsourcing and other forms of contributory activities that are fostered by social networking sites). It is also important to note that even though engagement strongly relates to interactivity, it also bears a significant difference. Usually, interaction is measured by single responses (clicks, likes), while engagement theory speaks about the *interaction among people in a community* (Kearsley and Shneiderman, 1998). "The difference between engagement and interactivity reflects the shift in thinking about computers in education as *communication tools* rather than some form of *media delivery device*" (Kearsley and Shneiderman, 1998, p. 21).

Applying these principles to the Facebook environment, engaged Facebook communities are not just those that are active, but those that enable conversation, or a discussion among members, and fosters collaboration that encourages the creation of user-generated content. Thus, in the context of Facebook engagement could be understood as a combination of actions related to co-creation and conversation. Any basic interaction (i. e. reacting to posts via liking and sharing) contributes to the engagement, but some interactions are more common and less effort requiring than others. For example, liking (favouring) contributes to engagement in a most simplistic way representing positive attitudes, endorsements, or basic interest from the audience toward the content while sharing is less common as it represents the perception of value, i. e. endorsing it (Kelpšienė, 2019). *Conversation* on Facebook could be understood through the acts of commenting and replying to comments and is marked by the presence of the discussion that the content evokes, which is the most valuable characteristic in terms of understanding interrelations between the audience and the content (Kelpšienė, 2019). Fung's model encompasses a similar dimension, which could be described as intensity of conversation or a mode of decision making from listening to actively expressing one's views. *Co-creation* on Facebook manifests through the act of posting (creating) content with others, which is similar to participant selection in Fung's model (who participates and how well they represent the

population). Therefore, I considered it another worthy dimension for investigation aimed at evaluating the process of content creation or posting (one vs. many) and the extent of user involvement in community moderation.

The proposed notion of engagement on Facebook is an important dimension that contributes to the understanding of participation. I argue that the engagement could be defined as a combination of two dimensions, similar to Fung's model, such as participant selection (co-creation on Facebook) and communication intensity (conversation on Facebook). In this way, the engaged pages and groups could be measured according to the proposed principle by evaluating activities that represent these dimensions. Therefore, engagement could be also defined through the notion of a 'ladder' or different levels of engagement ('ladder of engagement') based on calculations. However, engagement merely does not represent the notion of participation as it lacks understanding of the third dimension (i. e. authority or power) in the three-dimensional model of 'a democracy cube'. On the other hand, online social networking practice cannot be only framed in the context of civic participation and empowerment as in the decision making process. As argued by D. Gauntlett (2011), Web 2.0 technologies offer a "framework for participation" adopted for a diverse array of purposes: "People use YouTube to *communicate* and *connect*, to share knowledge and skills, and to entertain. They use the *community* features of the site to support each other and engage in debates, and to generate the characteristics of a 'gift economy'." (Gauntlett, 2011, p. 95). This is directly relevant to the area of cultural heritage, where participatory heritage practices also evolved as part of DIY incentives (Roued-Cunliffe and Copeland, 2017). Therefore, in Section 2. 2, I will introduce existing participatory approaches to cultural heritage and discuss the current definition of participatory heritage seeking to provide further elicitation of the notion of participation, that will provide a broader context for the grassroots cultural heritage activity on Facebook.

2.2. Participatory approaches in cultural heritage practice

The definition of cultural heritage in the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (2005, p. 2), also known as Faro convention, officially stresses the importance of cultural heritage to represent societies, describing it as "a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions". This study adopts the proposed cultural heritage

definition, which signifies the socio-cultural meaning of heritage manifesting through public interactions with the past, and socially defined cultural heritage interpretation that gives meaning to people's memory. The adopted cultural heritage concept admits that the representation of the past is a subject of change depending on what aspects of the past people perceive as currently valuable pointing to the idea of socially constructed heritage, which blurs the line between the past and the present and broadens the way we perceive cultural heritage.

The idea of socially constructed heritage has been contemplated in a variety of contexts, such as cultural heritage management (Byrne, 2008), museology (Vergo, 1989; Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; Simon, 2010), archaeology (Robinson, 1996; Marshall, 2002; González-Ruibal, 2013), archival studies (McKemmish, 1996; Huvila, 2008; Labrador and Chilton, 2009; Flinn, 2010), history (Groot, 2016), and tourism (Ashworth and Larkham, 1994; Palmer and Tivers, 2019). These ideas fostered the emergence of new concepts in the area of cultural heritage, such as *the participatory museum* (Simon, 2010) and the *participatory archive* (Huvila, 2008; Labrador and Chilton, 2009). In the participatory museum paradigm, the emphasis is on exhibitions and their development to enhance user experience, whereas cultural heritage is a social object, which should be, first and foremost, judged not on the historical or artistic importance, but on its ability to communicate with the audience, i. e. how it sparks public dialogue and how it creates more profound social experience with the past (Simon, 2010). The participatory archive invites us to consider the re-location of meaning (Labrador and Chilton, 2009) as proposed in the ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage (2008) and focuses on the contextualization of both the archival record and the process of creating the archive, and is characterized by decentralized user-orientated archive management (Huvila, 2008). Similarly, community archives were chosen by minorities and marginalized communities to provide their views and cultural expressions (Flinn, 2010).

Even though these definitions, arising from the memory institutions' context, bear some significant differences in terms of their focus, they both point to the notion of a participatory memory institution, which could be understood as a place where visitors create, share, and connect with each other around content (Simon, 2010). As elaborated further:

Create means that visitors contribute their own ideas, objects, and creative expression to the institution and to each other. Share means that people discuss, take home, remix, and redistribute both what they see and

what they make during their visit. Connect means that visitors socialize with other people—staff and visitors—who share their particular interests. Around content means that visitors' conversations and creations focus on the evidence, objects, and ideas most important to the institution in question. (Simon, 2010, Preface).

However, these participatory heritage approaches derive from the context of cultural heritage organizations, and in many ways, represent institutional agendas and the aim to employ a participatory approach in organizational (professional) work. A growing concern with more democratic forms of cultural heritage and their values suggests that expert-driven views towards cultural heritage can be biased toward specific types of value and ignores the social meaning that heritage has for contemporary communities (van der Hoeven, 2018). Also, as discussed by the theory of participation, the most vivid participation spurs from grassroots initiatives and citizen movements. Though, what do we know about grassroots online communities participating in cultural heritage activities? Furthermore, to what extent do community-driven approaches enable people to create, share, and connect around cultural heritage content?

The importance of community was also emphasized in the Faro convention, which states that a cultural heritage community is a group of people "who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of *public action[1]*, to sustain and transmit to future generations" (Council of Europe, 2005, p. 2). The understanding of cultural heritage practice as a participatory action (Robinson, 1996) underlines the importance of civic partnerships and community inclusion in heritage research and management processes. Similarly, heritage as a social action (Byrne, 2008) calls for more proper consideration of community needs and their role in interpreting cultural heritage and creating a relationship with current societies. Public participation in culture refers to a broad range of activities, connected to visits, habits and amateur practices (ESSnet-CULTURE, 2012). For example, the application of a cultural participation model to ICT use in the arts indicates four types of modes of participation: 1) *Information* refers to the Internet as information medium, where greater availability of information on the Internet furnishes the empowerment of arts-for-leisure practitioners, making them less dependent on local shops, teachers, institutions and associations; 2) *Communication* focuses on the rising importance of creating user-generated content, which enables new forms of

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[1] Emphasis added

communication, that are in the heart of cultural life; 3) *Enjoyment/Expression* offers new possibilities not only for professionals but also for amateurs to present their work and proposes new opportunities to enjoy popular culture and enables new forms of cultural expression (e. g. urban culture); 4) *Transaction* refers to purchasing tickets, content and other artworks and merchandise (ESSnet-CULTURE, 2012). Therefore, public participation in the cultural heritage sector "is not considered just as a governance instrument, but also and more as a general involvement of stakeholders within a range of heritage processes and projects" (Ledinek Lozej, 2019, p. 121). On the contrary to the notion of participatory democracy as a form of government in which the citizens themselves have the opportunity to make decisions about public policy (Bevir, 2009), governance or management in cultural heritage is not the primary aspiration as participatory cultural heritage practices manifest in a broader variety of ways and forms. To some extent it could be compared to a broader creative practice that appears on the Internet, which contributes to favouring social links (Gauntlett, 2011). Large scale participatory practice on social networking sites raises essential questions, such as, what are these processes that allow people to take part in or become involved in an activity, and what are the new forms (participatory outcomes) created during these activities?

As we see, the involvement of people in cultural heritage activities on social networking sites enables a range of activities. For example, on Facebook people create pages and groups focused on cultural heritage, where members engage in sharing, posting, and discussing cultural heritage resources. Through engagement, they create digital objects (posts, messages, comments), as well as particular social formations (communities) contributing to the creation of cultural heritage discourse. The construction of public discourse draws attention to *collaborative* practices and how they affect the *representation* and *interpretation* of cultural heritage objects. In this way, I argue that participatory practice points to co-creation and conversation activities, whereas participatory outcomes are a direct result created through them. This idea of seeing participatory heritage as a collaborative effort, and as a heritage communication process, resonates well with the theory of user engagement (Ray et al., 2014; Gangi and Wasko, 2016), which underlines that engagement always bears some personal meaning and includes a communicational dimension, as well as relations among people (Kearsley and Shneiderman, 1998).

The process of constructing heritage meaning through communication creates "fluid, culturally specific forms of value", also called social values,

which "encompasses the significance of the historic environment to contemporary communities, including people's sense of identity, belonging and place, as well as forms of memory and spiritual association" (Jones, 2017, p. 22). The latter outcome might reflect the mentioned personally meaningful benefit that is essential in the notion of user engagement. Furthermore, it has been acknowledged that "heritage produces something new in the present that [only] has recourse to the past" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1995, p. 369). The blurred line between past and present is related to the process of cultural heritage communication, especially in digital spaces, where cultural heritage (objects from the past) is used to produce a communicative message in the present and becomes part of contemporary culture (Laužikas, 2018).

The application of the semiosphere theory (Lotman, 1990) in the area of cultural heritage explains the phenomenon by seeing semiosphere as a spatial mechanism, where cultural heritage objects, as signs (codes), and their assemblages, as structures of signs (or a set of codes), are objects for new interpretation (encoding and decoding of signs/codes) done by the public through participatory practices (Laužikas, 2010). The involvement of non-professional communities based on the semiosphere theory suggests that enthusiasts emerge from the creolised peripheral spaces, existing on the borders of professional disciplines, and interact with the center by reusing scientific knowledge and with other culturally more distant sign structures, thus eventually creating new forms of cultural heritage objects (Laužikas et al., 2018). In this sense, the semiosphere theory explains the role of amateur communities and how they stand in the periphery in a broader sphere of cultural heritage communication. On that note some researchers analyzing cultural heritage communication on social media mention the existence of the middle space or the creolised peripheral space, which connects the non-professional cultural heritage fields (Whitcher Kansa and Deblauwe, 2011; Laracuente, 2012; Brown & Nicholas, 2012; Richardson 2012; 2015; Laužikas et al., 2018). It is argued that here, usually through interactions with other spaces, new paradigms are created, that might migrate to a newly-formed centre, and thus become canonised and dominant in the future (Laužikas et al., 2018). This dissertation is focused on analyzing the periphery (grassroots and non-professional involvement) as opposed to the center (professional and institutional involvement) and seeks to investigate possible creolisations in the semiosphere, as well as new possible discourses that are created in the peripheral space.

As grassroots cultural heritage practice on social media is still relatively new, these effects and their implications for cultural heritage, in the

long run, are still unknown. What we mainly observe now is the blurring boundaries between official and unofficial cultural heritage, the call for suggestions on how to reshape relations between institutions and the public, the fostering of grassroots understanding and manifestations of cultural heritage practice and promotion of the living and performative aspects of heritage in light of our present-day existence (Giaccardi, 2012). Similar ideas are expressed in the concept of *new heritage* (Kalay et al., 2007), that emerged from the broader use of digital media in the service of cultural heritage, dwelling much less on the object of heritage and much more on a view of heritage as the interaction between people and their worlds, and between people themselves (Holtorf and Fairclough, 2013). It is claimed that interactions enabled a variety of new forms of cultural heritage representation and consequently new forms of cultural heritage interpretation and people interactions (Kalay, 2007). Such considerations are also crucial for the present study as they emphasize the shifts that were caused by digital technologies because, since their emergence, digital technologies have had a tremendous impact on the management, presentation, and dissemination of cultural heritage. As digital media researcher Sophia Liu argued "emerging uses of social media are generating new kinds of heritage practices from the bottom-up", which is defined as "grassroots heritage" and refines the notion of heritage representing people's cultural legacy in a participatory age (Liu, 2010, p. 2975). Direct public involvement in creating digital archives, commenting on museum exhibits, initiating civil actions, and creating alternative heritage groups is changing traditional strategies. Official heritage practices are being affronted by the non-professional and amateur communities of cultural heritage enthusiasts as many community-driven initiatives are bringing together groups of people to become cultural heritage curators. The online communities tend to build around affinities and topics of interest in this way, transforming traditional one-way media communication into an active conversation (Giaccardi, 2012). They also reflect current public attitudes towards particular cultural heritage objects that are worthy of protection and promotion even though they may not be officially recognized (West, 2010).

The attention to grassroots activities, heritage social value and use of digital technologies contributed to the "participatory heritage" concept described as "a space in which individuals engage in cultural activities outside of formal institutions for the purpose of knowledge sharing and co-creating with others" (Roued-Cunliffe and Copeland, 2017, p. XV). Participatory heritage is characterized by: 1) the acknowledgment of a diversity of expertise

operating from a premise of shared authority; 2) the importance of content, which draws individuals together; 3) a focus on co-creation and knowledge sharing; 4) bottom-up collaboration emerging from the connection among individuals. However, more recently it has also been noted that "many participatory heritage websites are initiated by established heritage organizations or actively support citizen initiatives" (van der Hoeven, 2018, p. 6); also there are many successful crowdsourcing projects with the public initiated by memory institutions (Carletti, 2016). It suggests that the bottom-up approach also could be embedded into institutional cultural heritage practice, particularly in projects fostering citizen engagement, and not necessary deriving from collaboration among individuals. However, the existing contradiction between the definitions of participatory heritage, where one states that engagement relevant to participation happens "outside of formal institutions" (Roued-Cunliffe and Copeland, 2017, p. XV) and another argues that it "originates in an institutional context" (van der Hoeven, 2018, p. 6) cannot be accidental and invites us to assume, with good reason, that grassroots participatory heritage might be somewhat different from that usually fostered by institutions. Emphasizing the role of people in cultural heritage participation is essential as "'[g]rassroots heritage' is a way to redefine the notion of 'heritage'", which concerns the question of "(w)hat kind of cultural legacy are *people*[2] choosing to pass down (or rather upload) to future generations?" (Liu, 2010, p. 2978). As already noted in the literature, community-driven practices might hugely differ in the way they are performed, whereas these differences lie in the very nature of the curatorial approach (Westberg and Jensen, 2017), which could be described as two completely different metaphors – "cathedral" and "bazaar" or "two fundamentally different [technology] development styles" (Raymond, 1999, p. 23). The cathedral is a "closed, carefully crafted and inaccessible building", while the bazaar is an "open, ongoing construction, a cornucopia of approaches and contributions" (Westberg and Jensen, 2017, p. 88). Pointing to the differences in participatory practice, the latter study suggests that some practitioners tend to be more organized and assertive of sole authority, while others are keener to work in collaboration with community members. Such collaboration is one the most critical dimensions in understanding participatory practice.

Another issue in the current definition of participatory heritage relates to defining it as *a space* (Roued-Cunliffe and Copeland, 2017), which might

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[2] Emphasis added

be ambiguous. The definition most likely derives from the notion of a participatory institution, which is described as *a place* (Simon, 2010) that enables and fosters participation. Indeed, *participatory* relates to a circumstance or a factor allowing people to take part in or become involved in an activity (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020) and the virtual environment, perceived as space, might define that factor fostering participation. However, I believe that the notion of space does not explain the object itself, i. e. participatory heritage, and how it emerges. Of course, technological infrastructures, such as databases, websites or social media, *provide a space* for that process to emerge, develop, and mature. But this conversation raises additional questions about digital tools and environments, and how they influence the transmission of social memory**,** and practices, such as commemoration, traditions, and identity (Olick and Robbins, 1998, Dalbello, 2009). My interest is more focused on online social network activities and how they contribute to the creation of participatory heritage in the first place. The idea that the environment, or a space, may be constitutive of functions within it, is not new and resonates in many practice studies focused on the activities of people, their agency and intentionality (Pearce, 1994; Engeström, 2000; Dallas, 2007; Kaptelinin & Nardi, 2007; Bowker 2008; Cunningham, 2008; Benardou et al, 2010). Therefore, I propose that the definition of the context as participatory lies not in the environment itself, but rather in the activity (i. e. mode of participation) that takes place in it.

Similar to the definition of participatory democracy, where it is understood as *a form*[3] of government in which the citizens themselves have the opportunity to make decisions about public policy (Bevir, 2009), participatory heritage could be understood as a new form of heritage deriving from the practice carried out by the public. Similarly, the research literature acknowledges that participatory culture, especially that fostered by social media, changes social practices and ways in which people experience and engage with cultural heritage (Giaccardi, 2012). Furthermore, I consider that this process that happens on social networking sites, which involves interaction, co-creation and conversation between people, is a process of cultural heritage practice that leads to the transmissions of social memory and the creation of new heritage meanings relevant to contemporary society. On the other hand, postmodern identity theory emphasizes the hybrid and fluid nature of contemporary identities, which highly influence the construction of communities (Woodward, 1997; Holstein and Gubrium, 1999; Shaw and

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[3] Emphasis added

Krug 2013). These observations, such as the creation of community identity, can be better explained in light of social media theory, discussed in Section 2.3.

2.3. The definition of social networking sites and online communities

Web 2.0 technologies provided tools for everyone to become engaged and shape digital culture, thus blurring the lines between traditional forms of communication, existing authorities, content producers and consumers. The definition of Web 2.0 mainly comes from the marketing domain recognizing the importance of user contributions (O'Reilly, 2005). Social media was the main category of newly introduced tools known 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 and Haenlein, 2010, p. 61). Social media covers a wide variety of services, from personal blogs to virtual collaborative games that come in different forms and enable miscellaneous user interactions with environment and content. Social networking sites, as part of social media technologies, are defined as "a *networked communication platform* in which participants 1) have *uniquely identifiable profiles* that consist of user-supplied content, content provided by other users, and/or system-provided data; 2) can *publicly articulate connections* that can be viewed and traversed by others; 3) can consume, produce, and/or interact with *streams of user generated content* provided by their connections on the site" (Ellison and boyd, 2013, p. 158). In this way, social networking sites are platforms for communication driven by the user's desire to share and engage with streams of content. The ability to create a profile and communicate one's identity is among the essential features of the platforms. Apart from the most popular global social networking platforms, such as Facebook (2004), many other less known ones operate only regionally or nationally (Qzone in China, Vk.com in Russia, etc.). Additionally, other social networking sites target groups of people by age, interests, professions, etc. (e. g. LinkedIn, Flixter, etc.).

The emergence of Web 2.0 expanded communication possibilities (either to support and disseminate existing collections or to create a new space for amateur participation) and allowed for the carrying out of participatory practices in social media spaces. As a Web 2.0 technology, social networking sites have been mostly contributing to a wider trend in online communication. By offering tools for everyone to participate, social media infused the

phenomenon of the cult of amateurs, which is responsible for blurring the lines between the usual ways of how we perceive information and establish authority, such as between creator and consumer, expert and amateur, fact and fiction, etc. (Keen, 2007). Mass participation is a threat related to the decline of quality and reliability of received information, which sometimes distorts national civic conversations, and is a direct outcome of existing participatory practices (Keen, 2007). On the other hand, mass-collaboration and public involvement gave rise to the notion of *pro-ams*, i. e. "innovative, committed and networked amateurs working to professional standards", who have a huge influence on the shape of society by building up forms of cultural capital made up of knowledge, skills, norms, practices, disciplines and subcultures (Leadbeater and Miller, 2004, p. 9). The main distinction between professionals and pro-ams could be defined by the nature of knowledge both groups have or the amount of cultural capital they are able to accumulate. All social media is about personalized media as opposed to broadcast media, where the process of seeking information is replaced by becoming the information (Keen, 2007). Personal skills and one's knowledge are essential in shaping ways the content is disseminated and knowledge is communicated in social networks. Professionals have a strong knowledge base about theories that lie behind good practice, while pro-ams usually have strong know-how and the technique to perform the practice enabling them to become more prominent or more successful in their engagement (Leadbeater and Miller, 2004).

The classification of social media that I am adopting in my research takes into account two theoretical dimensions deriving from the area of media research (social presence, media richness) and research on social processes (self-presentation/self-disclosure) (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010) (Figure 6). It situates social networking sites to stand in the middle in terms of social presence and media richness, because they enable sharing of multi-media and social interaction, but not to the extent of replicating face-to-face interactions as virtual worlds do. It also considers them to be high in self-presentation and self-disclosure as they rely on the creation of a virtual identity (Schau and Gilly, 2003; Donath and Boyd, 2004).

		Social presence/ Media richness		
		Low	Medium	High
Self-presentation/ Self-disclosure	High	Blogs	Social networking sites (e.g., Facebook)	Virtual social worlds (e.g., Second Life)
	Low	Collaborative projects (e.g., Wikipedia)	Content communities (e.g., YouTube)	Virtual game worlds (e.g., World of Warcraft)

Figure 6. Classification of social media by social presence/media richness and self-presentation/self-disclosure (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010)

The presentation of self (Goffman, 1959), a concept that explains the creation of self-image and interactions between people as a desire to make an impression or to constitute personal identity, is central in understanding online community in light of self-representation and the expression of values, that people as a group stand for, driven by the desire to communicate constructed identity. The dramaturgical theory of self-presentation (Goffman, 1959) helps us to understand identity construction describing it through a set of social situations as a stage of performance, thus explaining how people are keen to act upon a self-defined role, also known as impression management. The notion of the presentation of self has become increasingly popular in explaining the construction of virtual identities, virtual communities and online participation on social networking sites (Donath, 1998; Boyd, 2004, 2007; Robinson, 2007; Tufekci, 2008; Mendelson and Papacharissi, 2010). The main idea is that individuals would employ impression management as the selective disclosure of personal details designed to present an idealized self (Hogan, 2010). Furthermore, the adaptation of Goffman's concept of 'performances of self', which focuses on the traditional dramaturgical approach introducing notions of performances in a stage-play, to an online environment could be understood through the more nuanced notion of an exhibitional approach, which is closely associated with what we presently consider social media or social network sites (Hogan, 2010). Here, situational activities or performances are in contrast to exhibitions, i. e. sets of digital photos, status updates, or posts that are part of an asynchronous process involving organization, management and curation of content. This approach emphasizes the process of selective contribution and the role of the third party referred to as a "digital curator" that has the capacity to filter, order, and search content (Hogan, 2010, p. 384). It is, indeed, asserted that "social media is *curated* and is considered a reliable place to store *meaningful* content", but at

the same time, it is also "easily *encountered* and has the potential to present content as a compelling *narrative*" (Zhao and Lindley, 2014, pp. 2431-2432). The digital curator could be a person(s), but it also could be the technology itself (or algorithms), that is mediating users' experiences. In the culture of connectivity the connected media (i. e. social media) is profoundly influenced by techno-cultural (i. e. technology, users and content) and socio-economic (i. e. ownership, governance, and business models) constructs (Dijck, 2013). Technology has a significant role in shaping social and cultural processes because it not only facilitates social acts but shapes their enactment. The platform features are the technological affordances that users engage with, so existing technological features are also influencing (positively or negatively) the creation and dissemination of cultural heritage content. For example, in Section 2. 1, I already provided my theoretical consideration about engagement, defining it as a combination of conversation and co-creation. The activities of co-creation on Facebook reflect through the act of posting (creating) content with others. In most Facebook pages posting is usually done by the administrator, and rarely by other users (co-administration or inclusion of members). On the other hand, in Facebook groups co-creation is more obvious and can be more easily achieved due to technological affordances. The fact that co-creation is less common in Facebook pages but more common in groups, suggests that Facebook groups are more capable of producing participatory outcomes as they might represent a higher level of engagement and a higher level of participation (through collaboration). This assumption, however, needs to be tested through evidence-based data in the context of this study.

It has been also argued that the construction of virtual identity as a self-representation practice highly depends on the physical world and associations, which are created digitally with material objects, places, symbols and signs (Schau and Gilly, 2003), also known as *affiliative objects* (Gell, 1998). These objects are assigned with *affiliative powers* that are realized through *affiliative relations* or "the ways in which objects are not innocent but fraught with significance for the relations that they materialize" (Suchman, 2005, p. 379). The role of *affiliative identity* (Shau and Gilly, 2003) is essential in the context of social networking sites as it can be used to describe the nature of virtual communities (contrary to one's individual identity) and thus situating them within the social world. In digital cultural heritage practice, it means that affiliative identity, as a "collective bond that links individuals to collectivities through practices of cultural consciousness", is enacted in social networking sites through different kinds of affiliative

objects demonstrating a contingent, fluid, and hybrid status of cultural identity formation (Dallas, 2018, p. 11).

The creation of affiliative identity in social networking sites opens up a discussion on the particular effects associated with ICT and its role in shaping virtual identity. These include more open self-expression bringing out latent and nested identities into play (Herb and Kaplan, 1999), and fragmented use of possessions as symbols of identity deriving from the material world (Dittmar and Pepper, 1992). Here embodiment roughly and incompletely translates into the digital realm, and a hybrid performativity relates to contemporary identity construction through complex, processual and dynamic sociopolitical and economic arrangements (Moreman, 2005; Shaw and Krug 2013) with ambiguous cultural or ethnic self-concepts because of globalized media networks effects (Moreman, 2005). Thus, the relations between objects and people in a digital environment are different from a material one and act on the digital semiotic plane (Schau and Gilly, 2003).

Enthusiast and amateur participation is an impactful practice which has been contributing to the development of cultural heritage resources online and covering areas that are usually overlooked by memory institutions (Terras, 2010). In the most common cases webpages created by the cultural heritage enthusiast usually focus on family history and genealogical material and on building "virtual amateur museums", usually presenting novel, detailed, and niche content with a very specific scope that has not been yet covered by memory institutions (e. g. comic books, defunct technologies, etc.) (Terras, 2010, p. 428). Thus, in the cultural heritage area, social networking sites have been seen as a part of a more extensive web infrastructure of communication and interactions that act as affinity places of cultural production and lasting values at the service of what could be viewed as a new generation of living heritage practices (Giaccardi, 2012). The evaluation of these processes in the cultural heritage area highly relies on the perception of existing heritage values and their possible turnover in online communities.

The notion of online community is an important consideration in a proposed theoretical framework for my study as it is perceived as unique virtual social formation (Rheingold, 2000). Even though people relate to each other in much the same way in physical communities or online (virtual) communities, also known as virtual publics (Jones and Rafaeli, 2000), they represent other forms of human social life mainly because the constraints of time or place do not bind them (Rheingold, 2000). In the research literature online communities have been described from different perspectives, such as a social science perspective seeing them as social aggregations (Rheingold

2000; Cummings et al., 2002), a psychological perspective focusing on the sense of community (Blanchard, 2004) and information systems perspective shifting to members' needs and requirements (Preece, 2000). From the view of computer-mediated communication, the core attributes of online communities are shared resources, common values, and reciprocal behavior (Whittaker et al., 1997; Hummel and Lechner, 2002). Online community members "(…) have some shared goals, interest, need, or activity (…) engage in repeated active participation (…) and shared activities (…) have access to shared resources (…) reciprocity of information (…) shared context (…)" (Whittaker et al., 1997, p. 2). Having in mind the existing complexities of defining an online community, this study adopts an integrated definition based on the analysis of the best-known definitions and an investigation of 200 virtual communities (Lee et al., 2003). It describes the online community as "a cyberspace supported by computer-based information technology, centered upon communication and interaction of participants to generate member-driven content, resulting in a relationship being built up" (Lee et al., 2003, p. 51). This definition integrates five important elements that are commonly noted throughout the research literature to describe the online community, such as:

1) online environment (cyberspace), which is the main factor that differentiates virtual and physical worlds omitting geographical boundaries;

2) ICT that enables and supports community activities;

3) the focus on communication and interaction driven by participation as the main factor distinguishing it from other online information services (e. g. websites);

4) the creation and distribution of member-driven content that enables interaction among members (e. g. shared resources, user-generated, crowdsourced content or messages as an outcome of ongoing communication and interaction among users);

5) the formation of relationships (i. e. reciprocal behavior), which is usually established through a long period of time and is more evident in matured communities.

This study will explore online grassroots communities identified as Facebook pages and groups to better understand the notion of engaged online community, in which members participate actively and develop meaningful participatory outcomes. The research literature suggests that community success can be measured by using quantitative metrics which include size (number of members), participation (number of visits, hits, logins), contributions (number of messages posted per period), and relationship

development (extent of contact between members) or qualitative, such as member satisfaction and quality of members' relationships (Iriberri and Leroy, 2009). Therefore, I will investigate the notion of engaged community in order to situate them within the online social world, and will explain in light of participation theory pointing to community empowerment (Arnstein, 1969; Silverman, 2005; Fung, 2006; Mayfield, 2006; Rocha, 2011).

2.4. Cultural heritage communication on social networking sites

This section investigates existing literature in the field of cultural heritage communication in social networking sites and analyses the research outcomes, primarily focusing on Facebook. However, due to the fact that some of the research literature describes a set of social media applications and provides consolidated interpretation of results, other social media services, such as the microblogging platform "Twitter" and content communities (e. g. Flickr, Instagram, and Youtube), also contribute to the development of a theoretical framework.

The majority of research studies focusing on heritage communication on Facebook and other social networking sites come from researching its use in the museums' sector. Museums were quick to discover and recognize the potential of social media for attracting and engaging with new audiences. For museums, the aspiration is to become community-based knowledge-sharing agents, to contribute to a richer experience between artifacts and visitors, and to foster interactive communication between the museum and its audience (Russo et al., 2006).

For many museums, social media has been seen as a new channel of communication and one of the easiest ways to achieve the desired result with limited financial resources. However, numerous studies pointed out that many museums still find it difficult or sometimes impossible to become a participatory museum, because their communication on social networking sites does not promote participation (Rentschler and Hede, 2007; Alexander et al., 2008; Kotler et al., 2008; Kelly, 2009; Šuminas and Armontaitė, 2013; Dovydaitytė, 2015). Explaining the causes of failure engages researchers in a broader scientific debate. It was shown that even with a museum's awareness of the importance of communicating with its audience, applying an effective strategy remains a challenge, as a coherent and societal approach needs to be ensured (Holdgaard 2011). Furthermore, often social applications that are adapted to museum activities serve only the interests of the museum and not the needs of its visitors (Russo and Peacock, 2009). One of the most popular

ways to employ social networking sites is to apply them in museum marketing communication, which is usually limited to broadcasting information about an organization's activities, events, new exhibitions, etc. (Rentschler, 2007; Kotler et al., 2008; Alexander et al., 2008; Šuminas and Armontaitė, 2013; Kelpšienė, 2019). Similar trends of cultural heritage communication are not just common to museums but to many cultural heritage institutions and organizations. Facebook and Twitter are used to primarily promote an institution's activities rather than fostering user-contributed content and a sense of online community (Liew, 2014). It was observed that *the Marketing frame* or the promotion of museum activities is the most commonly applied in museum communication compared to *the Inclusivity frame* which focuses on the creation of virtual community or *the Collaboration frame* which is orientated to the creation of new heritage interpretations and social narratives (Kidd, 2011).

Similar segmentation related to marketing and community functions can be observed in Lithuanian cultural heritage communication, but here the distinction is made between websites and social networking sites (Tutlytė, 2015). Thus, the frame analysis deriving from museum social media research is a valuable addition to understanding grassroots cultural heritage communities on social media. The participatory frames differentiate in their purpose, whereas the most commonly used *Marketing frame*, which is usually seen as an addition to an organization's online publicity and is focused on building a recognizable face for institution branding and informing people about activities, differs from *the Inclusivity frame*, which indicates more active inclusion of community in social media activities. Furthermore, *the Collaboration frame* enables people to co-produce narratives and participate through story-making and crowdsourcing. However, the desire of museums to have their own audience and to create a community in virtual space is not an easy effort. Practice shows that such a virtual community is often passive with only a small percentage of its members actively participating (Alexander et al., 2008). In this case, the main challenge for museums is to realize that a virtual community can be very different from a real community that exists, and communication must be done with a completely different set of expectations. Thus, *the Inclusivity frame* requires museums to be flexible, open to innovation, and offer dynamic and engaging content. For example, a successful community inclusion case is Brooklyn Museum, which realized the importance of adding visitors' content to the museum's Youtube channel and Flickr rather than content produced by museum staff (Bernstein, 2008). Recently there has been increasing discussion about the possibilities of

applying *a Collaboration frame* for the use of social networking sites in museums communication with the purpose of engaging the community directly in museum activities (curating, archiving and managing collections) or in creating new content (capturing stories and autobiographies).

The ability to engage a visitor and encourage them to become not only a passive observer of museum objects but also an active participant is one of the essential elements of a successful modern museum. Thus the development of an informed social media strategy for communicating heritage, as well as understanding social media impact, are important tasks for museums (Pett, 2012; Drotner and Schrøder, 2013; Marakos, 2014; Rodriguez Temiño and González Acuña 2014; Walker, 2014a; De Man and Oliveira, 2016). The importance to create an organizational policy for social media has been widely acknowledged across all cultural heritage sectors. It was observed that such policy empowers practitioners and encourages them to use social media, though it's still not clear whether it translates into better staff use of social media within the organization (Cadell, 2013). One of the main problems that all institutions in the cultural heritage sector are facing, is the absence of tools and techniques to define, measure and evaluate the effectiveness of social media activities. Various organizations regularly invest in cultural portals, social media activities, and online services without a clear understanding of what added value these services can bring and which audiences are targeted. In recent years, interested institutions have been working to develop methodologies for cultural heritage institutions and organizations to facilitate easy and successful implementation of social media strategies (Visser and Richardson, 2013) and to measure their impact (Finnis et al., 2011; Malde et al., 2013). The evaluation of social media activities may provide valuable insight into possible implications for successful organizational practice, as well as into possible reasons for failure. For example, it may reveal that long-lasting social networking site campaigns, created and promoted by the organization, might be not as effective for audience engagement as simply sharing an interesting blog post from the organization's webpage (Kelpšienė, 2019).

The use of Facebook is also associated with new shifts in the museum sector and institutional, as well as non-institutional, heritage communication. As illustrated in the Lithuanian case study on museums' communication on Facebook, social networking sites are responsible for institutional decentralization, wider thematic diversification and new social and cultural formations in virtual social spaces (Kapleris, 2014). While digital communication on museum websites still highly relies on existing

institutional hierarchies, social networking sites enable smaller departments to create their personal communication channels and directly engage with their audiences. Similarly, various private initiatives are also able to make their presence visible and can build their audiences. The great social popularity of a museum account happens not necessarily due to its status, authority, influence or greater financial resources. Most of the Facebook museums favored by their visitors have a very clear thematic specialization, e. g. marine life, toys, fine arts, church art, rave music, diamonds, etc., with higher engagement happening in smaller municipality museums focused on communicating regional identities (Kapleris, 2014). This points to the importance of *affiliative objects* that have the power to bring people together, as well as rising local identities, which are proven to be more efficient in creating interconnections with cultural heritage.

Some studies in the institutional domain point to the areas of concern related to the use of social networking sites, such as arising sustainability issues for access and re-use of heritage information (Jeffrey, 2012; McNealy, 2012; Law and Morgan, 2014). These issues are very relevant to archival institutions, especially those involved in digitization activities and seeking to promote access to their digital resources. So far Facebook is the most popular social networking platform among archivists, because, like blogging and wiki sites, it provides an easy way to create a virtual archive (Theimer, 2010; Garaba, 2012). While the adoption of social media in the area of cultural heritage has been widespread, long-term preservation issues, which are relevant for archives and re-use of data, have not been yet approached. These considerations require a more profound study into the technical aspects of archiving highly interactive datasets, especially in spaces where discourse of potential future value is taking place and where community contributions (user-generated content) are being gathered (Jeffrey, 2012). It has also been argued that digital content (e. g. status updates, tweets, blog posts, comments) are digital ephemera in themselves, and unlikely to survive even in the short term (Terras, 2010). An example is the neglection of Geocities, a major prototypical platform for social networking and blogging, which suggests that the use of social networking sites that are provided by business corporations should be taken with caution because these services can't guarantee long-term preservation. The recommendations drawn from the investigation of archaeological content on Geocities suggest diversifying content hosting possibilities, not relying on public or private companies for hosting in perpetuity, and thinking of alternative, creative places to perform audience outreach online (Law and Morgan, 2014).

The use of social networking sites by archaeology professionals has been seen as an efficient attempt in outreaching and broadening the audience, as well as speeding up the process of discoverability of archaeological content (Whitcher Kansa and Deblauwe, 2011; Richardson 2012). In some cases, social media is beginning to overtake traditional platforms for disseminating information (Matthews and Wallis, 2015). From a professional point of view, social networking sites are useful for sharing scholarly resources (Walker, 2014a) and to foster scholarly communication by increasing social interactions between communities (Beale and Ogden, 2012; Richardson 2012; 2015). Community building aspects are closely related to the notion of social capital, which is an important consideration for the research of social networks as generators and facilitators of social capital. It was observed that highly specialized professional social networking sites improve the quality of archaeological research benefiting from expertise obtained from such online collaboration (Morris, 2011; Whitcher Kansa and Deblauwe, 2011; Richardson, 2015). However, it has been noticed that social networking sites may not be of sufficient value to all members as they usually bring the greatest benefit to young researchers who are the most active participants in the network. For them, social networking becomes one of the quickest ways to get expert advice or other relevant information on a topic of concern. Meanwhile, older researchers are more likely to rely on their personal contacts (Witcher Kansa and Deblauwe, 2011). The impact of using social networking sites for archaeological communication has been reported to have a limited uptake related to an array of issues that emerge with technology use in practice, such as corporate communication policies, digital literacy, costs, ICT infrastructure, ethical issues, regional traditions and individual attitudes (Colley, 2014). In some cases, it was also noted that one of the problems of using social networking sites, as well as other types of social media, is that they tend to be resource-heavy (Beale and Ogden, 2012; Laracuente, 2012). It means that organizations are asked to consider additional financial/human resources to make their communication efficient, while individual participation relates to a variety of personal investments needed for engagement.

Participation in public conversations through social networking sites invites us to reconsider questions of authority and reliability of the information in the discipline. The need for archaeologists to provide a voice of authority in representing the discipline in a public arena was emphasized by several studies (Richardson, 2012; Almansa Sánchez, 2013; Larsson, 2013), though it was noted that in many cases, social networking sites appear

to have reinforced archaeological authority at the expense of genuinely de-centered public engagement or social collaboration (Walker, 2014b). Investigations into the ownership of online archaeological expertise and authority in the UK shows that it is robustly maintained by archaeological organizations throughout the country and that "this is itself subtly stratified by institutional affiliation, real-life status, professional accomplishment and even the ability to leverage digital literacy and longevity on these platforms" (Richardson, 2014b, p. 31). Archaeological organizations rarely support multiple voiced, participatory approaches in archaeological heritage or acknowledge a shared authority, thus the production of archaeological knowledge, even if a self-directed one, usually follows a top-down approach and depends on expert knowledge (Richardson, 2014b). Therefore, indicating a gap between professionally produced archaeological data and non-professional or community participation in the area of digital archaeology and within the framework of the participatory web. The study (Richardson, 2014b, p. 33) concludes that: "this creates a space for what I term 'participatory ventriloquism' where the top-down approach to public and community archaeology translates to the Internet, and we are at risk of performing our-self-defined roles as archaeologists in the digital realm, through advising non-archaeologists what to read, ask and contribute through Internet technologies and our social media platforms, rather than consider the needs and interests of the audience."

On the other hand, social networking sites with user-generated content have been also seen as boundary-crossing global formations occupying the middle space between traditional cultural heritage dissemination and casual conversation, thus linking amateurs with professionals (Terras, 2010; Whitcher Kansa and Deblauwe, 2011; Laracuente, 2012; Richardson 2012). Since its existence, the so-called middle space has been associated with a better opportunity for learning, especially one that arises from public interest (Laracuente, 2012). In this way, cultural heritage organizations and professionals were encouraged to use social networking sites to engage with the public ensuring the accuracy and reliability of cultural heritage content. However, the middle space has been always seen as a challenge to many cultural heritage organizations. For example, the use of Twitter in communication with the non-archaeological public created friction with organizational policy and structure as there was a notable lack of guidance for the use of the platform (Richardson, 2012; 2015). Similar issues derive from other uses of various other digital technologies. The majority of institutional databases are repeating the architecture of their

institutional hierarchy within the architecture of their website, while community-driven initiatives are usually based on a grassroots and up approach and use more inviting platforms, such as social media, for cultural discussions, debates, documentation and the promotion of group identity, occasionally (and ironically) illustrated by images taken from institutional databases (Brown & Nicholas, 2012).

The complexity of archaeological representations on social media encourages us to investigate the phenomenon and to provide insights on the possible strategies by which social networking sites can better promote cultural heritage and engage the public (Richardson, 2014a, 2014b; 2015; Huvila, 2014; Morgan and Pallascio, 2015; William and Atkin, 2015). The examination of social networking sites of difficult heritage between institution-led and community-led social networking sites participation suggests that there are radical differences in the ways these communities choose to communicate and share new heritage resources (Morgan and Pallascio, 2015). Obvious distinctions in the nature of shared content and lack of interactivity between different online communities sharing the same interest, could explain an existing gap between expert opinions and public narratives. It was suggested that studies helping to better understand "rifts between the expert knowledge and the mobilization of this knowledge" should explore the specific social media platforms with specific audiences or should focus on the creation of a broader framework, which could help to position the place of expert knowledge in the network (Morgan and Pallascio, 2015, p. 14). Practical implications for institutions seeking to engage with the public through social networking sites means that they need to diversify online public outreach and think of alternative places to participate. The identification of so-called "pockets of viable community" online, where meaningful performative collective memory is exercised, and engagement with stakeholders is on their own terms, is believed to have more impact than other initiatives focused on outward-facing social media (Morgan and Pallascio, 2015, p. 14).

The complexity of comprehensively perceiving the use of social media in the cultural heritage area is associated with the conceptual and technological differences of social media services. Systems, which help to organize ideas and perform communication, influence how cultural heritage representations are evolving in these particular environments (Huvila, 2014). For example, it was noted that Facebook was "heavily colonised by representations of professional and academic archaeology", while Twitter presented "a cacophony of professional and non-professional voices of

individuals and organizations", and both social networking sites were different from Pinterest, which was more "collector centric" and highlighted "the significance of imagery and impressions of the spectator" (Huvila, 2014, p. 27). And while noting and defining these differences help us to understand the use of particular services (e. g. Facebook is good for networking, while Twitter broadcasts information, etc.), the broader perception should also consider the fact that all social media services are not separate and have a common aspect in mechanisms of how cultural heritage is constituted in these services when compared to the traditional outlets of communicating knowledge (Huvila, 2014). And even though many studies proved that social web engagement in archaeology has the capacity to foster a series of very productive relationships and spaces for knowledge-making and knowledge-sharing, existing studies still fail to explain the impact of the social web on individuals, disciplinary cultures, and the broader effects on worldwide political economies (Perry and Beale, 2015).

Arising differences between institutions and communities engaged in social networking sites also relate to the means of identity construction, which is enabled by affiliations. Communities on social networking sites are gathered around different kinds of "affiliative objects" with their "affiliative power" being "enacted as memory work, as cultural capital, and as civic participation", whereas their "affiliative identities" evolve through "social conversations with the agency of community members" (Dallas, 2018, p. 11). The sense of community arises from "the collection, sharing, and transformation of the material" related to a particular interest, whereas users' participation is primarily maintained by the administrator or curator "who facilitates participation and, rather than controlling access to the material, controls the interaction between users" (Westberg and Jensen, 2017, p. 90).

Civic engagement and accumulation of social capital on Facebook could be also fostered through the creation of "emotional communities" brought together usually by nostalgia as an affiliative power, which is underlined as an important feeling related to people's perception of the past (Gregory, 2014, p. 43). Strong and active "emotional communities" could be a foundation for social activism as they give incentives to groups of activists, who would initiate signing petitions and organizing protests, especially if heritage is perceived as one which is under threat (Gregory, 2014, p. 39). Additionally, social networking sites as enablers of civic engagement could be of great use to cultural heritage websites or other digital forms of participatory heritage. Facebook pages linked to a webpage of participatory archives enables ongoing discussion, sharing of photos, memorabilia,

biographical anecdotes, and stories, as well as encouraging and supporting community members to upload new material (Westberg and Jensen, 2017).

Social networking sites also serve as a "virtual contact zone", where people can make contact and share stories in a format that allows people to speak (Purkis, 2017, p. 441). As a new public space, it enhances cultural toleration and understanding and cultivates new forms of knowledge and subjectivities, though they are in constant dialogue (and polemic) with hegemonic, nationalist master frames and governed by present dilemmas and concerns (Mylonas, 2016). Similar observations were made about the feeling of nostalgia, which proved to be related to contemporary concerns, and nostalgic communities, who were observed to be re-signifying and re-contextualizing the meanings of old photos through the act of sharing them on Facebook (Ryzova, 2015). Therefore, it raises issues related to public participation in cultural heritage activities through social networking sites. So far, there has been little critique expressed towards the engagement as in most cases the practice has been seen as a positive and almost inevitable shift in the digital cultural heritage area. However, some of the expressed concerns invite us to properly investigate the implications, particularly unintended, that are direct outcomes of amateur mass collaboration and the global adoption of social media. Even though cultural heritage communication through the "decoding of heritage" is associated with higher democratization and emerging polyvocality of cultural heritage, the "encoding of heritage" as the "decision of what 'heritage' is and what is commissioned for digitization", is not necessarily part of democratization (Taylor and Gibson, 2015, p. 408). Subtle and latent dimensions of power (i. e. conflict resolution, control of expression and shaping of preferences), (Luke, 2005), may result in *authorized heritage discourse* having an impact on public values (Taylor and Gibson, 2015). Public participation and cultural heritage consumption do not automatically permit cultural heritage creation and appropriation, instead they can reinforce hegemony in public preferences and encourage epistemic populism by bringing results desirable to the powerful or privileged (Taylor and Gibson, 2015). It was also noted that heritage as a national and transnational discursive tool is used in political discourse happening on social networking sites, whereas re-contextualization of it in a contemporary environment is quite a powerful tool to shape current public discourse (Farell-Banks, 2019).

In addition, another particular concern towards the vast adoption of social networking sites in a public sphere is the increasing threat to cultural heritage in conflict zones. It was argued that the convergence of networked

social media and changes in the forms of conflict evoke a new form of socially mediated terrorism, associated with symbolic and real violence, which makes cultural heritage objects particularly vulnerable (Smith et al., 2016). Destructive acts of symbolic meaning can have a global impact, which could be broadened by use of networked social media to manipulate and persuade different audiences, local, regional and international (Smith et al., 2016). At the same time, it was suggested that the solution to threats may lie in social media itself as social media provides a potential means to monitor the activities of terrorist groups and perhaps predict violence before it occurs, though programs for identifying emergent terrorist threats to cultural heritage still need to be established (Smith et al., 2016).

2.5. Summary: integrated theoretical framework for participatory heritage research on Facebook

This chapter presents an integrated theoretical framework by incorporating different, as well as overlapping, theoretical dimensions for the investigation of participatory heritage in Lithuanian grassroots communities on Facebook. My theoretical framework firstly builds up on the theory of participation (Arnstein, 1969; Silverman, 2005; Fung, 2006; Mayfield, 2006; Rocha, 2011) and engagement (Kearsley and Shneiderman, 1998; Ray et al., 2014; Gangi and Wasko, 2016). Secondly, it incorporates theoretical conceptualizations deriving from a broader set of literature discussing participatory heritage approaches (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1995; Robinson, 1996; Kalay et al., 2007; Byrne, 2008; Liu, 2010; Simon, 2010; Giaccardi, 2012; Holtorf and Fairclough, 2013; Jones, 2017; Roued-Cunliffe and Copeland, 2017; Ledinek Lozej, 2019). Finally, I will also consider arguments related to social media research, with a particular focus on cultural heritage communication on social networking sites (Schau and Gilly, 2003; Hogan, 2010; Giaccardi, 2012; Kidd, 2013; Gregory, 2014; Westberg and Jensen, 2017; Dallas, 2018).

The theory of participation offers valuable insights on how to perceive online participation on social networking sites. As the mainstream research literature presents the vertical (low-high) participation structure (Arnstein, 1969; Silverman, 2005; Mayfield, 2006; Rocha, 2011), I prefer to consider different types of participation on Facebook, and thus I adopt two dimensions from *the democracy cube* participation model, introduced by Archon Fung (2006). Based on Fung's model (2006) I consider participation not merely a linear structure, but a dimensional matrix, that incorporates the nature of participants selection (i. e. their involvement in content co-creation)

and the intensity of communication (or many-to-many conversation). However, I have excluded the third dimension described as the authority or power, because the latter represents citizen governance, which is relevant to the theory of participation developed in the context of citizen democracy and citizen participation, but is of little relevance to participatory cultural heritage practice. It is important to note that I do not wholly omit the vertical (low-high) evaluation of participation, though, in my view, the Power Law of Participation (Mayfield, 2006) and empowerment (Rocha, 2011) could be better understood through the modes of participation, or activities and motives that govern grassroots participation.

The concept of engagement is widely used in the context of computer-human interaction and digital communication, and represents "a user's state of mind that warrants heightened involvement and results in a personally meaningful benefit" (Gangi and Wasko, 2016, p. 4). A successful engagement happens if three components, summarized as "Relate-Create-Donate", are present (Kearsley and Shneiderman, 1998, p. 20). I suggest that the latter components, applied to the Facebook environment, could be understood as certain activities enabled by the platform, such as liking and sharing (basic interactions), commenting and replying to comments (conversation), and posting and creating content (co-creation) (Kelpšienė, 2019). Based on these considerations, I define participatory communities on Facebook, firstly as engaged communities, which are those where members co-create content together and converse with each other, while basic interactions represent lower forms of engagement. Therefore, I propose that the notion of engagement on Facebook connects two dimensions similar to those introduced in Fung's model, co-creation or how many people are engaged in content creation (similarly, to participant selection) and conversation or how many people are engaged in a dialogue (similarly, to intensity of communication). By evaluating engagement of all grassroots communities on Facebook, I seek to develop a 'Matrix of Participation' (MoP), which will help me to distinguish and characterize different types of participation.

I will interpret MoP in relation to existing literature, such as the Power Law of Participation showcasing collective vs collaborative intelligence (Mayfield, 2006) and frames for social media communication, such as marketing, inclusivity and collaboration (Kidd, 2010). The latter notions of frameworks directly derive from research on social media, or more exactly, from the interpretation of Goffman's (1959) theory of presentation of self-adapted to the online environment. The adaption of online impression management has been increasingly popular, because it explains online

participation through the concept of online community that represents a network of members with different virtual identities (Donath, 1998; Boyd, 2004, 2007; Robinson, 2007; Tufekci, 2008; Mendelson and Papacharissi, 2010).

The introduction of social media theory into my theoretical framework is important, firstly, because it characterizes social networking sites as such (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010; Ellison and boyd, 2013) differentiating them from the vast array of other social media services. It also allows us to better understand the notion of online community (Whittaker et al., 1997; Jones and Rafaeli, 2000; Preece, 2000; Rheingold, 2000; Cummings et al., 2002; Hummel and Lechner, 2002; Lee et al., 2003; Blanchard, 2004), and thus connects it to theoretical considerations of engagement, or notions of engaged community, which leads to certain participatory practices (or mode of participation).

To this, I propose that mode of participation does not conform to the third dimension in Fung's participation model, called authority and power because, as suggested by previous research, online cultural heritage practice cannot be only framed as civic participation or the power of decision making (Ledinek Lozej, 2019). Web 2.0 technologies offer a "framework for participation" adopted for a diverse array of purposes, such as sharing knowledge and skills, entertaining, supporting each other, engaging in debates, or more broadly forming a 'gift economy' (Gauntlett, 2011, p. 95). Therefore, my interpretation of the remaining dimension that constitutes online participation is based on the investigation of the modes of participation that are present in communities with the most active participants. Public participation in culture refers to a broad range of activities connected to visits, habits and amateur practices (ESSnet-CULTURE, 2012), which I will consider in the interpretation of results. It is important to note, that because my study focuses on the theory of participation, and not on the theory of identity construction, I did not adopt any of the proposed terms deriving from social media studies. Similarly, I have not adopted Kidd's (2010) framework analysis to explain different levels of engagement, but proposed my own interpretation, known as the 'Matrix of Participation'. On the other hand, I will interpret the MoP in connection to existing theorization, and by introducing modes of participation, I will also create pathways to existing research literature that explain cultural heritage communication on social networking sites. For example, it is noted that online cultural heritage communities tend to build around affinities and topics of interest in this way, transforming traditional one-way media communication into an active

conversation (Giaccardi, 2012). It has been also argued that the construction of virtual identity as a self-representation practice highly depends on the material world and the associations which are created digitally with material objects, places, symbols and signs (Schau and Gilly, 2003), also known as affiliative objects (Gell, 1998). These objects are assigned with affiliative powers that are realized through affiliative relations (Suchman, 2005). It means that affiliative identity is a "collective bond that links individuals to collectivities through practices of cultural consciousness", and is enacted in social networking sites through different kinds of affiliative objects demonstrating the contingent, fluid, and hybrid status of cultural identity formation (Dallas, 2018, p. 11). Furthermore, it was noted that civic engagement on Facebook was fostered through the creation of "emotional communities" brought together by nostalgia, which is an important feeling related to people's perception of the past (Gregory, 2014, p. 43). As the domain of cultural heritage on social networking sites has not yet established its theoretical foundations, I will use presented theoretical considerations deriving from the social media domain, if they emerge from Facebook data, and mainly at the final stage of my research focused on the interpretation of modes of participation and the conceptualization of participatory heritage.

The current notion of "participatory heritage defines it as "a space in which individuals engage in cultural activities outside of formal institutions for the purpose of knowledge sharing and co-creating with others" (Roued-Cunliffe and Copeland, 2017, p. XV). As argued in Section 2. 2., I believe that the definition requires careful refinement by looking into the participatory process and detaching it from the notion of "space". Similarly, existing research literature sees participatory heritage emerging through *actions* undertaken by people (Robinson, 1996; Council of Europe, 2005; Byrne, 2008; Liu, 2010; Giaccardi, 2012), and pointing to the *process* of cultural heritage communication (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1995; Kalay et al., 2007; Jones, 2017; Laužikas, 2018). Here, the understanding of cultural heritage dwells much less on the object of heritage and much more on a view of heritage as the interaction between people and their worlds, and between people themselves (Holtorf and Fairclough, 2013). The idea that the environment, or a space, may be constitutive of functions within it, is not new and resonates in many practice studies focused on the activities of people, their agency and intentionality (Pearce, 1994; Engeström, 2000; Dallas, 2007; Kaptelinin & Nardi, 2007; Bowker 2008; Cunningham, 2008; Benardou et al, 2010). Therefore, I think that the definition of context, such as participatory lies not in the environment itself, but in the activity (i. e. mode of

participation) that takes place in it. Even so, I will apply the model of civic participation to understand engagement, and hence participation, and I will elicit an understanding of participation with observations drawn from participatory approaches in cultural heritage practice, and from online social networks research.

3. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

In my empirical study I adopt a mixed-methods approach that integrates quantitative and qualitative content analysis, cluster analysis, conversation and sentiment analysis, and a grounded theory approach to scope and assess grassroots cultural heritage Facebook pages and groups in Lithuania, and to conceptualize participatory heritage. The research builds on multiple case studies of Lithuanian grassroots cultural heritage communities on Facebook, the most popular social networking site nationally. The adoption of a country-wide scope fits the goal of the study, aimed at looking into a broader sample of grassroots communities to showcase a holistic view of participation that does not isolate its lower forms and could reveal and explain different types of participatory communities through multiple case studies. The research process was implemented in four research stages, which are explained in detail in subsequent sub-chapters:

1. Data selection and scoping to identify and assess the scope of grassroots activity on Facebook;
2. Quantitative content analysis, and cluster analysis to develop a 'Matrix of Participation' (MoP);
3. Quantitative and qualitative analysis based on case study research of participatory communities to identify a cultural heritage focus;
4. Conceptualization of participatory heritage based on case studies, qualitative content analysis and qualitative interpretation of overall research results.

3.1. Data selection and scoping

Data selection. A scoping study was conducted with the main goal to select and collect empirical data for analysis, and to provide a broader overview of the grassroots activity, scope, and characterization of communities on Facebook (e. g. How many communities are created? How large and mature are they? What kind of cultural heritage do they represent?). During data collection, my unit of inquiry was a Facebook page or group (public and private) representing a certain virtual community. In my search, I sought out communities focusing on more precise definitions of 'grassroots' and 'cultural heritage', which were the two criteria defining my selection. Therefore, I only selected those Facebook pages and groups that are:

- ***grassroots online communities***, i. e. those that refer to "cyberspace supported by computer-based information technology" (Lee et al.,

2003, p. 51) and managed by the ordinary people in a society or an organization (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020);

- ***cultural heritage communities***, where cultural heritage is understood broadly, as defined in the Faro Convention: "a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions" (Council of Europe, 2005, p. 2).

The first criterion defines two dimensions of selection, i. e. 'grassroots' and 'online', meaning that all selected communities were bottom-up (grassroots) initiatives led by ordinary people, usually enthusiasts, and constitute informal collectivities, that do not represent any existing institutions or organizations. I identified grassroots online communities, firstly, as online communities, where technology and digital space define their existence as indicated in a description of online community, thus omitting geographical boundaries or physical places. Secondly, there should be no formal (legal) affiliation of the identified Facebook page and group, which in that case would imply that it represents an institution (e. g. museum, archive, research centre, or government institution) or organized establishment (e. g. association, foundation, society, or company), as well as any kinds of other existing projects, initiatives, services, or products created and managed by legal institutions, organizations or legal persons (e. g. institutional databases, websites, or events). The absence of formal legal status, such as legal organization or legal body, was my main criterion for selection. The title and description of investigated Facebook pages and groups usually provided enough information to define whether the community represents an established institution or organization, but in ambiguous cases, I used the Lithuanian State Enterprise Centre of Registers (SECR) to identify if a community has any legal status.

The criterion of *cultural heritage-focused* community describes the primary focus of the page and group as one dedicated to creating, disseminating, sharing, using, or re-using cultural heritage resources. As suggested by the definition provided in the Faro Convention (2005, p. 2), these resources are "inherited from the past", but also are subject to people's "*constantly evolving*[4] values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions", and both of these dimensions were relevant in my study. The dimension of "constantly evolving" cultural heritage values accounts well for the ambiguous

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[4] Emphasis added

interpretations of cultural heritage that sometimes appear on Facebook, where it clearly states that these ambiguities might reflect aspects of the past perceived by people as currently valuable. This idea resonates well with the social construction of cultural heritage and indications of new forms of heritage, blurring the line between the past and the present. In this way, the definition allowed for the existing variety of communities on Facebook, especially those that produce innovative outputs by creatively integrating cultural heritage objects, such as the Facebook page called 'Low-fat Lithuanian Memes'[5], as well as communities that share objects from the past, which are not part of mainstream cultural heritage or official cultural heritage discourse, such as the Facebook page 'TV Archyvai'[6] (tr. 'TV Archives') that shares short clips of TV programs and commercials from the last 30 years representing mostly popular culture.

On the other hand, by accounting for cultural heritage as *objects of the past*, the definition clearly defines the boundaries for selection by excluding *products of the present*. Based on this criterion, some grassroots Facebook communities that had titles indicating cultural heritage but their content was not related to the objects of the past, were excluded from the list. For example, the Facebook page titled 'Kulinarinis paveldas'[7] (tr. 'Culinary heritage'), didn't seem to serve its intended purpose of providing any relevant information related to culinary heritage as an object of the past but posted current photos of dishes without any textual contextualization or explanation referencing the past. Similarly, the same criterion for selection was applied to other Facebook pages where people engaged in crafts promoted their businesses and new products for the current market or operated as cultural heritage industries, e. g. the Facebook pages 'TautiniaiDrabuziai.LT'[8], 'Juostė'[9] (tr. 'TraditionalClothes.LT', 'Juostė'). On the other hand, I included pages and groups where people came together online to buy or sell old photos, coins, finds, and other artifacts discussing and representing objects from the past. Therefore, in my study, I describe a cultural heritage community on Facebook as one that values objects from the past or any aspects of these objects and is engaged in producing, disseminating and (re)using cultural heritage resources as part of their expression, knowledge creation, identity construction or for any other purpose.

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[5] https://www.facebook.com/LFLMEMES/
[6] https://www.facebook.com/TVarchyvai/
[7] https://www.facebook.com/Kulinarinis-paveldas-330455269603/
[8] https://www.facebook.com/TautiniaiDrabuziaiLT-766626586720005/
[9] https://www.facebook.com/juostejuoste/

I used two search methods to find and identify cultural heritage pages and groups on Facebook: 1) keyword-based searches; 2) and the snowball method. I started the search by entering Lithuanian keywords into the search box naming cultural heritage categories. In a keyword-based search I used two types of keywords: generic and thematic. Generic keywords are those that describe or refer to cultural heritage, or are often used as its synonyms, while thematic keywords are drawn from the Law on the Protection of Immovable Cultural Heritage of the Republic of Lithuania (Nekilnojamojo kultūros paveldo…, 1995) and the Convention on the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Republic of Lithuania (Nematerialaus kultūros paveldo…, 2003) (Table 1). I also supplemented the list of searches by other commonly used thematic keywords (Table 1).

Table 1. Keywords used to identify cultural heritage pages and groups on Facebook

	Lithuanian keywords used in the search	**Keyword translations into English**
Generic keywords	paveldas, praeitis, atmintis, antikvaras, radiniai, senas, senasis	heritage, past, memory, antiquary, finds, old, ancient
Thematic keywords for intangible heritage (Nekilnojamojo kultūros paveldo…, 1995)	archeologinis, povandeninis, mitologinis, etnokultūrinis, architektūrinis, urbanistinis, želdynai, inžinerinis, istorinis, memorialinis, dailės, sakralinis, kultūrinės raiškos	archaeological, underwater, mythological, ethnocultural, architectural, urban, green areas, engineering, historic/historical, memorial, fine art, sacral, cultural expression
Additional thematic keywords for tangible heritage	etnologinis, etnografinis, meninis, religinis	ethnologic, ethnographic, artistic, religious
Thematic keywords for intangible heritage (Nematerialaus kultūros paveldo…, 2003)	kalba, scenos means, papročiai, tradicijos, amatai	language, performative art, customs, traditions, crafts
Additional thematic keywords for intangible heritage	literatūra, tautosaka, teatras, kinas, šokis	literature, folklore, theatre, cinema, dance

Having in mind that some communities related to cultural heritage cannot be identified by pre-defined keywords or might use words or phrases unrelated to cultural heritage, I also employed a snowball method to supplement the results of a keyword-based Facebook search. The snowball method made use of existing links between Facebook pages and groups as follows: 1) links made by the page when a page likes or follows other relevant pages (this function applies only to pages); 2) links made by Facebook algorithms shown as 'suggestions' pointing users to other similar pages and groups (functionality applies to pages and groups). All relevant Facebook communities that I identified through the snowball method were included in my data sample.

As the research builds on the national study of Lithuanian cultural heritage communities, I used only Lithuanian keywords in the search, but depending on the search results I also included pages and groups with composite titles (Lithuanian + other language), and those made in any other languages. However, in these cases, I checked whether communities had any relations to Lithuania, i. e. were created by Lithuanians, or were built of mostly Lithuanian users, or were focused on Lithuanian cultural heritage.

The list that I compiled presents a snapshot of the scope of Lithuanian grassroots cultural heritage communities on Facebook at the particular time of January – February, 2020. I did not update the list during further analysis, thus the list represents all grassroots cultural heritage communities that were created from 2008 until February, 2020. Possible errors in data selection could be associated with identification of legal status, as in some rare cases, legal status may be impossible to identify because a Facebook community might operate under a different name. Also, I would like to note that some Facebook communities included in the list might be inevitably connected with existing cultural heritage institutions, organizations, or other establishments by indirect or latent connections that are not visible on social networking.

Scoping. I documented the list of communities thus selected with certain attributes helping to better define the data corpus of grassroots cultural heritage Facebook pages and groups. I considered the following attributes to be important for the analysis and interpretation of Facebook data:

1) title of the page and group and URL link;

2) primary type of community (i. e. page, public group or private group);

3) self-defined purpose of the community (only for pages) as provided in their descriptions (i. e. community, non-profit organization, public figure, etc.);

4) community size, or the number of likers (in pages) and members (in groups);

5) date of page and group creation (i. e. timeline);

6) current activity status of the page and group (i. e. active, non-active, low activity). I considered a community to be inactive if no posts were made during the last year (i. e. 2019 – 2020) and, in the case of inactive communities, I provided the date of the last post;

7) existing relations to other types of social media sites or websites (if indicated);

8) description of the page and group defining its purpose or providing other relevant information about the community.

I made an assessment of the attributes mentioned by providing an overview and comparison between different variables, which showcased the scope of grassroots activity on Facebook (Chapters 4).

3.2. Application of quantitative content analysis and cluster analysis to evaluate engagement on Facebook

At the next research stage, I performed quantitative content analysis on the overall data sample to define levels of engagement, and to the distinguish the most engaged Facebook communities. I evaluated community engagement by adopting two dimensions of participation introduced in Fung's model (2006) as described in my theoretical chapter (Section 2. 1.). The theory of participation has ascertained that participation happens at different levels (Arnstein, 1969; Mayfeld, 2005; Silverman, 2005; Rocha, 2011), which, based on the adaptation of Fung's model for this research, can be understood as a combination of two dimensions: the intensity of conversation (from low to high) and participant selection (from exclusive to inclusive), which I interpreted as members' participation in the co-creation of content (from low to high). These two dimensions were main indicators in measuring engagement and developing the 'Matrix of Participation' (MoP). After that I employed cluster analysis and distinguished particular clusters of communities, most importantly, defining the sample of participatory communities, which represents a cluster of communities in which members participate actively and develop meaningful relations.

As suggested in the theoretical framework, the application of the notion of engagement contributes greatly to understanding participation. Applying these principles to the Facebook environment, engaged pages and groups could be perceived as those where users create content together and

engage in conversation. As suggested in the research literature, engagement can be measured by using quantitative metrics, such as number of members, number of contributions, and the extent of contact between members (Iriberri and Leroy, 2009). On this basis, I developed two composite indexes that could be used to define engagement on the Facebook pages and groups:

1. *Content co-creation (similar to participant selection in Fung's model)* can be understood as involvement of more than one person in the creation of content (posts), which can be additionally elicited by the number of users who are contributing (posting) content.

2. *Conversation intensity (similar to communication intensity in Fung's model)* can be understood as an indication of a many-to-many conversation or a sizeable dialogue, which can be further measured by the number of comments, or more particularly, by the number of replies, both constituting the number of dialogues.

The data collected for quantitative analysis was a manually collected sample of ten random posts from every page or group (in 2020). As intensity of activity varies in each community, for the time coherence of the sample, I only considered data (posts) that are no older than one year, which meant that communities of low-activity and non-active communities were omitted from the analysis. The distinctions of different levels of engagement were made according to two variables (i. e. co-creation and conversation), and by employing cluster analysis. Theoretically, I distinguished three levels of engagement (i. e. preliminary coding schema) based on three possible combinations of two proposed variables (Table 2):

1) there is co-creation, but there isn't conversation (1st level of engagement), where users contribute content, but they do not develop a dialogue, even though they may provide separate comments;

2) there is no co-creation, but there is conversation (2nd level of engagement), where users do not contribute content, but they develop a dialogue or reply to comments;

3) there is co-creation and conversation (3rd level of engagement), where users contribute content and develop a dialogue.

In my proposed definition of engagement, I also consider non-engaged communities, i.e. those Facebook pages and groups where no co-creation and no conversation happens. Here, users do not contribute content and do not develop a dialogue, but they may interact through liking, sharing, and occasional commenting. Such communities are usually managed by one person (admin/moderator), who posts content and users (community

members) interact with it, but not to the extent to develop a dialogue or more meaningful interactions defining engagement.

Table 2. Preliminary coding schema for levels of engagement of grassroots Facebook communities

Preliminary code schema for defining levels of engagement

1. Not engaged Facebook communities
 	
2. Engaged Facebook communities
    2. 1. 1st level of engagement – co-creation
    2. 2. 2nd level of engagement – conversation
    2. 3. 3rd level of engagement – co-creation and conversation

On the other hand, engaged communities represent different levels of engagement, whereas, theoretically, I assumed that the participatory sample constituted the highest (3rd) level in the ladder of engagement, marking the point where active participation happens on a social networking site. I also anticipated that the preliminary coding schema must be elaborated further because it became clear that co-creation and conversation have their intensity as well as. Content could be created by few users, as well as by many users. Similarly, the conversation might mean a dialogue of a smaller or bigger extent. Therefore, the definition of engagement levels bears some complexity associated with the application of the quantitative method. For example, quantitative analysis evoked questions, such as, if only one instance of a dialogue (or one reply) is identified in a community sample, does it constitute a conversation which is sizeable enough to claim that active communication happens? These considerations invited me to consider that these two variables (co-creation and conversation) which vary in intensity (from low to high), may be taken together to define clusters of Facebook groups or pages on account of engagement. This I sought to elaborate by applying cluster analysis and developing the 'Matrix of Participation'. Proposed preliminary coding schema was taken as a starting point, where quantitative and cluster analysis helped to refine engagement levels and distinguish the participatory sample of communities. Alongside, I also provided an interpretation of clusters in the developed 'Matrix of Participation' (MoP) drawing some insights on the possible modes of participation, which I interpreted in relation to existing literature trying to explain differences between collective and collaborative

intelligence (Mayfield, 2005) or different frames of engagement, e. g. marketing, inclusivity and collaboration (Kidd, 2010). These preliminary findings were taken further into the next stages of analysis by applying qualitative research methods to provide a more holistic view of the participatory heritage sample.

3.3. Case study of participatory communities: definition of cultural heritage topics through quantitative and qualitative content analysis, and a grounded theory approach

The cluster of the most engaged communities in the MoP was taken as a case study to provide a more in-depth view of the participatory grassroots cultural heritage communities (16 in the sample). I employed quantitative and qualitative content analysis aimed at investigating the thematic cultural heritage focus to see what kind of cultural heritage is of the highest interest in grassroots participation.

For the identification of cultural heritage focus for each Facebook page and group, I firstly considered its title and the description of the community. However, in many cases, this evaluation proved to be insufficient and somewhat detached from the actual content that pages and groups were posting on their homepages. Therefore, I had to change my unit of inquiry from the community as a whole (page or group) to its content as a separate entity (post). Therefore, I initiated a supplementary phase of data collection by acquiring 40 posts from each participatory Facebook community (640 posts in total), aiming to perform textual and visual content analysis to see what kind of cultural heritage is represented (e. g. historic, archaeological, industrial, etc.). However, the implementation of such analysis inevitably revealed much complexity as it proved to be difficult (or even impossible) to assign a post with a specific cultural heritage category, because posts as digital objects are of a versatile and hybrid nature, and in most cases have a multidimensional thematic focus. For example, a post showcasing a restored military backpack of a German soldier presents an image (photo) revealing material features of a movable heritage item, whereas a comprehensive description (text) provides information about its historical context, including time periods, places and people. Here we can see that a post could be also treated as an information object with attributes referring to its main characteristics such as text, image or link, similar to digital heritage resources bearing informational and documentary value (Constantopoulos et al., 2002). In terms of cultural heritage topics, it also could cover different dimensions,

such as it could speak about place-based heritage, historic times, war heritage or the people involved. Similarly, other posts displaying old photos could represent a fusion of disparate elements contributing to our understanding of historic, photographic, intellectual, urban or architectural heritage.

No research done in this area has analysed the question of prevalent heritage topics on social networking sites to such detail and to such scale (based on multiple-case studies), thus no preliminary coding schema was employed in my analysis as, simply, no such or similar categorization exists. Therefore, I adopted a grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) and inductive coding to develop conceptual understanding of heritage topics in a participatory sample of grassroots communities. An underlying characteristic of grounded theory is that it does not force preconceived ideas and theories directly upon data but follows leads that were defined in the data, thus theorizing the practice (Charmaz, 2006). It claims that the primary importance relies on the collection of evidence-based data, and, depending on the data and the observations likely made, new concepts will be introduced to support the theoretical conceptualization. As an explanatory methodological framework, grounded theory provides a conceptual understanding of phenomena usually lacking theoretical background and conceptualization, primarily through data and systematically raises the level of theorization through further analysis and interpretation of research results (Charmaz, 2006), which I included in the final stage of research.

A grounded theory approach has been widely used in researching new phenomena on social networking sites, as well as in cultural heritage studies, even though to a lesser extent. In the area of social networking sites research, grounded theory was used to investigate a variety of topics, such as: 1) users' perceptions and experiences (Moreno et al., 2011; Tokunaga, 2011; Mohamed and Ahmad, 2012; Bunce et al., 2013; Koch et al., 2012; Davis, 2015; Hynan et al., 2015; Singleton et al., 2016); 2) network behaviour (Krasnova et al., 2010; Takahashi, 2010; Tokunaga, 2011; Algarni et al., 2014; Kimmons and Veletsianos, 2015; LeFebvre et al., 2015; Singleton et al., 2016; Moore et al., 2017); 3) motivational factors (Baker and White, 2011; Koroleva et al., 2011; Deuker, 2012; Deuker and Albers, 2012; Mohamed and Ahmad, 2012; Martins and Patrício, 2013); 4) identity construction (Liu, 2007; Koroleva et al., 2011; Duguay, 2014; Hynan et al., 2015; Kimmons and Veletsianos, 2015; Ridder and Bauwel, 2015); 5) social support (Takahashi et al., 2009; Haas et al., 2010); 6) informal learning (Silius et al., 2010; Lagrosen and Josefsson, 2011); 7) social engineering threats (Workman, 2008; Algarni et al., 2014); 8) value creation (Nagle and Pope, 2013); 9) information quality

(Pike et al., 2013). Research applying grounded theory in cultural heritage studies focused on its social sphere, adopting it to understand the meaning-making process, people's perceptions and construction of cultural identity, and to explore the complexity of social interactions with cultural heritage, such as: 1) the construction of visitor experiences, perceptions, interactions and behavior patterns at cultural heritage sites and museums (Laws, 1998; Goulding, 1999a, 1999b; Goulding, 2000; Goulding, 2001; Daenghbuppha et al., 2006); 2) tourism development and stakeholders' perceptions about cultural heritage (Hardy, 2005; McKercher et al., 2005; Alberti and Giusti, 2012; Zhang et al., 2014; Dan et al., 2016; Seyfi et al., 2019); 3) the construction of cultural identity (Povey, 2006); 4) the use of cultural heritage in branding (Tellström, 2006; Urde et al., 2007). However, all these cases showcase that there is no interconnection between the areas of social networking sites and cultural heritage, except for one study, that focused on both these dimensions by applying grounded theory to explore representations and re-appropriations of archaeology across social media (Huvila, 2014).

By employing grounded theory, I created inductive codes and indicated any type of heritage object, concept or subject deriving from a post (e. g. time periods, places, events, people, use of old digitized content). I also took into account attributes related to the posts as information objects, such as composition of post, whether it is a photo (digitized or digital), a text or a link or a composite element, that wholly or partly incorporate mentioned attributes. Posts that were not related to heritage as objects of the past were also marked as such. In this way, I got a big variety of codes defining cultural heritage topics and their attributes, but through qualitative interpretation and application of quantitative statistical methods I managed to achieve a certain level of conceptualization defining patterns of heritage-related subjects and themes embedded in Facebook posts. I distinguished seven types of heritage-based participation (Chapter 6), thus formulating fundamental heritage groupings identified on Facebook, which I used further to investigate modes of participation and to conceptualize participatory heritage in the final research stage.

3.4. Modes of participation and conceptualization of participatory heritage

As proposed in the theoretical framework, engaged online communities are "centered upon communication and interaction of participants to generate member-driven content, resulting in a relationship being built up" (Lee et al.,

2003, p. 51). They are also gathered around different kinds of affiliative objects with their affiliative power being "enacted as memory work, as cultural capital, and as civic participation", where their "affiliative identities" evolve through "social conversations with the agency of community members" (Dallas, 2018, p. 11). The context of participatory theory, the affiliative power may evoke the authority or citizen power as it depends upon the alteration and mobilization of public opinion enacted in different participatory mechanisms and marks the point where individual power (or personal benefit) turns into the power of people as a group. Therefore, to conceptualize participatory heritage it proved to be not enough to distinguish cultural heritage topics, but the definition of modes of participation, which are inevitably shaping cultural heritage content, also needed to be taken into account.

Following the defined seven types of heritage-based participation (in terms of thematic coverage), at this stage of analysis I continued with a grounded theory approach, but focused mainly on qualitative content analysis by supplementing the coding schema with additional code categories representing modes of participation, which I defined through activities (online and offline), factors (motives and intentions), issues (questions raised) and positions (any other ideas expressed). The idea of such a holistic methodological approach was borrowed from my previous research work done with researchers from the COST Arkwork Action (About Arkwork, 2020), where we developed a systematic approach to qualitative research in talk and conversation, studying non-professional archaeology-related practices in a digital environment (Dallas, et al., forthcoming) and proposed a code system for the analysis (Table 3). It's important to note that I have neither applied this proposed coding schema in a strict sense (but rather adopted it), nor was I consistent in this adaptation. For example, some proposed codes (e. g. people and roles) I did not consider suitable for my analysis. Also, some codes (e. g. information objects) were already defined together with heritage entities when I tried to distinguish their attributes (e. g. shared vs created/uploaded posts).

Table 3. Coding schema for qualitative research studying non-professional archaeology-related practices in the digital environment (source: Dallas et al., forthcoming).

Code system	Description of codes
- HERITAGE ENTITIES -- Archaeological entities	Identifies notions of heritage objects and heritage sites, but also conceptual terms and definitions related to heritage.
- MEANS -- Methods -- Tools --- Conceptual tools --- Technical tools	Defines tools and methods that people employ in order to perform specific activities.
- INFORMATION OBJECTS	References to things acting as information carriers.
- EVENTS -- Activities	Describes temporal entities characterized by some time-bound change of state, intended to be used for those events that are caused by the agency of people.
- PEOPLE -- Individuals -- Collectivities -- Roles	Defines any human actors that participate in some activity and have the potential to perform intentional actions.
- FACTORS -- Obstacles -- Drivers --- Motives --- Goals	Captures external elements that affect some activity or event, with some that may be characterized more specifically as obstacles or drivers.
- STATEMENTS -- Positions -- Issues	Represent thoughts or ideas identified in the data inductively through open coding.

Furthermore, these codes seemed to be interconnected with activities, such as sharing of posts, as well as community definitions (e. g. conceptualized as a community of sharers). As some of these

conceptualizations were already presented and discussed in the previous stage of analysis, in my follow-up qualitative interpretation I concentrated only on those codes that helped me to provide more insight on the modes of participation. From those, the most useful were 'factors' described as external elements that affect some activity or event, which in my case was related to motives and goals (e. g. to induce nostalgia, to promote crafts, to exhibit an object, to sell an item, etc.). In addition, I also considered statements, or most often, certain issues, usually posted as questions by admins and community members (e. g. How to date this object. Can you translate a record?).

As my overview of the research literature suggested, the process of cultural heritage participation on online social networks, and even the outcomes produced by such communication, seem to be multidimensional and diverse because of the overlap of factors and manifestations with no clear picture on causes and effects. So again, I continued with a grounded theory approach based on inductive coding, which allowed me to disregard some latent dimensions, as well as to trace them from the evidence. We already have a fundamental theoretical background on social participation (Arnstein, 1969; Silverman, 2005; Fung, 2006; Mayfield, 2006; Rocha, 2011) and engagement (Kearsley and Shneiderman, 1998; Ray et al., 2014; Gangi and Wasko, 2016), general social media theories, such as virtual identities (Donath, 1998; Boyd, 2004, 2007; Robinson, 2007; Tufekci, 2008; Hogan, 2010; Mendelson and Papacharissi, 2010) deriving from the theory of presentation of self (Goffman, 1959;), as well as various attempts to theorize cultural heritage communication on social networking sites through frame analysis (Kidd, 2010), the notion of emotional communities (Gregory, 2014), an introduction of curatorial approaches (Westberg and Jensen, 2017), and the emergence of affiliative identities (Dallas, 2018). However, there is no theorization that could apply specifically to grassroots cultural heritage communication on social networking sites allowing us to combine different theories into one particular domain. The aim of coding was to see what modes of participation dominate and how they interconnect with heritage topics relevant to the community. The inductive logic of grounded theory allowed me to reach across substantive areas and move into the realm of formal theory, which meant that generated abstract concepts and specifications of relationships helped me to understand the role of multiple domains and finally to refine the formal theory (Charmaz, 2006).

As an inductive approach, grounded theory begins with the empirical world and builds an inductive understanding as the data unfolds thus allowing for new properties to appear, which shape new conditions and consequences

to be studied (Charmaz, 2008). In my qualitative analysis I performed textual and visual, conversation, and sentiment analysis, which revealed certain characteristics that could describe different modes of participation based not only on their cultural heritage focus, but also on the motives for participation, uses of information objects, as well as issues and positions taken. I performed qualitative content analysis to provide a more in-depth view on the participatory grassroots cultural heritage communities on Facebook, and to more qualitatively explain the results of the previous stages, together with concerns raised. I also sought to interpret the phenomena more comprehensively, which was needed for the final theoretical conceptualization of participatory heritage. During conceptualization, grounded theory helped me to successfully integrate diverse theoretical backgrounds (i. e. theory of participation, research of social networking sites, participatory approaches in cultural heritage studies, as well as evidence-based research combining digital heritage use on social media) and supplement it with additional literature coming from a quite eclectic corpus of other relevant cultural heritage fields that were not initially considered. It offered a more coherent interpretation of participatory heritage and gave an excellent foundation to study and explain participatory heritage as a new phenomenon by looking, firstly, into the data on Facebook and by integrating existing, as well as emerging, different points of view during the research process. Grounded theory helped me to develop a substantive theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) or a middle-range theory (Charmaz, 2006) for this domain, and to conceptualize the notion of participatory heritage on social networking sites, which was the main aim of my research.

3.5. Summary: methodological framework for participatory heritage research on Facebook

My multiple-case study of Lithuanian grassroots cultural heritage communities on Facebook adopts a mixed-methods research design that integrated quantitative and qualitative content analysis, cluster analysis, conversation and sentiment analysis, and grounded theory to scope and assess grassroots cultural heritage Facebook pages and groups in Lithuania, and develop an understanding of how participatory heritage works in grassroots cultural heritage practices. I designed the research process to be carried out in four stages, each aimed at answering a certain research question that I raised, and particular research tasks and subtasks were introduced for this purpose.

1. The d**ata selection and scoping** task focused on answering the question: what are the grassroots cultural heritage communities on Facebook in Lithuania, and what is the scale of grassroots activity? (RQ1). During the first research task I composed a sample (list) of grassroots cultural heritage communities on Facebook, characterized each case in the sample, analyzed them and provided an overview of Lithuanian grassroots activity on Facebook (Chapter 4).

2. By **evaluating levels of engagement and developing the MoP through quantitative and cluster analysis** I offered evidence to substantiate my claims about engagement levels on the issue of what cultural heritage engagement and participation on Facebook entails, and which existent grassroots communities could be described as engaged or participatory communities? (RQ2). I started with quantitative content analysis by counting instances of content co-creation and conversation to evaluate engagement on Facebook. I further elicited the notion of engagement to develop the MoP, which takes into account different engagement levels, and performed cluster analysis to identify clusters of communities, as well as to distinguish the sample of participatory communities associated with the highest level of engagement (Chapter 5).

3. The task of **analyzing cultural heritage focus** was aimed at answering which themes of cultural heritage objects attract most attention and activity on Facebook, and to discover the traits of such participatory heritage activity across different themes (RQ3). I started with a grounded theory approach and inductive coding, and employed qualitative and quantitative content analysis to substantiate prevalent cultural heritage categories in a cluster of the most engaged Facebook communities, which I distinguished in the MoP. Based on these results, I distinguished seven types of heritage-based participation (Chapter 6).

4. By further analysing the sample of participatory communities, I **interpreted different modes of participation** that explained how, and to what extent, does grassroots activity around cultural heritage on Facebook contribute to community participation and empowerment (RQ4). Here, I continued with a grounded theory approach and inductive coding, as well as qualitative content analysis (text, visual, conversation, sentiment analysis), which helped me to elicit my findings by connecting them to the broader research literature. By performing coding and qualitative content analysis I

analysed the process of cultural heritage communication by connecting modes of participation and cultural heritage topics dominating in a participatory communities' sample. To implement the research goal aimed at understanding participatory heritage, I **offered an interdisciplinary explanation of the participatory heritage concept** in the context of an existing theoretical background that incorporates research literature from the fields of participation theory, cultural heritage and social networking sites. The latter incorporated a discussion of integrated results done through a staged research process, which applied a mixed-methods approach, and refines the notion of participatory heritage on Facebook in the final chapter (Chapter 7).

4. SCOPING LITHUANIAN GRASSROOTS CULTURAL HERITAGE COMMUNITIES ON FACEBOOK

By implementing a scoping study, I compiled a corpus of 266 grassroots communities on Facebook, which indicates a significant public interest in engaging with cultural heritage in Lithuania. There were several areas that I focused on in my scoping study by characterizing communities, and comparing these characteristics. These were: Keyword searches (3. 1. 1.), which I performed on the titles of Facebook pages and groups seeking to determine the thematic cultural heritage focus they represent; Community types (3. 1. 2.) to identify the main distinctions between Facebook pages and groups; Community size (3. 1. 3.) or the number of likers (in pages) and members (in groups) to see the size of communities, and how the size relates to different types of communities, such as pages and groups; Timeline and community longevity (3. 1. 4), where I investigated the date creation of each community and its current activity status (i. e. active, non-active or of low activity) seeking to perceive reasons for decline and the general trend in grassroots communities' longevity.

4.1. Keywords analysis

Both keyword-based and snowball search methods proved to be useful for scoping Facebook pages and groups, since I discovered 54% (144) of communities by using a keyword-based search and 46% (122) I identified using a snowball method. The snowball method, where I looked into Facebook suggestions for similar pages and groups, was an important way of discovering new communities that did not use typical words related to cultural heritage, thus going by a variety of names, such as 'Tūno tyliau', 'Kalbinės įdomybės', 'Močiučių raštai', 'Auksinė gerklelė', 'Mylimas Vilnius', ,'niekonaujo.lt', (tr. 'Lurks silently', 'Lingual curiosities', 'Grandmothers' ornaments', 'Golden throat', 'Beloved Vilnius', 'nothingnew.lt').

From six generic predefined keywords that I used in my search the most popular ones proved to be 'antikvaras' (tr. 'antiquary') and 'paveldas' (tr. heritage), followed by an adjective 'senas/sena' or 'senasis/senoji' (tr. old) (Image 1), while other generic keywords, i. e. 'radiniai', 'praeitis', 'atmintis' (tr. 'finds', 'past', 'memory') were rarely used. For example, the keyword 'radiniai' (tr. finds) was used four times, while 'praeitis' and 'atmintis' (tr. 'past' and 'memory') only twice. Instead, other generic keywords appeared in

the list of most common used words, such as 'sendaikčiai', 'fotografijos', 'kultūra' (tr. 'old things', 'photos', 'culture') (Image 1).

Image 1. Most frequent keywords used more than twice representing the titles of grassroots Facebook pages and groups ranked by their frequency (Lietuva: 44; istorija: 32; antikvaras: 31; paveldas: 25; sendaikčiai: 19; senas (-a): 18; kraštas, Vilnius: 14; fotografijos: 10; monetos, partizanai: 9; kultūra: 8; istorinė, genealogija: 7; numizmatika, dvarai, karas, Lithuania, klubas, rajonas: 6; vietos, kolekcionavimas, apleista, Lithuania, antikvariatas, Klaipėda, banknotai: 5; kolekcijos, radiniai, įdomybės, metalas piliakalniai, skelbimai, senienos, parduoti: 4; kitos, Žematiija, Kaunas, Mažeikiai, Panevėžys, pirkti, ieškotojai, Baltic, Šiauliai, tradicijos, medaliai, kelionės, pilys, miestas, pamiršta, aukcionai, draugai, antrasis, grupė, senoviniai, žydai: 3.

Among thematic keywords the most popular word was 'istorija' (tr. history), which was also in my predefined keywords list (Image 1). Furthermore, 'history' appeared even more frequently than the keyword 'heritage', and in some cases was used as its synonym. However, the remaining predefined keywords representing other thematic cultural heritage categories (i. e. archaeology, architecture, ethnography, etc.) were rarely used by grassroots groups. Some keywords established in the 'Law on the

Protection of Immovable Cultural Heritage of the Republic of Lithuania' (Nekilnojamojo kultūros paveldo…, 1995), such as 'urbanistinis', 'inžinerinis', 'memorialinis', 'povandeninis', 'želdynai', 'dailės' (tr. urbanistic, engineering, memorial, underwater, green areas, fine art), are not used at all to name grassroots cultural heritage pages or groups on Facebook. As usual, the absence of these specific keywords means that most of the official terms for cultural heritage categories developed by specialists have not been appropriated by the general public. For example, the word 'etnografinis' (tr. 'ethnographical') was completely substituted by the words 'etnologinis' (tr. ethnological) and 'tautinis' (tr. 'national'). Prevalent keywords also showed the use of many other, and more specific, terms related to cultural heritage objects and concepts, such as 'monetos', 'partizanai', 'genealogija', 'numizmatika', 'dvarai', 'karas' (tr. 'coins', 'partisans', 'genealogy', 'numismatics', 'manors', 'war'), which clearly reflects their thematic focus (Image 1).

Other keywords that were not among the predefined ones but stood out in the list of grassroots cultural heritage communities are place-based keywords. As might be expected, the word 'Lietuva' (tr. 'Lithuania') was the most commonly used in the titles of Facebook pages and groups, although other places, usually bigger Lithuanian cities, appeared in titles as well, e. g. Vilnius, Klaipėda, Žemaitija, Kaunas, Mažeikiai, Panevėžys, Šiauliai (Image 1).

The vast majority or 88% (233) of Lithuanian grassroots communities in my list were composed of titles in Lithuanian language, though sometimes, in 5% (13) of cases, the title uses a combination of two languages, usually a composition of Lithuanian and English as the primary foreign language used on Facebook, such as 'Ethnic art Lithuania. Lietuvos menas, amatai, istorija.', 'Vilniaus barokas / Vilnius Baroque', while 3% (9) of cases were formulated in English, e. g. 'Art of Lithuania', 'Vilnius I am'. There were a few rare cases where titles included combinations of other languages, aimed at their communities of interest, such as Lithuanian/Polish/Russian (2) (e. g. 'Abdonas Korzonas - Abdon Korzon - Абдон Корзун'), as well as Lithuanian/Russian (1) (e. g. 'Lietuvos Istorija - Історія Литви'), Lithuanian/English/Russian (e. g. 'ISTORIJOS PASLAPTYS...SECRETS OF THE HISTORY...СЕКРЕТЫ ИСТОРИИ..'), and Lithuanian-German (1) (e. g. Vilko vaikai/Wolfskinder), and Lithuanian/Hebrew (1) (e. g. Plungė Jews פלונגה יהודי),. Unique cases include titles in Latin (e. g. 'Magnus Ducatus Lithuaniae'), making a historical reflection to the Grand Dutchy of Lithuanian,

and a title presented in the Samogitian dialect (e. g. 'Žemaitėjēs PraBuda') emphasizing the importance of a particular local region (i. e. Samogitia).

It is also worth mentioning that community titles are subjects to change as during the time of my analysis, which covered a period of 9 months (January – September 2020), I observed three communities that renamed themselves. While in some cases, a change in community title may represent some verbal subtlety, e. g. 'Paveldas. Atminties klodai' (tr. 'Heritage. Layers of memory') renamed itself to 'Odė būtajam laikui' (tr. 'An ode to the past time'), other changes could represent a change in its activity, e. g. 'LIETUVOS SAKRALINIS PAVELDAS: ŠVENTOVĖS, VIENUOLYNAI, KOPLYČIOS' (tr. 'LITHUANIAN SACRAL HERITAGE: SANCTUARIES, MONASTERIES, CHAPLES) was renamed to 'KELIONĖS PO LIETUVOS PAVELDĄ' (tr. 'TRAVELS IN LITHUANIA'). Finally, it also could represent a change in its conceptual focus, such as the one of Facebook group 'Protėvių paveldas' (tr. 'Ancestral heritage'), which was renamed to 'Protėvių paveldas - Senču mantojums - Prōtetjan Palaidā' adding Latvian and historical language equivalents to its meaning. Based on the group description, both of these additions were aimed at contributing to expanding the understanding of the Balts as a cultural and historical concept.

Evidently, there is an absence of grassroots communities related to some cultural heritage areas. For example, I indicate a variety of intangible heritage representations (e. g. mythology, traditional arts, crafts, folk dance), but I did not find any that represent the evolution of modern dance or theatre heritage. Another missing topic among grassroots communities is water-related (maritime and waterways) heritage, which is barely defined in the current 'Law on the Protection of Immovable Cultural Heritage of the Republic of Lithuania' (1995) referring only to 'underwater heritage', which is closely linked with underwater archaeology. The scoping study shows that all water-related cultural heritage is among the scarcest types of Lithuanian heritage and none of the indicated grassroots communities had solely dedicated their interest to water-related heritage. Predictably so, some of the representations of maritime heritage could be more commonly found among place-based Facebook pages and groups focusing on the Western part of Lithuania stretching alongside the Baltic coastline (Klaipėda, Palanga, Nida, the historic region of Prussia).

Another thematic group that was missing in the grassroots sample is ethnic minorities (apart from Jews), but relevant to Russian and Polish, as well as Lithuanian emigrant communities. Of course, the use of Lithuanian as a

primary language to define keywords could be seen as one of the reasons and limitations of this study that influenced the search results. On the other hand, as I used a snowball method, which allowed me to additionally find relevant Facebook pages and groups named in English, it might be that the search was to a higher extent influenced by platform-driven algorithms and/or an information/filter bubble, (Sawicka, 2019) which are common within the platform. It also means that these communities don't interconnect and form separate bubbles of information in communicating Lithuanian cultural heritage.

In general, the keyword analysis showcased that the most popular keywords are 'history', followed by 'antiquary', 'heritage', 'old things', and the adverb 'old' suggesting history-related themes and movable heritage could be of major importance among grassroots groups. From more specific keywords related to history, 'partisans', 'genealogy' and 'war' stood out. Even though other thematic areas, such as archaeology and architecture, seemed to be lacking among most popular keywords, some of them related to such heritage appeared, e. g. 'manors' and 'castles' to architecture, and 'hillforts' to archaeology. The keyword 'photos', having the 9th place in popularly, suggests that photographical heritage claims to be important in its own right. Also, the keyword 'old' is among the top five most popular, suggesting that the perception of the past based on heritage value, such as age (or being old) is an important one for the public. Additionally, two adjective participles, 'neglected' and 'forgotten', come up in the list of popular keywords, which point to some kind of values that are of public interest. Furthermore, keyword analysis revealed the importance of place-based heritage, creating another dimension that could be important to explore in further qualitative analysis. However, the understanding of communities' cultural heritage focus based on keywords gave only guidance in possible cultural heritage themes, and further analysis will be performed based on the actual content that communities share, to fully perceive the thematic coverage of grassroots communities and to compare it with the preliminary results of the scoping study.

4.2. Community type

The distribution between the two types of communities, i. e. Facebook pages and Facebook groups, shows a well-balanced composition, even though pages take a bigger share or 59% (158) of the sample, while groups account for 41% (108). I emphasize this distinction between pages and groups because it is widely accepted that Facebook pages are more orientated to marketing (i. e.

creating a face for cultural heritage-related subjects) or to building audiences, because pages are places on Facebook where artists, public figures, businesses, brands, organizations and nonprofits can connect with their fans or customers (Facebook Help Center, 2020), while Facebook groups are more associated with virtual communities, considering them to be places to communicate about shared interests with certain people (Facebook Help Center, 2020). These differences in community types are not only conceptual, but also bear some practical implications, especially in regard to the collaboration of people, which is part of the technological design of the platform. Facebook groups allow people to co-create content, while Facebook pages are usually run by admin(s), who manage community content. Therefore, I assumed that grassroots communities may be more collaborative and focused on co-creation, and hence a higher share of groups would appear in the sample. Apparently, this is not the case, as more communities are created as pages.

On the other hand, not all cultural heritage-focused pages are built for marketing purposes, but they also can be perceived as a community, even though content management falls into the hands of one or several admins. A self-defined page category, where a page's creator chooses the type of category it represents, offers more insights about the purposes of such pages, and supports this claim. Currently, the Facebook platform offers seven basic page categories: Business (1); Community Organization (2); Interest (3); Media (4); Non-Business Places (5); Public Figure (6), and Other (7) with subcategories such as Brand, Community, Event, Mood, Topic, Work project, etc. (Facebook pages category, 2020). So, I indicated that among the Facebook pages of grassroots cultural heritage groups a purpose of building a 'Community' (44) or a 'Community Organization' (2) stands out as the most important (Figure 7) with 17% (46) of all pages defining themselves as such. On the other hand, 35% (67) of pages said they were representing either a 'Brand' 13% (35) or a 'Business' 12% (31) meaning that an ability to promote content and to pursue market-orientated activities also remains an important endeavour for grassroots groups. In the other 8% (20) of cases (i. e. 'Mixed categories'), it seemed that pages indicated serving multiple purpose (Figure 7).

The creation of a Facebook group instead of a page has another aspect of privacy as it allows for the adjustment of group privacy settings, shifting between public and private modes of communication or vice versa at any time. In my sample, 70% (75 out of 107) of groups are public, which means that

most grassroots groups engage in open (public) communication, which allows everyone to view group content and discussions or provide a comment.
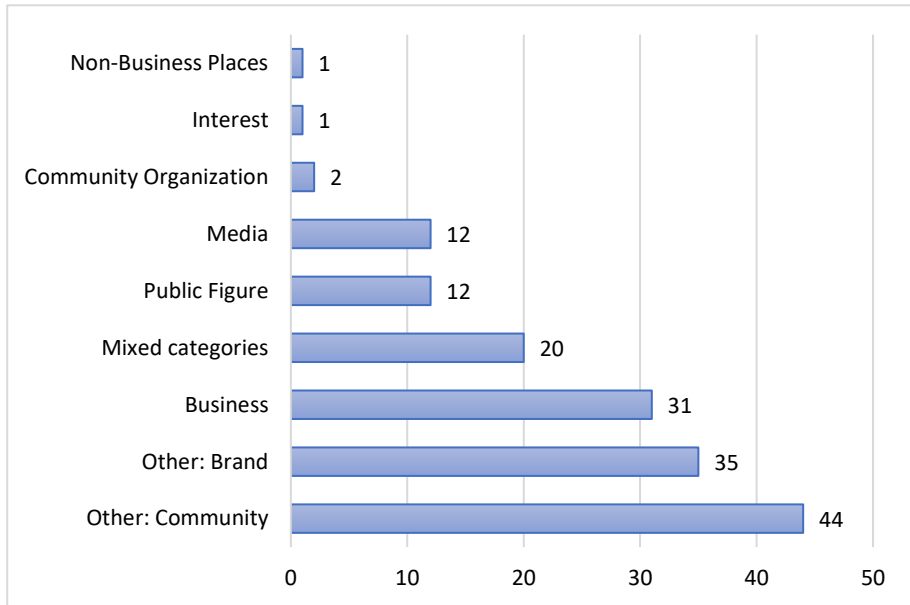
Figure 7. A composition of self-defined categories of Facebook pages

Some 30% (32) of grassroots communities are established as private groups, which means that there are some issues regarding privacy. Some researchers (Lewis et al., 2008; Tufekci, 2008) used Goffman's idea of a "backstage" (1959) to explain such issues, but as argued by B. Hogan, "[t]o expect privacy online is not to imply that one has something worth hiding or a presentation that may contradict one's role in other spheres of life" (Hogan, 2010, p. 380). Using existing limitations to view content (i. e. privacy settings on Facebook) indicates that some individuals are more contextually appropriate to view specific information (Nissenbaum, 2004), and such could be the case with private grassroots Facebook groups. These groups usually apply more thorough selection of members as all new members must be confirmed by group admin(s) or moderator(s), thus ensuring alignment between the content that is shared and its audience. In some cases, group admin may ask prospective members to answer a few relevant questions to check their intentions in becoming part of the group. But I as observer tried to be a member of all groups in my sample, and I noticed that such questions are exceedingly rare as only 3 out of 32 private groups asked me to provide a

response to become a new member. My intentional attempt to skip answering questions ended in non-acceptance to join one of the groups, while two other groups did not approve me as a member for unknown reasons, even though I have a cultural heritage orientated profile, which theoretically should fit the member description.

The choice to create a private group also could be made because of the need to protect group members from possible harm, such as metal detectorists. For example, all three active metal detectorists communities are set up as private groups as hobbyist metal detecting is somewhat in a "grey area" and could be linked to illegal or harmful behaviour. Once, the issue of privacy was lively discussed in one of the metal detecting groups, when a group member posted a photo of him being arrested after sharing a photo on a Facebook group with bullets found, which was interpreted as possibly harmful behaviour. The discussion sparked an emotional reaction from other group members pointing out privacy issues, because an extensive growth of its Facebook group users means that not all of them are necessary metal detecting hobbyists or people sharing the same beliefs.

In other cases, having a private group can help to create more dedicated communities of individuals bounded by their shared interests or a common purpose (e. g. professional groups, place-based genealogy research groups). For example, the 2 existing communities focused on historic gardening, which is overall a rare and specific cultural heritage topic, were created as private groups. Similarly, half of the groups (4 out of 8) dedicated to local genealogy are private groups, especially if they relate to family heritage research of a particular locality. Among private groups I also found ones that were meant to facilitate professional communication among archaeologists, heritage professionals and historians.

In rare cases, the creation of a group, usually public, could be a valuable addition to an already existing Facebook page on the same subject. For example, 'Mylimas Vilnius' (tr. 'Beloved Vilnius') was created in 2011 to promote a blog and share information about Vilnius history, which in 2017 established a public group with the same name for more engaged community members. This could work both ways, as in some cases a group is set up first, while the page follows. For example, a private Facebook group 'Protėvių paveldas' (tr. 'Ancestral heritage') was created in 2012, but in 2018 it established a page to more widely disseminate and share information about Baltic heritage.

The ability of Facebook to promote other types of digital and social media (e. g. websites, blogs, content communities, etc.) is an important one,

as it is quite common to perceive Facebook as a sidekick dissemination channel that supports already existing activities. For example, 'Mylimas Vilnius' (http://mylimasvilnius.lt) started as a blog in 2008, whereas a Facebook page of the same name was created in 2011 to further disseminate the blog's information and to address the community of interest: "Jūs taip pat galite čia talpinti savo klausimus apie Vilnių, nematytas, neaiškias arba tiesiog gražias Vilniaus nuotraukas, pasakojimus ir pan" (tr. "You can also place here your questions about Vilnius, unseen, obscure or just beautiful photos of Vilnius, stories, etc.). A Facebook group 'Mylimas Vilnius' appeared in 2017 and is dedicated to building a community with shared interests and fostering a discussion between community members: "Grupė visiems, kas myli Vilnių, turi ką apie jį papasakoti ar paklausti" (tr. "The group if for everyone who loves Vilnius, has something to tell about or ask").

I discovered that 19% (50) of grassroots communities identified having relations to other social media sites, webpages or digital platforms. 28% (14 from 50) of Facebook pages are used to promote informational (magazine-like), personal or project-based websites, and 24% (12) of them promote a blog (Figure 8). Instagram is the second most popular social media site and the first most popular social networking site platform, as 14% (7) of Facebook pages link to an Instagram account (Figure 8).

Relations between Wiki and crowdfunding pages are overall rare, while all other digital media, such as Youtube, Pinterest, Tumblr and the digital publishing platform Issuu were mentioned only once (Figure 8). I also noticed that 22% (11) of these relations redirected to non-existing webpages or accounts (Figure 8), which could mean that either these particular webpages temporally existed in the past or they were never realized and meant only as intentions of creating such digital space in the future. Either way, it is clear that Facebook could work not only as a sidekick to other types of digital media, but also as a substitute, thus forming an important part of the broader digital cultural heritage infrastructure. The majority of communities or 96% (48) that have relations to other types of digital media are pages, while only 4% (2) are groups. It is clear that the underlying differences of pages and groups are, indeed, essential, where pages as market and brand orientated establishments more often are used as additional channels for dissemination. I perceive groups as a more collaborative Facebook formation genuinely representing online communities.
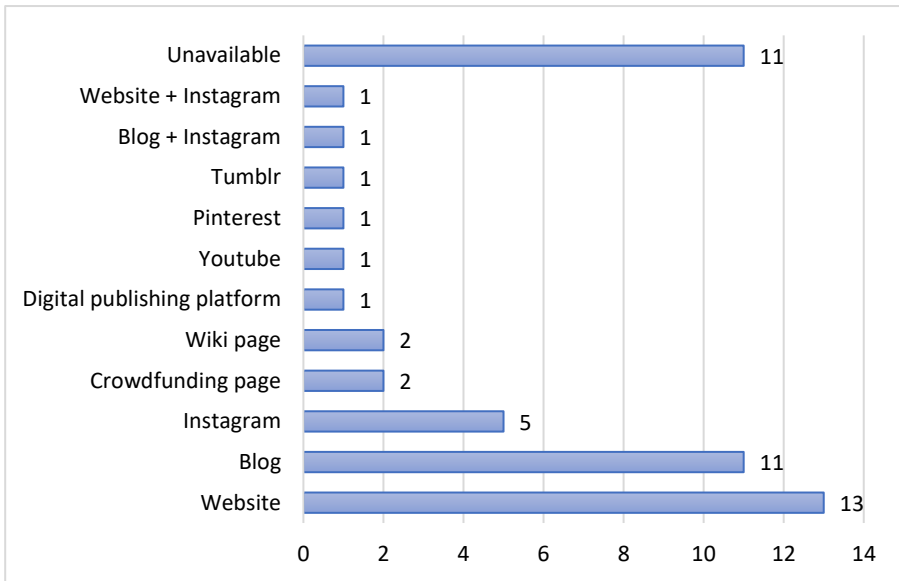
Figure 8. The number of pages and groups that have relations with other digital platforms

I assumed that these prevailing differences could be important in further analysis aimed at evaluating engagement and in the development of the Matrix of Participation (MoP). Having in mind that co-creation on Facebook groups is more attainable than in pages, it is likely that a higher proportion of pages will be dedicated to one-way streaming, much like web pages, with little community content co-creation, but with more conversations. As a result, it might foster the emergence of exceptionally large communities. As groups are more focused on co-creation, it still remains unclear as to whether they are as communicative as pages. Another observation is that groups are also more sustainable as they appear less among non-active communities or those with low activity. Also, I noticed the rising popularity of groups since 2018, which could be understood as a shift towards fostering co-creation rather than the sharing of information on Facebook. I expect that the development of the MoP and its interpretation will be able to account for these considerations that concern different community types, leading to different modes of participation, and probably different cultural heritage focuses.
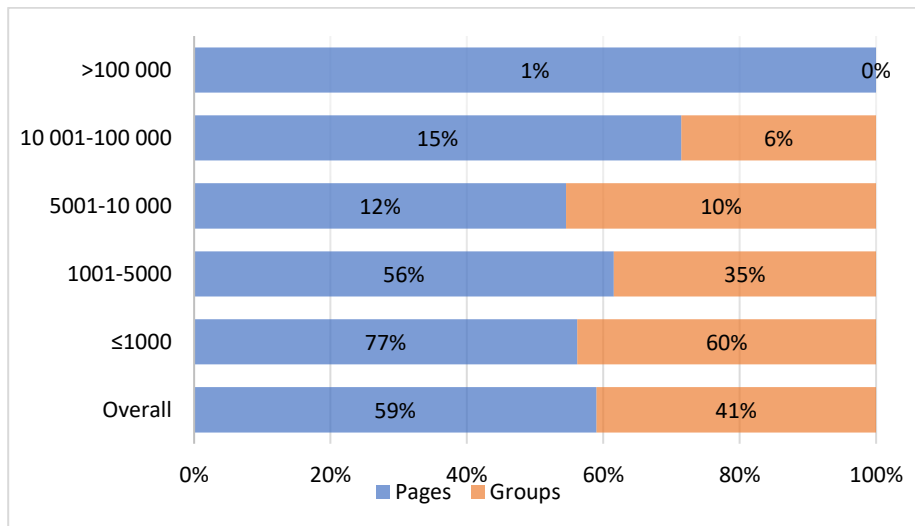
4.3. Community size

The size of community for Facebook groups can be defined by the number of members, while the size of Facebook pages can be measured by the number of likes (likers) and the number of follows (followers). The difference between the latter is that likers represent a more bonded relationship with a page as the name or the profile picture of the person who likes the Page may be shown on the Page or in ads about the Page, while followers are people following the page's updates (Facebook Help Center, 2020). In my estimations, I used the number of likes (usually smaller in size) to define the size of a community, because it represents a more steady number of page members, though the overall difference between the two numbers was not a significant one.

Analysis of community size showcased that very small (≤1000 members/likers) and small (1001 – 5000) communities dominate, which constitute 85% (226) of the overall sample (Figure 9). Larger communities consisting of more than 5000 members are not so common, while the very large ones (>100 000) are very rare. Actually, only one very large community exists, which has over 100 000 members, which is the Facebook page 'Lietuva senose fotografijose' (tr. 'Lithuania in old photos'), created in 2009 and engaged in the co-sharing of old photos.
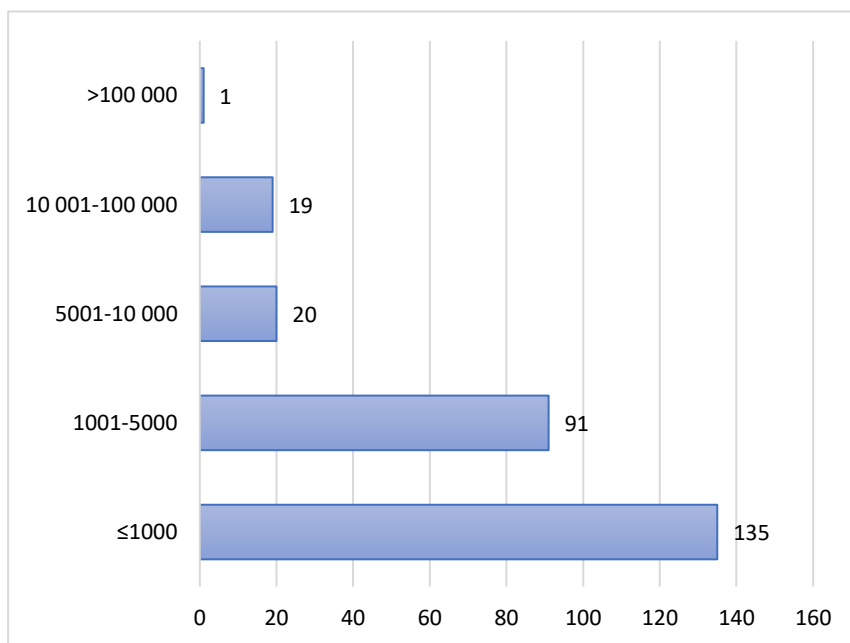
Figure 9. Distribution in size of grassroots Facebook communities

The average size of membership for Facebook pages is 4517, while for groups it is 2467, though this difference appears mainly because groups tend not to exceed 10 000 members, while pages could be of a bigger size. As shown in Figure 10, it would be wrong to say that generally groups tend to be smaller, because the proportional division in different size clusters basically represents the general distribution between pages and groups. The difference starts to appear only in the clusters of large communities (from 10 000 to 100 000 members), where the proportion of Facebook groups becomes smaller and the proportion of pages becomes larger (Figure 10).


Figure 10. The proportional distribution of Facebook pages and groups in different community size clusters

4.4. Timeline and community longevity

The first indicated grassroots community 'Istorijos studentai, vienykimės!' (tr. 'Students of history, let's unite!'), dedicated to history students and enthusiasts, was created in November 2008, and it is still active. I also noted that new communities constantly appear and I have indicated an emergence of three new ones during the time of scoping in January – February 2020. The timeline diagram (Figure 11) shows that the emergence peak of overall grassroots communities was reached in 2017, when 41 new Facebook pages and groups were created. Overall, the last 10 years of data shows downfalls

(i. e. in 2012, 2015) and spikes (i. e. in 2011, 2014, 2016) in grassroots activity, but altogether it demonstrates a trendline of increasing practice (Figure 11).
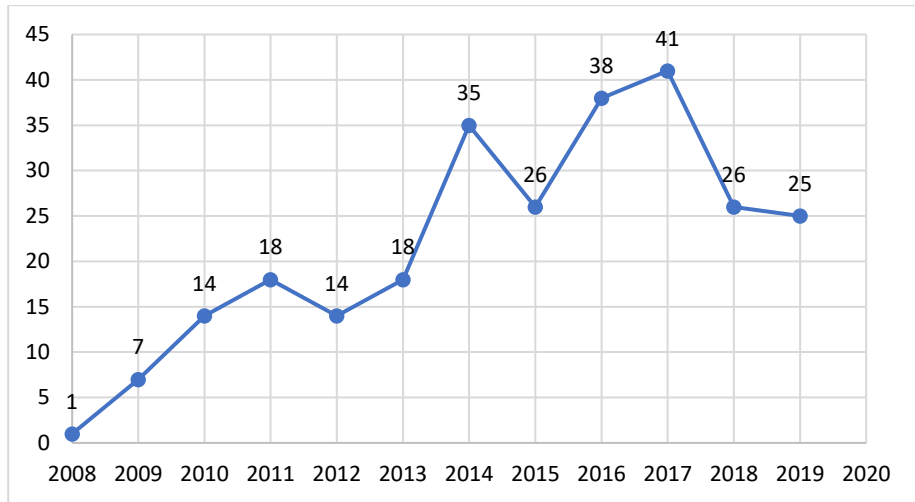
Figure 11. The timeline (year of creation) of Lithuanian grassroots cultural heritage communities on Facebook

A timeline comparison between the creation of Facebook pages versus groups shows changes in the popularity of one or another community type over time (Figure 12). Until 2012 both pages and groups experienced a steady growth, while in 2012 pages faced sudden decline, whereas groups remained in a steadily growing position. In 2012 and in 2016 the number of created pages and groups was the same. And even though usually there is a higher number of pages, in 2018 for the first time the number of groups exceeded the number of pages, which represents the rising popularity of groups in recent years. This trend also might be related to privacy concerns on Facebook, which have been more widely disputed in recent years.
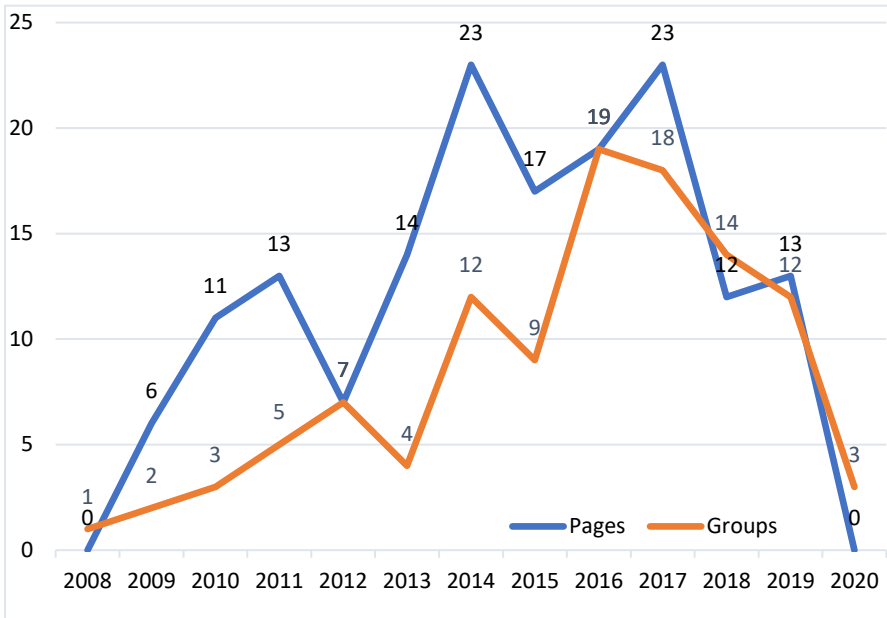
Figure 12. The timeline (date of creation) of Lithuanian grassroots cultural heritage communities on Facebook showcasing the distribution of pages versus groups

The first signs of communities' decline started to appear in 2010 (Figure 13), with one community that stopped being active, and reached its peak in 2018, when after a year of their creation, 13 grassroots communities discontinued their activity. Overall, the rate of communities' creation remains higher than the rate of their demise, which represents steadily increasing public interest to engage with cultural heritage on Facebook.

As Facebook pages and groups experience changes in their activity, and not all of them reach maturity and face decline, it is meaningful to discuss the lifecycle and level of activity of grassroots Facebook communities. Overall, grassroots communities vary greatly in their activity levels as those of low activity may post once per month, while others can create a few hundred posts within the same one-month period. The most active grassroots community is a Facebook group dedicated to metal detecting 'Metalo Detektoriai Lietuva (radiniai, diskusijos, klubas, turgelis)' (tr. 'Metal Detectors Lithuania (finds, discussions, club, market')), where members may create more than one hundred posts per day. Similarly, transaction-focused communities with members being interested in selling or buying old valuables, usually are highly active in producing user-generated content. However, even if they could be classified as actively collaborative

communities, their contents are of ambivalent value as posts are mainly market-orientated and thus could be associated with participatory heritage or civic engagement. Furthermore, transactions showed up to be a vast scale activity representing 15% (40) of my grassroots communities' sample.
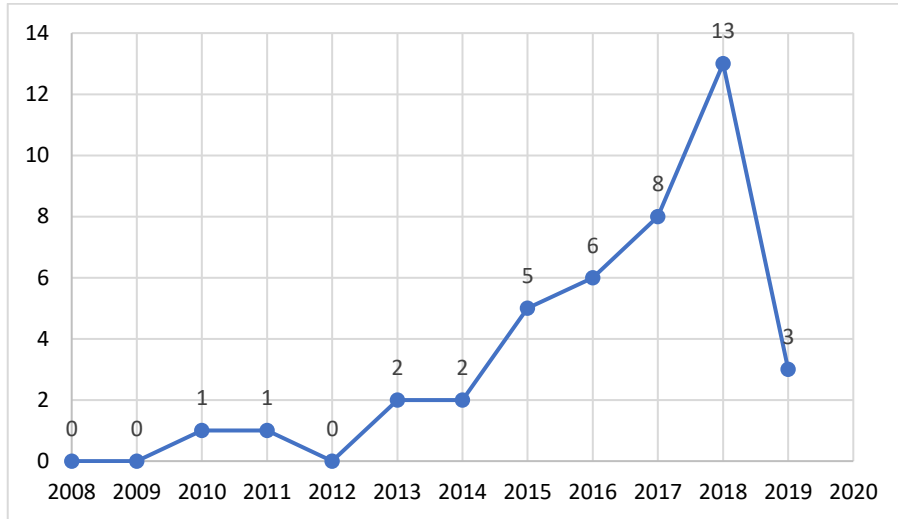
Figure 13. The timeline (year of demise) of Lithuanian grassroots cultural heritage communities on Facebook

In my sample, I also indicated that 15% (40) of grassroots communities are non-active, i. e. those that have not made any posts in a one-year period, and that 1% (2) disappeared completely from Facebook during the time of my analysis. Additionally, 12% (33) of communities made less than 10 posts in one year period, which I considered to be low activity and possibly an indication of community decline. As many previous studies on museum communication on Facebook pointed out, many museums' still find it difficult or sometimes impossible to become participatory museums on social media (Rentschler and Hede, 2007; Alexander et al., 2008; Kotler et al., 2008; Kelly, 2009; Šuminas and Armontaitė, 2013; Dovydaitytė, 2015), and it seems that almost 28% (75) of grassroots communities faced inevitable decline or found it difficult to regularly post content and maintain their community. Additionally, 15% (40) of grassroots communities, or those that are transaction-focused, are even not interested in creating meaningful relations with the past as their purpose is primarily market-orientated.

Failed initiatives. There are various reasons why communities faced decline, but the most evident, that represents 38% (15) of all non-active communities, is associated with an unsuccessful attempt, where the community was kick-started, but it never developed to its full potential. Such communities have few posts or do not have any: they simply have a presence on Facebook). The one-year time period, I consider to be critical for a community to develop further, as 38% (16) non-active communities finished their posting during the first year of their existence (Figure 14).
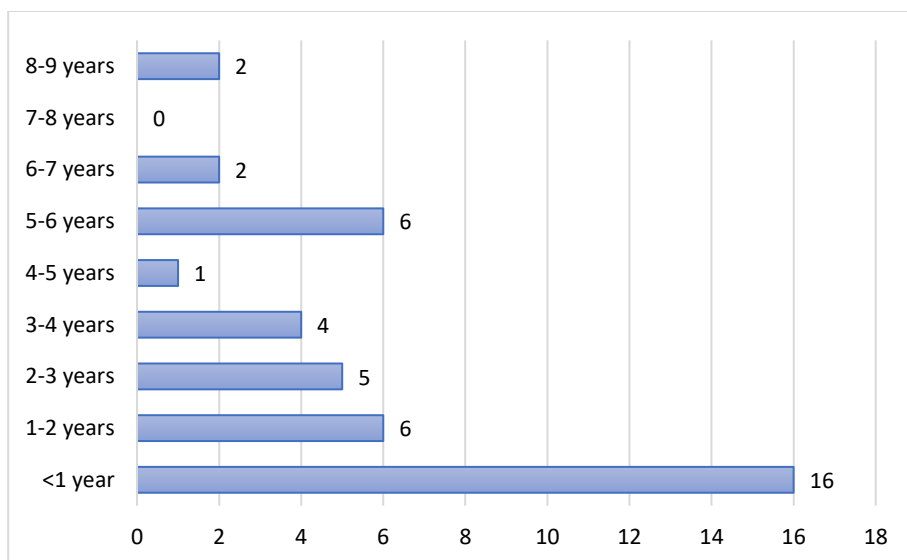
Figure 14. A representation of different timespans of non-active Facebook communities

However, not all non-active Facebook pages and groups represent failed initiatives as some of them managed to assemble large communities (>500 members/followers) and were active in posting interesting content. For example, such pages as 'Skautų istorinės įdomybės' (tr. 'Scouts' historical curiosities'), 'Baltic Folklore', 'Mažoji Lietuva / Lithuania Minor', and 'Miesto vitrina' (tr. 'City window) seem to be interesting in their thematic coverage and content that was shared, though, after a few years their activity had declined. By looking into these pages and groups I indicate several reasons why the life of these communities ended.

Natural course of events. Some successfully implemented citizen initiatives that ended represent a natural course of events marking the start and

end of a particular citizen initiative. For example, the Facebook page 'Baltic Way 25th anniversary commemoration' was an initiative created to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Baltic Way. It was started by three young enthusiasts with an aim to create a short motivational video in three languages marking the unity of the three Baltic states. The Facebook page was chosen to promote the initiative and to provide regular updates. The project was very successful and gained support from other youth organizations in Latvia and Estonia, as well as the Lithuanian president, thus receiving mass media attention (Jablonskaitė, 2014). The initiative ended in 2014, but the page still occasionally shared relevant information about the importance of Lithuanian independence throughout 2015, thus expanding the life of the community for a little longer.

Another Facebook page called 'Paminklas Adomui Bitei' (tr. 'A monument to Adomas Bitė') represents a citizen initiative that started in 2016 and was aimed at building a monument to commemorate Adomas Bitė, a member of the 1863–1864 uprising of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland from the liberation of the Russian Empire. The description of the Facebook page clearly states its purpose: "ieškomi savanoriai ir žmonės norintys prisidėti pri paminklo atsiradimo, pastatymo ir kitų darbų." (tr. "searching for volunteers and people willing to contribute to the creation, construction and other works of the monument"). The content of the Facebook page represents regular progress updates and communication between page admin, relatives and other interested members of the public forming a small community of people (i. e. 45 followers). Communication on the page stopped when the monument was built, but the page presents a record of how such an initiative made progress and succeeded in its attempt.

Migration to other types of social media. Some community declines are direct outcomes of constantly changing social media tendencies and indicate preferences to migrate to those that are currently trending. One of those examples is the Facebook page 'Miesto vitrina' (tr. 'City window), which is engaged in the photography of abandoned buildings. Started as a blog in 2009, the initiative created a sidekick Facebook account in 2011 to promote the blog. In 2015, the blog was abandoned when the author decided to fully migrate to Facebook and Instagram: "Tebūnie šis postas nr. 100 būna paskutinis šiame puslapyje. Toliau jei kažkur ir važiuosiu, tai visos foto bus keliamos tik į Facebook ir Instagram" (tr. "Let this post no. 100 to be the last on this page. If I go somewhere, all the photos will be uploaded only to Facebook and Instagram"). However, the Facebook page was abandoned in 2016 (overall it activity lasted for almost 5 years) and since 2018 new content

appears only on Instagram, which recently has become more popular for sharing photos.

Temporal suspension. Actually, only complete deletion of a Facebook page or group means that the activity of a community has ended, because some communities might experience temporal suspension for various reasons, but they may be revived in the future. An example of such phenomena is Facebook page 'Trakų kraštas' (tr. 'Region of Trakai'), created in 2014, which I listed as a non-active community during the time of scoping, because no posts were made for more than two years (since October 2017). However, in April 2020 the page updated its profile photo and started creating new posts. Similarly, the Facebook page 'Istorijai.lt' (tr. 'For history.lt') more recently made a new post after more than 3 years of silence. The certain demise of a community in my sample appeared only twice as two grassroots communities that I included in the list ceased to exist on Facebook.

Overall, the data shows that groups are more sustainable in their activity (Figure 15) because they represent smaller proportions or 21% (9) among non-active communities, as well as 14% (6) of those with low activity. It is suggested that a community's longevity could be predicted by the growth of new members in the community, whereas the decline of a community could be associated with the decreasing or non-increasing number of members (Kairam et al., 2012). Indeed, I observed that in the time of my analysis (February – September, 2020) the sample of non-active Facebook pages and groups experienced the largest decrease in members. I observed a 22% (9 from 41) decrease in communities, whereas in a low-activity sample this number reached 10% (3 from 31), and in a sample of active communities, members decreased only by 1% (2 from 191). But more broadly, communities tend to grow in size, whereas in some cases, like that of the page 'Lietuva tada ir dabar' (tr. 'Lithuania then and now'), the size doubled, increasing from 15 296 to 31 507 members.
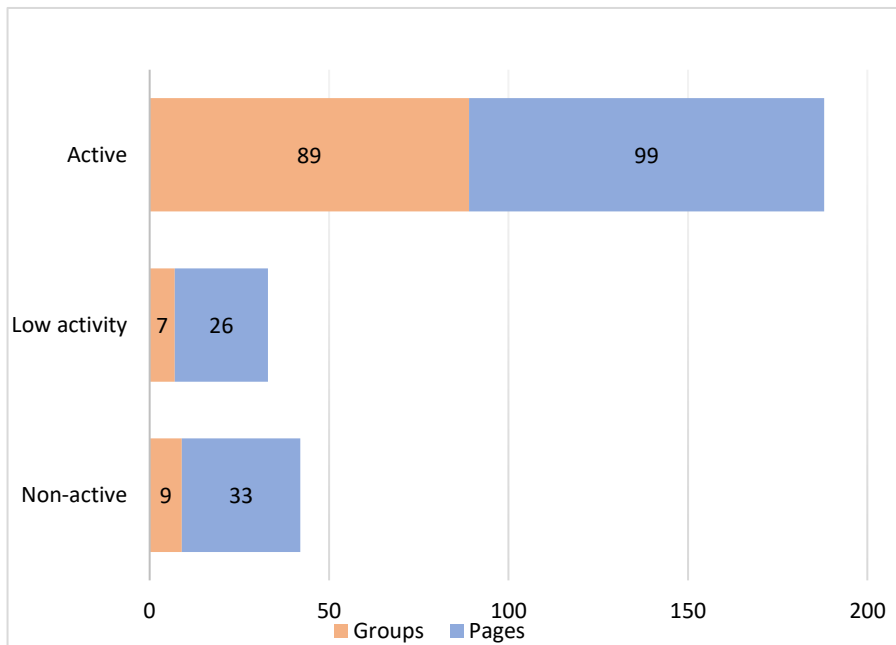
Figure 15. Proportional distribution of pages and groups among active, non-active and of low-activity samples Facebook communities' samples

By analysing the longevity of each community, I refined my list for further analysis by omitting those communities that are no longer active, as well as those that are of low activity so as to have a more coherent sample with data that is no older than 1 year. Additionally, I omitted from my sample 3 private groups where the content was not visible to me due to privacy settings. Therefore, after the scoping study, 70% (187) of communities were selected for the qualitative analysis, and from those 88 are groups and 99 are pages.

5. CONCEPTUALIZING AND EVALUATING ENGAGEMENT ON FACEBOOK

5.1. The Matrix of Participation (MoP)

The conceptualization of engagement was an essential part of the analysis, which contributed greatly to my understanding of cultural heritage participation on Facebook. I started with the implementation of quantitative content analysis to evaluate engagement by assuming that engagement is of different levels. Collected quantitative data varied greatly in its values, therefore I refined the preliminary assumptions about engagement levels and performed more precise quantitative analysis by counting instances of conversation and co-creation (two variables, that according to my theoretical framework constitute engagement) and later performed cluster analysis. Based on the results, I developed two 'Matrixes of Participation' (MoP) to represent groups, as well as pages, and provided a qualitative interpretation of existing clusters. I used a consolidated cluster representing the most engaged grassroots communities from both MoPs for further qualitative analysis aimed at analyzing the cultural heritage focus that is of the highest interest to grassroots groups.

As discussed in Section 2. 1., by adjusting and going beyond Fung's model (2006) of participation, I defined engagement as a combination of two variables, i. e. participant selection (from exclusive to inclusive), and intensity of communication (from low to high). The application of these principles to Facebook pages and groups meant that I analysed:

A. **Content co-creation (similar to participant selection)** by identifying the involvement of more than one person in the creation of community content (posts). This indication I further elicited quantitatively by indicating the number of users who are engaged in posting or sharing content.

B. **Conversation intensity (similar to communication intensity)** by identifying many-to-many conversations and assessing them quantitatively by indicating how many comments are being provided and by how many people.

Quantitative analysis, defining the level of content co-creation and intensity of conversation, was performed on 187 Facebook communities and a data sample of 10 posts in September/October in 2020 from each community. As discussed in my methodological section (Chapter 3), I expected to have three levels of community engagement, similar to the 'the

ladder of engagement', where each of the rungs would represent a cluster of communities as defined in my preliminary coding schema:

1. Not engaged communities, where no content co-creation and conversation happens.
2. Engaged communities, where members create content together and converse with each other:

   2. 1. First-level engagement, where members come together to post/share content, but they don't engage in a dialogue with each other.

   2. 2. Second-level engagement; where members do not create content together, but they engage in conversation;

   2. 3. Third-level engagement; or the most engaged communities, where members create content together and converse with each other.

However, as I started to collect quantitative data for each community, I realized that my preliminary ladder of engagement would not be enough to interpret existing data coherently. Firstly, it displayed quite a primitive structure of rankings, and significantly outlined the differences of two community types (groups vs pages) (Figure 16).

As already noted in my scoping study, communities seeking to broadcast and promote information more widely, such as those with an already established digital presence (e. g. website, blog or another social media channel), more often choose to create a Facebook page to ensure wider public outreach. In this way they succeed in creating larger communities, but usually they don't have high levels of engagement. On the other hand, they may sustain a higher level of conversations. Groups, on the contrary, due to their design capabilities tend to be collaborative in terms of content creation and more participatory in their nature. The diagram of engagement levels (Figure 16) showcases to what extent groups can be perceived as more collaborative, as well as pages more communicative. Nevertheless, proportions between the two types in the diagram look imbalanced because small proportions in each engagement level tended to resemble anomalies rather than well-grounded categorizations of engagement.
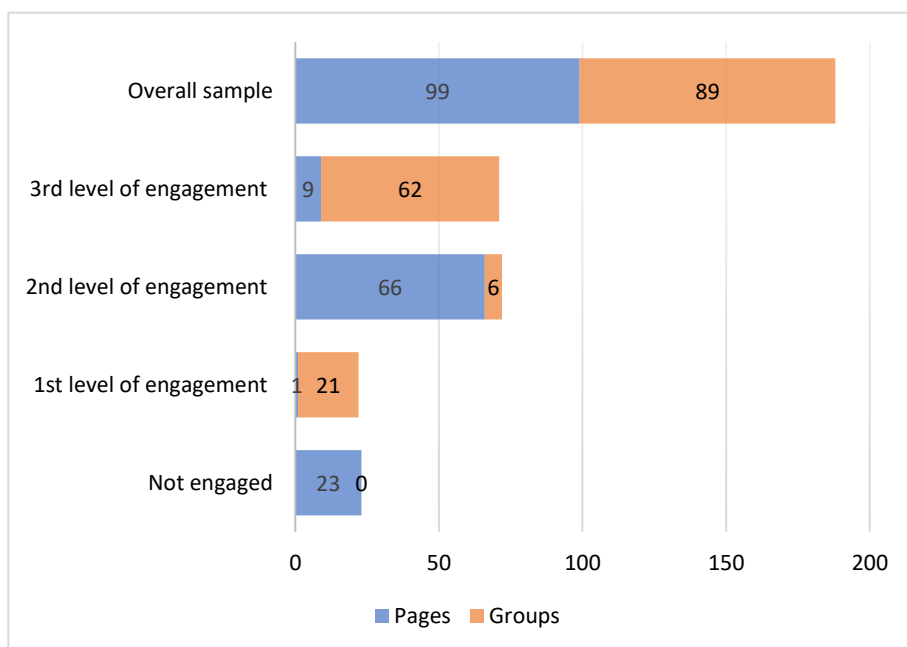
Figure 16. The distribution of pages and groups in a ladder of engagement

For example, among the 2nd engagement level, where mostly pages dominate, a few groups that appeared were run by a single admin with no input from other users, which is quite unusual for groups. 1st and 3rd levels are characterized by the dominance of groups, however, and the analysis of pages revealed that even though posts are created by admins, co-creation happens when admins post messages and questions from other users (accredited content) or share photos and information sent by users (crowdsourced content). Thus, due to the platform's technological affordances and constraints, content co-creation on Facebook pages is of a more subtle nature, because in these cases admins take the role of content curators, whereas community members become contributors. Furthermore, I also noticed that 14 pages from 99 were created for the purpose of co-creation as this intention was clearly stated in the page's description. For example, the page 'Širvintų rajono paveldas' (tr. 'Heritage of Širvintos region') invites people to share or send photos and gives an email address for that purpose: "Širvintų rajono paveldas jūsų ir mūsų akimis. Kviečiame jus pasidalinti su visais senomis ir naujomis fotografijomis, žemėlapiais." (tr. "The heritage of Širvintos district through your eyes and ours. We invite you to share with everyone old and new photos, [and] maps."). A similar approach is employed in the page 'Mylimas

Vilnius' (tr. 'Beloved Vilnius'), which invites other people to share photos, stories or personal viewpoints related to Vilnius' history: "Čia pateikiu savo parašytus t inklaraščio įrašus. Jūs taip pat galite čia talpinti savo klausimus apie Vilnių, nematytas, neaiškias arba tiesiog gražias Vilniaus nuotraukas, pasakojimus ir pan. (tr. "Here I present my blog posts. You can also place here your questions about Vilnius, unseen, obscure or just beautiful photos of Vilnius, stories, etc."). It is important to note that these intentions are not always realized, and I counted that 6 from 14 such pages failed at fostering more active content co-creation. On the other hand, 8 of them managed to involve other content creators from community members, plus an additional two pages also successfully did that, even though they did not state it as their primary purpose.

As described, engagement levels to some extent help to cluster communities, but the main issue that arose during the analysis was the intensity of existing co-creation and conversation. Therefore, the interpretation of data in a ladder of engagement bared significant complexity, which I had to account for in conceptualizing engagement, as well as participation in my task of providing more substantial interpretation. For example, the engagement levels that I distinguished were based on occurring instances of content co-creation and conversation meaning that in some cases there could be one such instance, while in others there could be many. Consequently, it suggested that engagement must be at its highest scale to constitute consistent community participation. Naturally, it evoked questions, such as how intensively must conversation and co-creation in a community happen to constitute active engagement and participation? To this regard, I started to consider different combinations (from low to high) of both variables, thus eliciting my preliminary coding schema (Table 4).

For a more accurate definition of different engagement levels, I decided to evaluate the intensity of conversation and co-creation ranging from low to high. As a result, I developed a 'Matrix of Participation' (MoP) as a two-dimensional participation model, where conversation is represented by the Y axis and co-creation by the X axis. These two variables, that vary depending on their intensity, I called the Conversation Intensity Index (CONVI) and the Co-creation Intensity Index (COCRI).

Table 4. Modifications done in preliminary coding schema representing elicited levels of community engagement

Preliminary coding schema	Reframing and eliciting levels of engagement (marked red)
1. Not engaged communities	Communities with no content co-creation and no conversation
2. Engaged communities	Communities, where members co-create content and converse
2. 1. 1st level of engagement meaning that users create content together, but they don't converse (users contribute content, but they do not develop a dialogue, even though they may provide separate comments)	2. 1. 1. No conversation and low co-creation 2. 1. 2. No conversation and high co-creation
2. 2. 2nd level of engagement, which means that users don't create content together, but there is a certain level of conversing maintained (users do not contribute content, but they develop a dialogue or reply to comments)	2. 2. 1. No co-creation and low conversation 2. 2. 2. No co-creation and high conversation
2. 3. 3rd level of engagement level of engagement, which refers to user co-creation of content and a conversation between them (users contribute content and develop a dialogue)	2. 3. 1. Low conversation and low co-creation 2. 3. 2. Low conversation and high co-creation 2. 3. 3. High conversation and low co-creation 2. 3. 4. High conversation and high co-creation

The **Conversation Intensity (CONVI) Index** is a quantitative indication representing instances of user conversations in a given sample of 10 posts:

*CONVI = Total no of comments * No of comments' authors / 10*

For example, a sample of 10 posts taken from the Facebook page 'Senasis Kaunas' (tr. 'Old Kaunas') has 457 comments in total and 288 individual commenters. By applying the CONVI formula (457*288/10) I conclude that the CONVI value for this page is 13 162. Actually, this example

showcases the highest encountered value in the whole sample. The lowest value, apart from zero, is 0.1 (i. e. 1*1/10=0.1).

The **Co-creation Intensity (COCRI) Index** is another quantitative indication representing instances of user content co-creation in a taken sample of 10 posts:

*COCRI = No of users posting * No of posts posted by users / 10*

On the contrary to the CONVI index, which, depending on user comments, is an undefined number, the COCRI index has a definite range of value from 0.1 to 10. For example, the highest number of users posting in a sample could be ten coinciding with the number of posts. Thus, the formula for the highest value is 10*10/10=10, while in the lowest value case with only 1 post created by a user equals 0.1 (i. e. 1*1/10=0.1).

5.2. Cluster analysis and interpretation of clusters

As discussed earlier, because of identified differences between the two types of communities (pages and groups), I anticipated differences in their indexes. Therefore, I decided to develop two MoPs, and to perform cluster analysis to identify existing clusters. I used the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) in the cluster analysis, which distinguished clusters in the MoPs using the Ward's method or grouping communities by similarity. The scatter diagrams below show how communities are different depending on their engagement that represents different combinations of co-creation, and conversation intensity indexes for groups (Figure 17) and pages (Figure 18). In both MoPs, the lowest left corner represents the lowest level of engagement, while the highest right corner shows high levels of content co-creation and conversation and the highest level of engagement. In addition, the upper part of the MoPs is associated with more active conversation, while and the right part of the diagram is associated with more active co-creation.

Overall, cluster analysis distinguished 9 community clusters: 5 clusters for groups (Figure 17) and 4 for pages (Figure 18). In this way, the two MoPs refine the initially proposed model of three engagement levels, and by evaluating different combinations based on the intensity of conversation and co-creation that appear on Facebook data, it explains more accurately how these different levels of engagement are conceptualized.
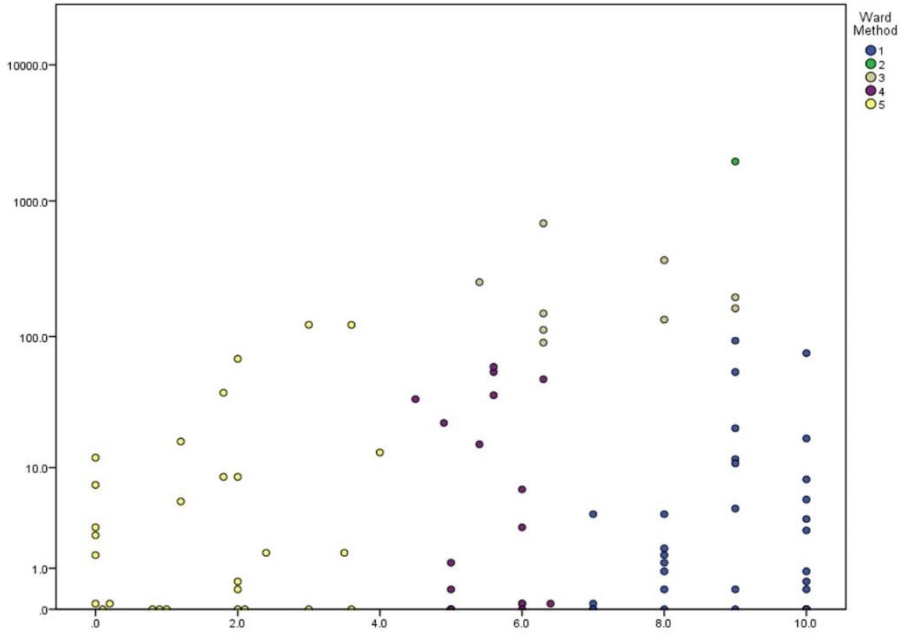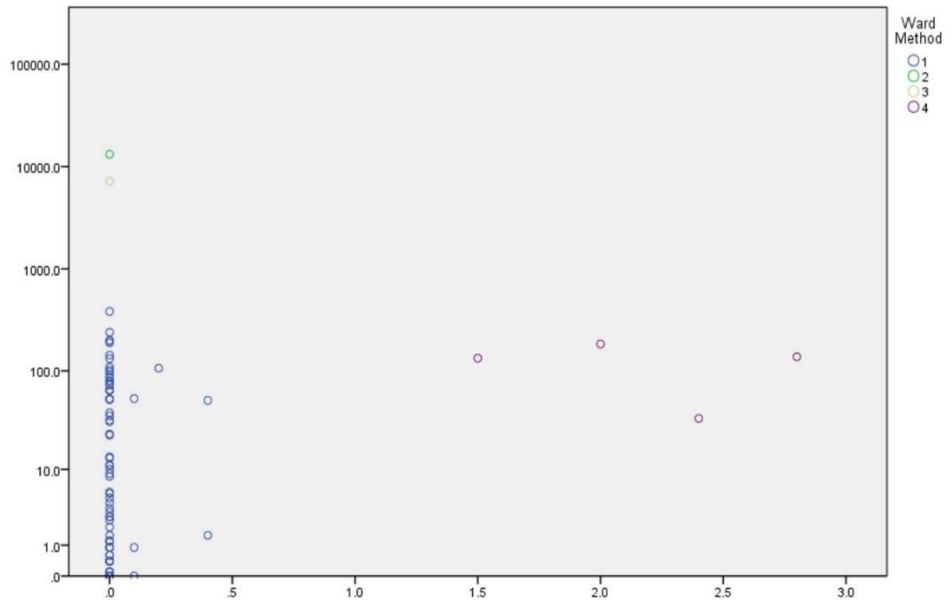
Figure 17. MoP: representation of community engagement of grassroots Facebook *groups* in Lithuania by clusters (X axis – COCRI, Y axis – CONVI)

In more detail, the MoP for groups (MoP-G) (Figure 17) showcases clusters, such as:

- **Cluster G5** representing communities with the lowest engagement as both indexes, the CONVI and the COCRI, are from low to medium.
- **Cluster G4** consists of communities with a medium COCRI and a low to medium CONVI index.
- **Cluster G3** is characterized by conversation and encompasses communities with a high CONVI and a medium to high COCRI.
- **Cluster G2** stands as a unique cluster with only a single group, which reaches a high level of user engagement (both indexes are high).

- **Cluster G1** is characterized by co-creation because the COCRI is high, but the CONVI is from low to medium.


Figure 18. MoP: representation of community engagement of grassroots Facebook *pages* in Lithuania by clusters (X axis – COCRI, Y axis – CONVI)

MoP for pages (MoP-P) (Figure 18) displays:
- **Cluster P1** representing communities with the lowest engagement as the COCRI in many cases usually equals zero or is very low (<0.5), and the CONVI is from low to medium.
- **Cluster P2** singles out one community with a very high CONVI, while the COCRI equals zero.
- **Cluster P3** singles out one community with a high CONVI, while the COCRI equals zero. The difference between clusters 2 and 3 statistically is significant enough to display them separately.
- **Cluster P4** represents medium levels of CONVI, but higher COCRI, which is not very common among pages.

The proportional distribution of communities within clusters is portrayed in the diagram below (Figure 19).
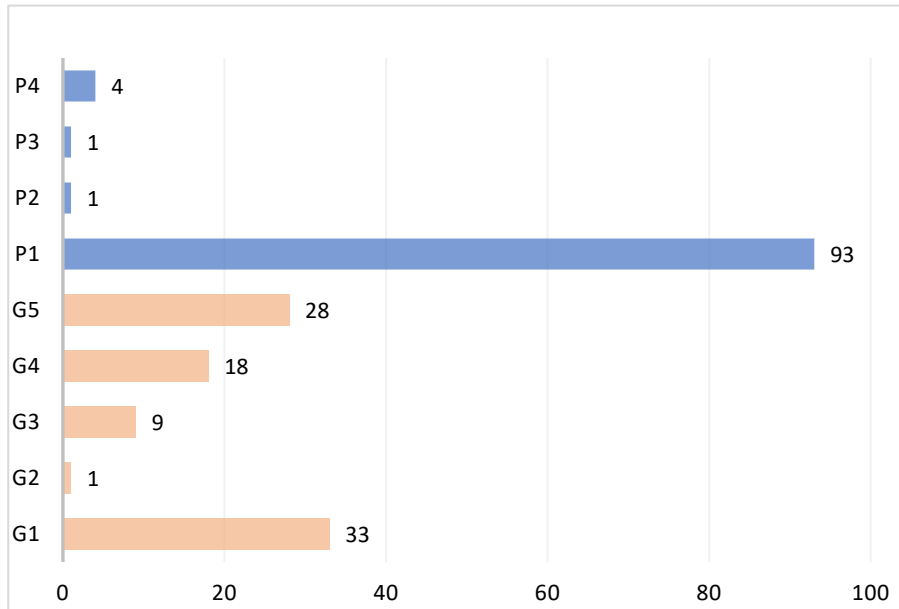
Figure 19. Proportional distribution of groups and pages within clusters

As seen, clusters do not represent a well-balanced distribution, but are rather split unevenly. This is an important outcome deriving from cluster analysis because it showcases the importance of extremities or a few groups/pages, which could represent very high engagement if compared to other clusters. In some cases, such as groups, it is not even a cluster of communities, but outliers, which stand out beyond comparison in the whole grassroots sample. It means that being a grassroots community does not naturally foster higher engagement, and participatory grassroots communities, which are truly engaged, are exceptions rather than a common tendency.

Other clusters, that are moderate and low in engagement, are represented by a set of communities, with the largest (P1 and G1) representing pages and groups with low or medium conversation. These only differ in the level of co-creation, which in pages is usually zero, while in the case of groups it could be high, just because of their design.

The interpretation of the two MoPs and their clusters suggests that the lowest participation is displayed in two clusters (P1 and G5) (Figure 17, 18), which represent 65% (121) of the whole participatory sample. **Cluster P1** represents Facebook pages, where none or only a few members create content,

and in most cases dialogues happen occasionally. Similarly, **cluster G5** (Figure 17) showcases communities where user content co-creation is lower than average, and comments are scarce. These are communities mainly associated with information-focused cultural heritage participation that are engaged in aggregating information from different sources and linking to other pages, groups or websites. Groups can be characterized by several active group members who are engaged in content creation, or in rare cases it is only admin who posts content. Overall, discussions happen occasionally and are limited to a lower number of comments and replies being provided. The same mode of participation applies to the vast majority of pages in P1, where the role of admin(s) is high and community members are often followers of information. Similar to the "Marketing frame" proposed by J. Kidd (2010, pp. 67-68), which is the most common in museum communication on social media, these communities are focused on activities such as informing, promoting, outreaching or even building one's own brand. Even though the clusters do not represent a high level of community engagement, they do not diminish the value of the clusters as such, especially for Facebook pages. The merit of such pages could be associated with the higher level of dissemination of cultural heritage information, which is of huge interest to the public, because these communities tend to be larger and attract many followers. For example, the largest Lithuanian grassroots community page 'Lietuva senose fotografijose' (tr. 'Lithuania in old photos'), which has over than 100 000 members, belongs to this cluster, as well as another 9 out of 12 pages that have more than 10 000 members. However, for groups reaching wider audiences it seems to be a far less important endeavor as all groups in G5 are small communities, usually having below the average (i. e. 2872) number of members. In this case, they represent more interpersonal communication or cultural heritage themes that are less important to the public.

Group cluster G4 (Figure 17) represents mediocre engagement as it stands in the middle in terms of content co-creation, having a range slightly above or below average. It also has lower levels of community conversations. 33% (6 from 18) of communities in this cluster are focused on transactions involving old items, while other communities are of a hybrid nature because as the cluster takes a middle ground in the MoP it includes small portions of different types of communities. An example of one of the most active communities in a cluster is a group called 'Kultūros paveldo draugai' (tr. 'Friends of cultural heritage') whose purpose is to share information about cultural heritage: "Grupė skirta rinkti ir skleisti informaciją apie Lietuvos kultūros paveldo objektus (tiek saugomus, tiek nesaugomus valstybės)." (tr.

"The group is dedicated to collecting and disseminating information about Lithuanian cultural heritage sites (both protected and non-state protected).""). But as the group has attracted the attention of cultural heritage professionals, as well as enthusiasts, some posts spark lively discussions, especially on the issues of cultural heritage management.

Group cluster G1 is the biggest cluster composed of 33 groups marked by high levels of co-creation (Figure 17) as the groups are primary enablers of content co-creation. This is because in many cases groups are established with a primary focus to allow everyone to post on the group's homepage, thus it is easy for members to create content together, though usually members do not develop a sizeable dialogue, which is unfavourable for engagement. A typical example of Facebook groups in a cluster are virtual antiquary marketplaces (27 out of 33), where people come together to sell or buy old items and collectables and, therefore, are mainly engaged in transaction-focused participation. Transaction-related activities involve the exchanging of old valuables or equipment used in the process of discovering or repairing old items, announcing auctions and participating in them. Content that is shared in these groups presents the material features of old objects and offers evaluations of their material value. Comments that follow usually are offerings of price, that rarely evolve into wider discussions about old items. This cluster of communities also stood out during the scoping study, where these groups were identified by the keyword "antiquary" revealing a great public interest in selling or buying old things, and using social media, in particular Facebook, for such a purpose. Similarly, the same aspect of materiality, or the focus on items' material value and fabric as an object for transaction is also evident in metal detectorist communities, and two such groups do belong to this cluster. One of them, named 'Metalo Detektoriai Lietuva (radiniai, diskusijos, klubas, turgelis)' (tr. 'Metal Detectors Lithuania (finds, discussions, club, market)'), even clearly states that one of the purposes of the group is to be dedicated to selling and buying finds discovered through metal detecting. Actually, the word stated for "market" (i. e. "turgelis") literally has a diminutive meaning, i. e. "little market", suggesting that transactions are of lesser importance or of a smaller scale for metal detectorists. In general, I noted that communities of metal detectorists are more related to enjoyment/expression-focused participation, where people are keen to present their hobby or professional occupation to like-minded people, and hence form a community. Members usually share posts presenting finds of the day, their emotional impressions, individual questions and discussions about discovered old valuables, as well as topics and issues related to metal

detecting. Some posts also showcase a sense of community, and deliberate efforts to foster that sense among community members. For example, in the Facebook group 'Metalo Detektoriai Lietuva (radiniai, diskusijos, klubas, turgelis)' (tr. 'Metal detectors Lithuania (finds, discussions, club, market)'), which has a large community of more than 10 000 members, an invitation from the group's admin to start a competition of photos shared by community members resulted in a long thread of comments with 74 photos being shared representing metal detecting from personal perspectives. The photo that gained the highest number of "likes" was selected as the cover photo to represent the Facebook community.

Clusters P4 and G3 are associated with high-level community engagement (Figure 17 and Figure 18) with both indexes in G3 reaching from medium to high values (Figure 17). However, the emphasis here should be added on conversation as its presence is an important factor defining a higher level of engagement in groups. Members of G3 cluster communities are more actively engaged in conversations, while still pursuing co-creation as usually more than a half of the content is created by other users and not just moderators or administrators. This cluster conceptually operates under a so called "Collaborative frame" (Kidd, 2010), a term used in museum communication, where collaborative social media communication means that a community is engaged in purposeful activities, such as curating, archiving and managing collections, or in creating new content (crowdsourcing, capturing stories and autobiographies). Indeed, communities that belong to this cluster are a good showcase of active and collaborative communities. For example, 3 groups from 9 in the cluster are focused on genealogy, where people come together to index archival records or provide information to other members researching their family heritage. For example, a member of the Facebook group 'Domiuosi genealogija' (tr. 'I am interested in genealogy'), asks a question about the lack of marriage data from Samogitian archival records between 1895 – 1903. In the discussion that follows other group members provide their insights, opinions, considerations, and information, all constituting the construction of knowledge and multifold views about this particular issue. Similarly, another very common example in metal detectorist groups is a knowledge-based discussion about the purpose, time period or historic context of the find that a community member discovered in the ground and shared on Facebook. Aspects of knowledge-focused participation can be also seen in transaction communities (this is not usually the case, but rather a phenomenon). For example, the Facebook group called 'radiotechnika ir kitos sovietines vertybės' (tr. 'radio technology and other soviet valuables') is

dedicated to selling/buying old technical devices (e. g. speakers, radios, TVs, cameras), but community members are very keen to engage in discussions not only about item values or prices, but also about their functions, capabilities or issues of repair.

In the same way as G3 is marked by higher levels of conversation, cluster P4 for pages can be characterized by a higher level of evident content co-creation cases, which is not usual to see in Facebook pages (Figure 18). As I noted earlier, content co-creation in pages happens in a more subtle way because their design is orientated to admin-led content curation. However, in some cases page administrators are keen to co-create with community members and ask users to make contributions (e. g. to send photos, questions, or stories), which will be posted on the page's feed. Here, I would like to propose the term 'curated collaboration', which means that a community co-creates content together, but one managing member (i. e. admin) takes the role of curator. In a way, this could be referred to as open self-selection as proposed in Fung's model of participation (2006), in which an individual steps in and initiates, as well as moderates the community acting on behalf of his/her self-interest. It is, of course, not as encompassing participation as that which refers to diffuse public selection, but it does not diminish the value of such types of collaboration. Cluster P4, which is represented by only 4 pages, represents community focus on place-based heritage, e. g. 'Panevėžio krašto istorija' (tr. 'History or Panevėžys region'), 'Mylimas Vilnius' (tr. 'Beloved Vilnius'), 'Senasis Radviliškis ir rajonas' (tr.'Old Radviliškis and region'; 'Švenčionėliai istorijos vingiuose' (tr. 'Švenčionėliai in twists of history').

Finally, the highest level of engagement is represented by **clusters P3, P2, and G2** (Figure 17, 18) displaying phenomena (outliers) rather than usual clusters as it singles out 3 specific communities characterized by very active member participation. **Cluster G2** represents a large (24 720 members), relatively old (2011) and highly engaged Facebook group of Lithuanian history lovers and enthusiasts called 'Lietuvos Istorijos Ieškotojų Klubas' (tr. 'Lithuanian History Seekers Club'). The group enables many-to-many content co-creation and, in particular, many-to-many conversation, which is the main reason why it is separated in the sample of groups (Figure 17). Communities that engage in many-to-many conversation represent knowledge-focused participation, as usually people come together to share or seek information, and consequently, to discuss it, thus forming knowledge-based cultural heritage networks. Many such representations of ongoing knowledge construction through the act of communication exist in my sample of engaged grassroots communities. This is also obvious in Facebook pages such as

'Senasis Kaunas' (tr. 'Old Kaunas') (**Cluster P2**), with an exceptionally high conversation intensity or CONVI value (13 162) and 'TV Archyvai' (tr. 'TV Archives') (**Cluster P3**) with a CONVI of 7200, which means that members develop extensive dialogues. As for the group (G2), the value indicating conversation intensity is not that high (CONVI=1950), but still it is high enough when compared to other clusters, such as cluster G3, where the highest CONVI equals 685.

The consolidated interpretation of the two MoPs and the comparison between pages and groups revealed important underlying factors that Facebook data represents. To provide more thorough comparison between different community types, i. e. pages and groups (the latter I also split into public groups and private groups), I developed a consolidated scatter plot diagram based on the overall COCRI and CONVI indexes (Figure 20).
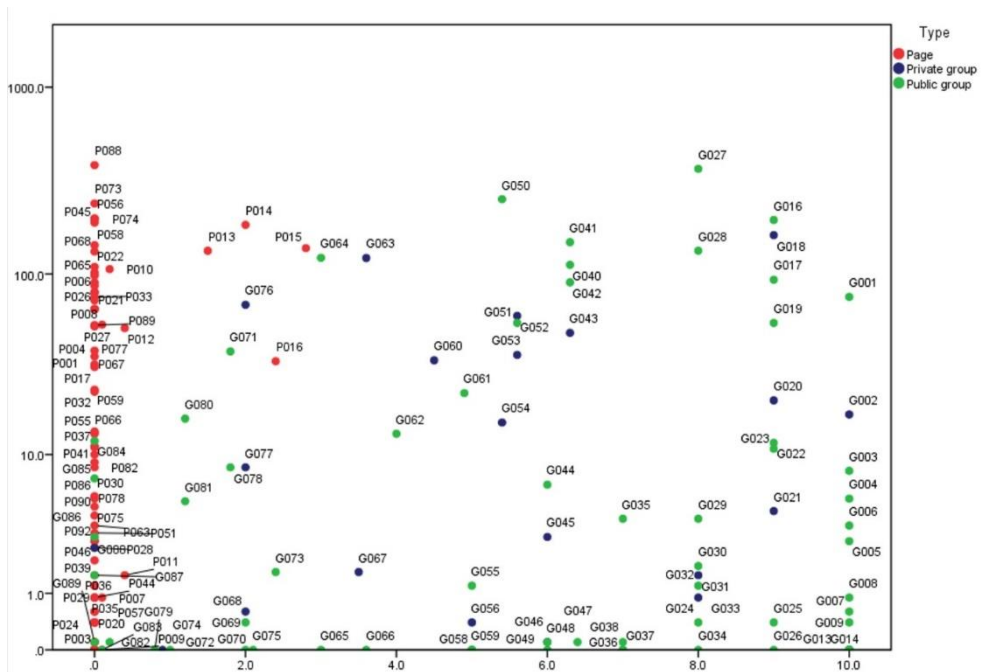

Figure 20. Consolidated MoP: representation of pages' and groups' clusters (X axis – COCRI, Y axis – CONVI)

I also sought to answer which index defines the main underlying factor for such distinctions. The diagram below shows how different pages, that are marked in red and gather on the left side of the plot, are from groups, which scatter all over the diagram. As for the differences between Facebook

pages and groups, the diagram characterizes participation in groups as much more collaborative in terms of content co-creation than for pages, while conversation seems to be a far less important factor for separation.

I investigated further two indexes by using the non-parametric measures of central tendency and dispersion (i. e. medians, quartiles and range looking also for outliers). The analysis of the COCRI in the box and whisker plot (Figure 21) shows medians of COCRI distribution, which significantly separates the two types, as pages' median is zero and shows outliers, while groups display a normal distribution of index. The latter seems to be well-balanced between private groups (median = 5.8) and public groups (median =6.3), whereas public groups are slightly higher in their average COCRI.
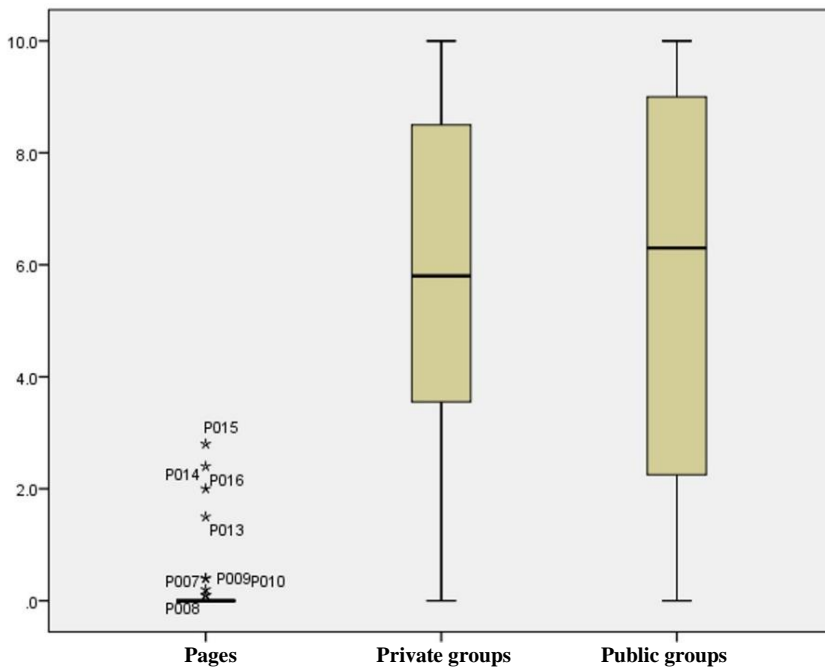
Figure 21. Comparative representation of co-creation intensity (COCRI) index in pages, private and public groups

The analysis of CONVI in the box and whisker plot (Figure 22) shows that the presence of higher level conversation is not an underlying factor for group and page separation. Even though pages tend to have a higher CONVI range of medians, they are basically the same between the three community types. The lowest range in conversations is seen in the case of public groups, which also have the highest number of outliers (Figure 22).
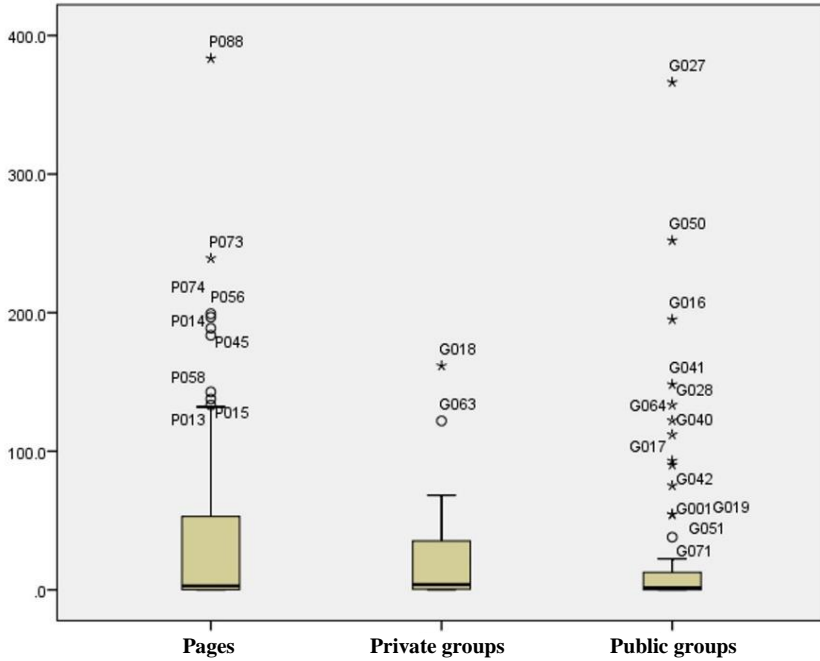
Figure 22. Comparative representation of conversation intensity (CONVI) index in pages, private and public groups

The underlying factor that separates pages from groups is content co-creation, which shapes the overall distribution of clusters. Consolidated interpretation of the two MoPs and the comparison between pages and groups can be summarized in a table, which is presented below (Table 5).

The development of MoPs revealed the composition of different levels of engagement and explained its underlying factors. Clusters do not represent a well-balanced distribution and showcase certain phenomena in grassroots practice with highly engaged grassroots communities being an exception, rather than a common tendency. 65% (121) of the sample represents the lowest level of participation, while the highest-level of participation is achieved only in 2% (3), and high – in 7% (13) of grassroots communities. In the overall Facebook data sample of currently active communities, participatory heritage communities represent 9% (16 from 187) of Facebook sites.

Table 5. Final coding schema representing elicited levels of community engagement for pages and groups

Matrix of participation for groups (MoP-G)
- Cluster of low-level engagement (CONVI: low-medium, COCRI: low-medium)   - Cluster of medium-level engagement (CONVI: low-medium, COCRI: medium)   - Cluster of high-level engagement, but only in content co-creation (CONVI: low-medium, COCRI: medium-high)   - Cluster of high-level engagement (CONVI: medium-high, COCRI: medium-high)   - Cluster of very high-level engagement (CONVI: high, COCRI: medium-high)
Matrix of participation for pages (MoP-P)
- Cluster of low-level engagement cluster (CONVI: low-medium, COCRI: zero-low)   - Cluster of medium-level engagement (CONVI: medium, COCRI: medium)   - Cluster of high-level engagement, but only in conversation (CONVI: high, COCRI: zero)

6. ANALYSING CULTURAL HERITAGE FOCUS IN PARTICIPATORY COMMUNITIES

I selected clusters of communities with the highest-level of engagement based on their indexed values (i. e. group clusters G2, G3 and page clusters P2, P3, P4) to further perform qualitative and quantitative content analysis. The sample that I selected for the analysis consisted of 16 communities, and from those 10 were groups and 6 were pages (Table 6). The goal of the analysis was to understand what kinds of cultural heritage topics contribute to active grassroots engagement on Facebook, thus shaping participatory heritage, because it was noted that online cultural heritage communities tend to build around affinities and topics of interest (Giaccardi, 2012).

According to my MoP calculations, the most engaged community among all Lithuanian grassroots groups on Facebook is 'Lietuvos Istorijos Ieškotojų Klubas' (tr. 'Lithuanian History Seekers Club'). This is a community established in 2011 with the primary purpose to share history-related information. It has managed to build a large community of followers consisting of 24 720 members. Other groups in the sample include different types of engaged communities with a highly active member participation. There are three groups dedicated to genealogy, i. e. 'Domiuosi genealogija' (tr. 'I am interested in genealogy'), 'Šiaurės Žemaitijos genealogija (dounininkų kraštas)' (tr. 'Genealogy of Northern Samogitia (Dounininkai Land)') and 'Genealogijos kooperatyvas' (tr. 'Genealogy Cooperative'). There are also two transactions-focused communities with members selling and buying old items, i. e. 'SENOVINIAI įrankiai, technika ir atributika' (tr. 'ANCIENT tools, techniques and attributes') and 'radiotechnika ir kitos sovietines vertybės' (tr. 'radio technology and other soviet valuables'). The sample also includes two history-focused groups dedicated to partisan history. i. e. 'Lietuvos partizanų istorija. (tr. 'History of Lithuanian partisans.') and local (regional) history – 'Zanavykijos istorijos ieškotojų klubas' (tr. 'Zanavykija History Seekers Club'). One group in the sample represents folk art, i. e. 'Močiučių raštai' (tr. 'Grandmothers' ornaments') and another is a metal detectorists group 'Metalo detektorių radiniai, įranga ,perku-parduodu.' (tr. 'Metal detector finds,equipment,buy-sell.'). Facebook pages included in my sample represent a slightly different thematic focus (Table 6), with five of them being dedicated to place-based heritage and the sharing of old photos (e. g. 'Old Kaunas', 'History or Panevėžys region', 'Beloved Vilnius', 'Old Radviliškis and region', 'Švenčionėliai in twists of history') and one page 'TV Archyvai' (tr. 'TV Archives') that is exclusively focused on sharing

audiovisual content representing a collage of Lithuanian TV programs from the 1990s and the early 2000s.

As seen in the sample, there is no correlation between the year of creation and the size of community that could influence higher engagement. The participatory sample represents a variety of communities ranging from small (<1000 members) and very large, that has over 70 000 of members (Table 6). Similarly, the date of creation shows that some of them were created almost ten years ago (2011), while others are quite new (2019) (Table 6).

**Table 6.** The composition of the participatory communities' sample

Clus-ter No	CONVI	COCRI	Commu-nity type	Name of community	Name of community (tr. in EN)	Size[10]	Year of crea-tion
2	1950	9	Group (public)	Lietuvos Istorijos Ieškotojų Klubas	Lithuanian History Seekers Club	24K	2011
3	195	9	Group (public)	SENOVINIAI įrankiai, technika ir atributika	ANCIENT tools, techniques and attributes	4K	2018
3	162	9	Group (private)	Metalo detektorių radiniai,įranga ,perku-parduodu.	Metal detector finds, equipment, buy-sell.	8K	2017
3	366	8	Group (public)	Domiuosi genealogija	I am interested in genealogy	11K	2014
3	133	8	Group (public)	radiotechnika ir kitos sovietines vertybės	Radio technology and other soviet valuables	2K	2016
3	685	7	Group (public)	Lietuvos partizanų istorija.	History of Lithuanian partisans.	10K	2011

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[10] In December 2020

Cluster No	CONVI	COCRI	Community type	Name of community	Name of community (tr. in EN)	Size[10]	Year of creation
3	112	7	Group (public)	Šiaurės Žemaitijos genealogija (douninkų kraštas)	Genealogy of Northern Samogitia (Douninkai Land)	<1K	2019
3	148	7	Group (public)	Močiučių raštai	Grandmothers' ornaments	7K	2018
3	90	7	Group (public)	Genealogijos Kooperatyvas	Genealogy Cooperative	1K	2016
3	252	6	Group (public)	Zanavykijos istorijos ieškotojų klubas	Zanavykija History Seekers Club	2K	2017
2	13162	0	Page	Senasis Kaunas	Old Kaunas	50K	2013
3	7200	0	Page	TV Archyvai	TV Archives	70K	2017
4	133	1.5	Page	Panevėžio krašto istorija	History or Panevėžys region	5K	2017
4	184	2	Page	Mylimas Vilnius	Beloved Vilnius	6K	2011
4	138	2.8	Page	Senasis Radviliškis ir rajonas	Old Radviliškis and region	5K	2016
4	34	2.4	Page	Švenčionėliai istorijos vingiuose	Švenčionėliai in twists of history	2K	2017

## 6.1. Thematic analysis and classification of participatory communities

To start the analysis of cultural heritage focus I sorted all posts as heritage-related or contemporary, those that do not relate to heritage (Figure 23). The latter usually represented some Facebook-related activities (e. g. follower announcements, thanking community, updating cover photos, informing about spammer) or contemporary information (e. g. community gatherings, local news). They also indicated some other activities, such as crafting (e. g. knitting, sewing) as a broader occupation not necessarily related to heritage, which was a popular subject of discussion in the 'Grandmothers' ornaments' group, or, in the case of metal detectorists, many posts were dedicated to selling or buying metal detecting equipment (Figure 23). Overall, I concluded that in my sample 90% (576) of posts were related to heritage, while only 10% (64) represented other objects or activities.
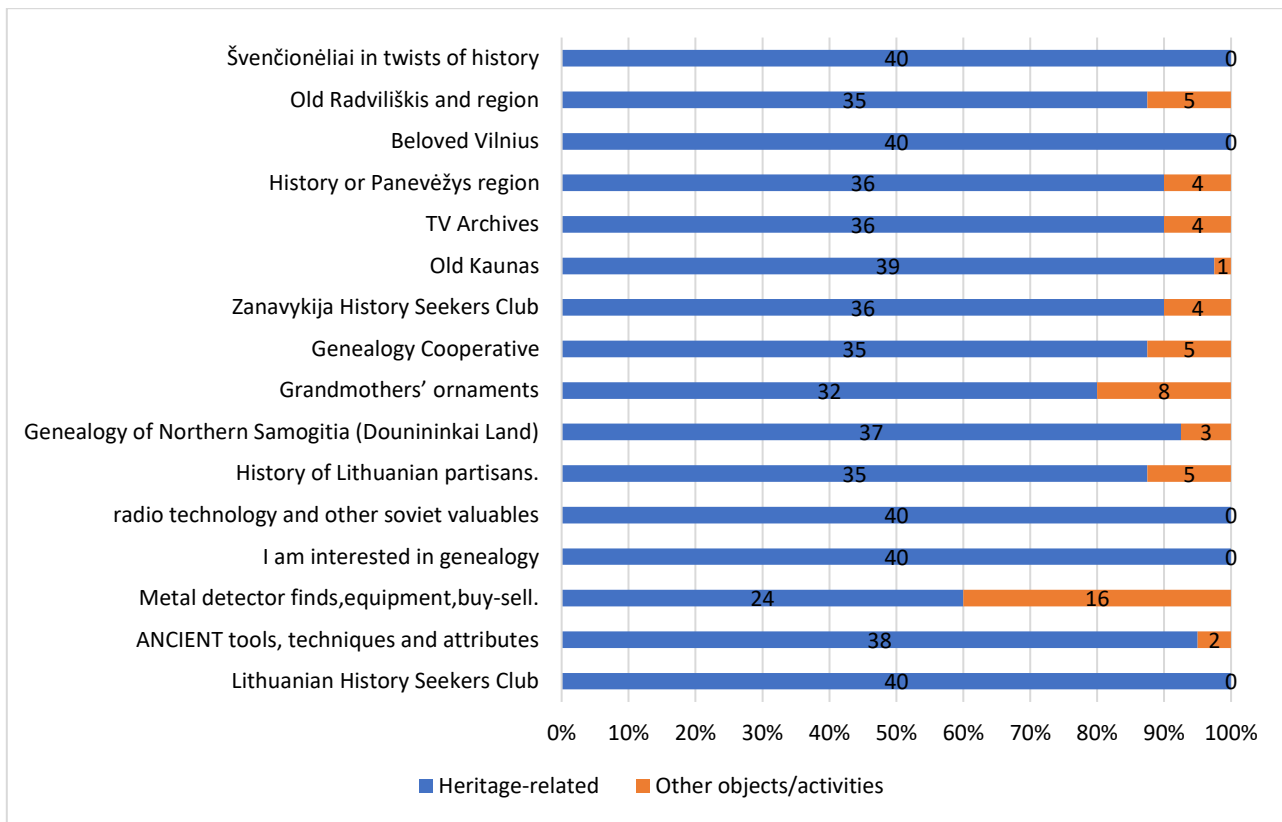
Figure 23. Proportional distribution of posts representing heritage-related and contemporary themes in each Facebook community. N = 40.

Nature of posts. I considered the nature of posts to be an important criterion that helps to characterize communities as content creators or content curators. The first relies on original content directly posted on Facebook, where members and administrators upload photos, write texts, opinions, post questions, create photo albums or any other original content. Content curators are keen in connecting different sources of information into one thematically focused Facebook group by sharing links. The analysis showed (Figure 24) that my sample is mainly composed of content creators, but that content curation is also of particular interest to some communities, such as the 'Lithuanian History Seekers Club', which I distinguished as the most engaged community of heritage lovers and enthusiasts. Similar trends are observed in other heritage communities, such as the 'History of Lithuanian partisans.', the 'Genealogy Cooperative', and the 'Zanavykija History Seekers Club', representing significant grassroots heritage communication practice.
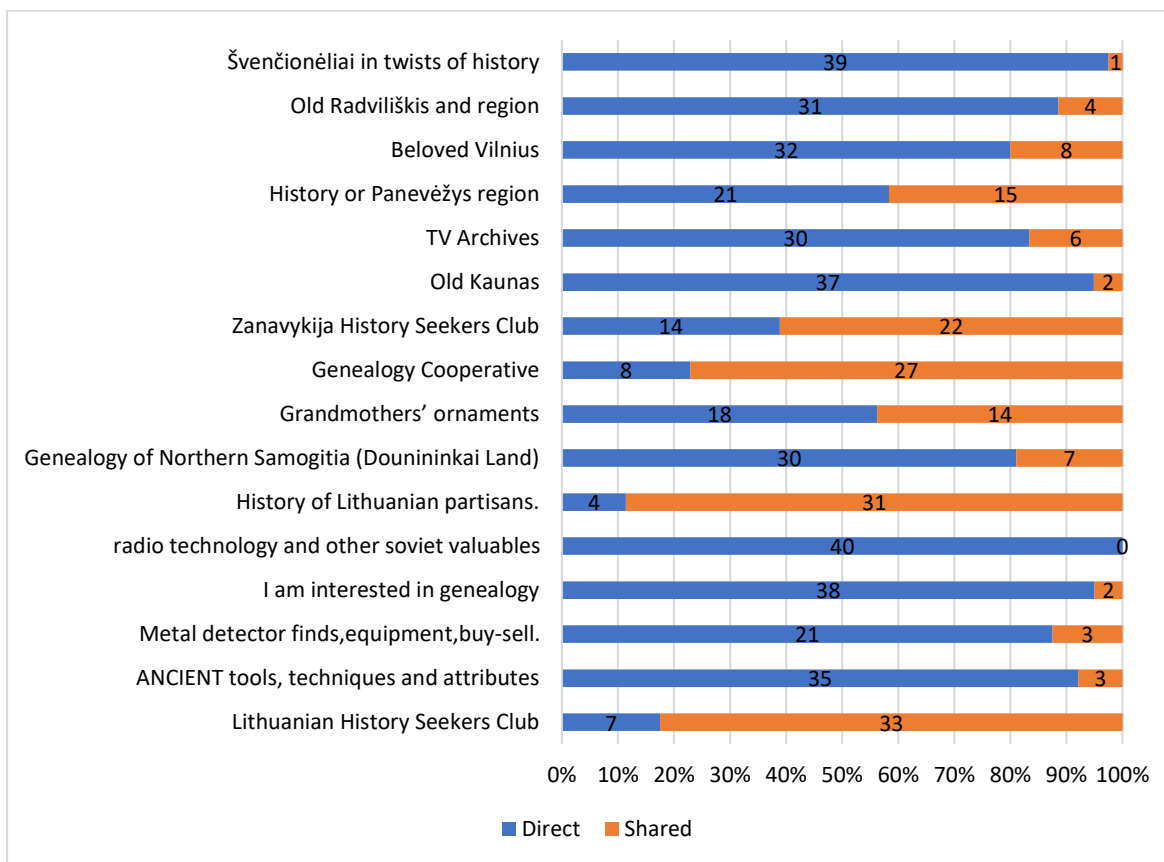
Figure 24. Proportional distribution of posts representing nature of post: direct (created) and shared content in each Facebook community. N = 40.

Interestingly, as shown in the diagram below (Figure 25), in many cases these shared sources are other Facebook pages, groups or profiles meaning that there is a vast circulation of content within Facebook itself. Also, most of these sources (Facebook and other) could be classified as authoritative organizations or institutions (e. g. pages of archives and museums, news portals, associations) and professionals (e. g. researchers, public figures, politicians, journalists) meaning that grassroots heritage discourse to some extent is inevitably connected and shaped by the authoritative discourse and narratives provided by the official memory institutions' settings. This is particularly relevant to political discourse, where it was noted that uses of heritage in social networking communication and its appropriations relate to officially provided narratives (Farrel-Banks, 2019). In some Lithuanian grassroots communities, such as the one dedicated to partisans, which acts as a community of content curators. Shared posts represent official and professional voices of museums, archives, non-profit associations, mass media, researchers and public figures that talk about partisan history.
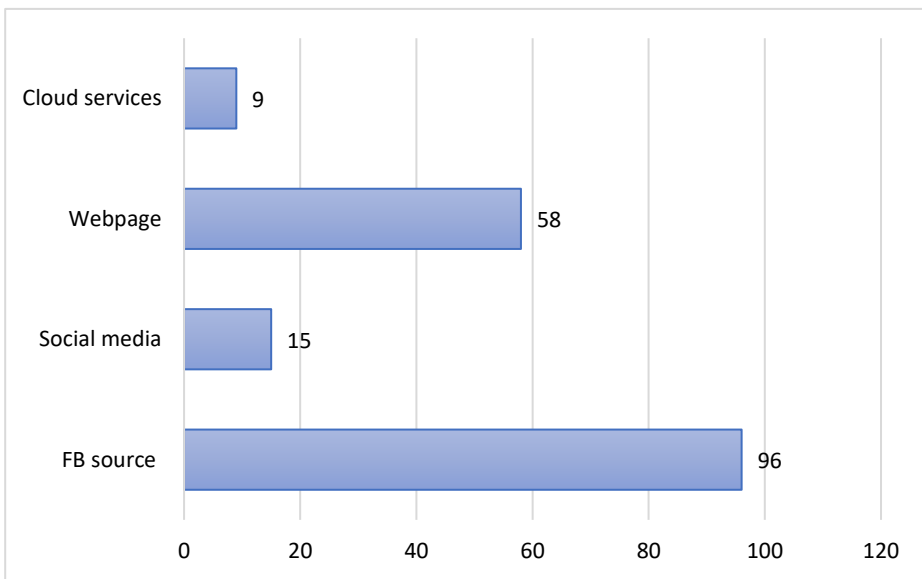

Figure 25. Overall composition of shared posts representing sources of information

Geographical coverage and place-based heritage. I split heritage-related posts into three geographical dimensions investigating whether community posts cover international, national or local contexts. References or mentions of certain places and localities I perceived as place-based heritage

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representing and illustrating, firstly, the history of the place. However, I was aware that such heritage may still vary in terms of time periods, subjects (e. g. partisans, folk art, genealogy), objects (e. g. people, events, buildings, old items) or forms of representation (e. g. photos versus text, old photo versus contemporary photo). Overall, analysis showed that place-based (local) heritage is the focus of attention as 56% (327) of posts had references to particular cities, towns, regions, or villages, while 38% (224) could be interpreted as nationally important, i. e. they depict objects or events from Lithuania or are signified as Lithuanian, or could be simply without any local reference. Only 6% (32) of posts had some international mention, i. e. they talk about or make references to other countries. Interestingly, the latter were usually circulating in tandem with their thematic "nationalization". For example, an article in a news portal discussing French weaponry is entitled '' Unikalus XIX a. Prancūzijos banditų ginklas, kurį galbūt naudojo ir mūsų partizanai" (tr. "Unique 19th century weapon of French bandits that may have been also used by our partisans") (Delfi, 2020). The most "internationalized" historical subject indicated in the posts was themes related to the Second Word War, e. g. articles about transport and weaponry used during WW2, or items such as photos.

As seen in the diagram below (Figure 26), the importance of place-based heritage is most visible among Facebook pages, as 5 out of 6 in the sample are dedicated to exploring the history of a place (Kaunas, Vilnius, Panevėžys, Radviliškis, Švenčionėliai), which acts as community affinity. A sample of groups' displays a more balanced distribution of local and national, and in some cases (e. g. the 'Lithuanian History Seekers Club', and the 'Genealogy Cooperative') even international dimensions (Figure 26).
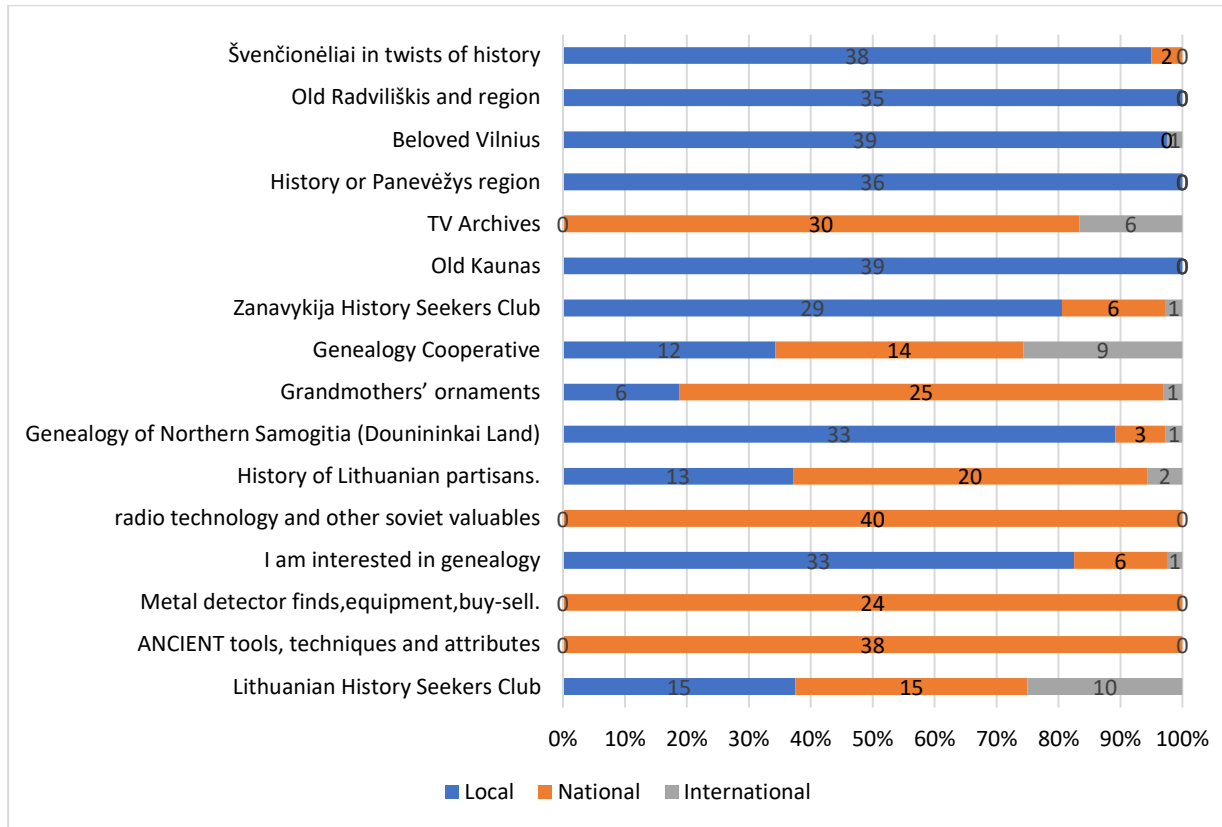
Figure 26. Proportional distribution of heritage-related posts representing geographical coverage: local, national and international dimensions in each Facebook community

**Use of old digitized content.** Another observation deriving from the content analysis of heritage uses in Facebook posts was the vast circulation of old digitized (visual and audiovisual) content, such as vintage photos, old movies and videos, scanned archival documents, journals, and booklets. I indicate that 55% (319) of all heritage-related posts use it with some grassroots communities being particularly focused on sharing old, digitized content (Figure 27). This is especially relevant to Facebook pages that are engaged in sharing vintage photos, and together with community members building discussion around nostalgic memories that relates to a place displayed in a photo, usually, one's hometown, such as 'Old Kaunas', 'Beloved Vilnius', 'History of Panevėžys region', 'Old Radviliškis and region', 'Švenčionėliai ir twists of history'. Overall, the use of vintage photography is a recognized phenomenon in social networking practice and is referred to as archive fever, where old photos because of their iconic potential are used to map a contested past and navigate a difficult present (Ryzova, 2015).

The same phenomena I observed in Lithuanian grassroots communities, with digitized vintage photos/postcards constituting the highest proportion, or 71% (225) of all such content. Other types of digitized content are also popular, such as old movies and TV programs at 13% (40), which is a niche focus of the 'TV Archives' page or digitized archival documents at 11% (35), which tend to be found in genealogy focused communities. Less popular types that are episodically shared on Facebook include digitized booklets and flyers at 3% (9), scanned pages from old books, journals, newspaper (5), posters (2), drawings (2) and postage stamps (1), all together constituting 3% of all digitized old images.
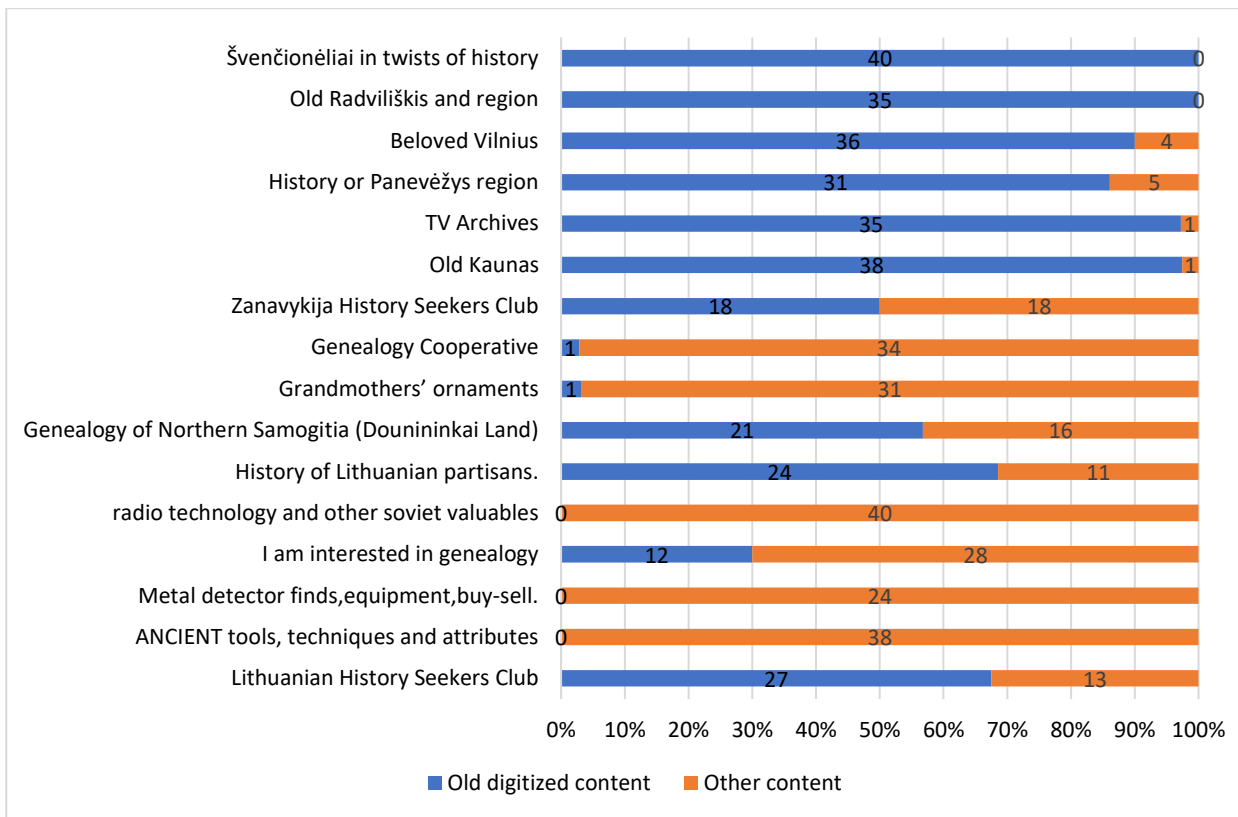
Figure 27. Proportional distribution of heritage-related posts representing the usage of digitized heritage material in each Facebook community

Heritage focus: time periods and topics. While considering Lithuanian history and representation of it in Facebook posts, I thought it meaningful to distinguish several periods and use them for posts' classification. The distinction does not equally cover the timeline in terms of years, but I considered it to be like thematic groups that reflect vastly different times in Lithuanian history. Following such logic, I started with the earliest period before 1795 until Lithuania was incorporated into the Russian empire. Secondly, I distinguished the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century until the announcement of the first Lithuanian independence (including the periods of the Russian empire, the German Empire occupation and the First World War). Then, I marked the interwar period (1918-1939) and the life of independent Lithuania, which was followed by the period of Soviet occupation (1940-1989). Finally, the latest period represents the most recent past starting with the second Lithuanian independence in 1990. Notably, sometimes Facebook posts did not refer to any period in history (e. g. the description of a town history) or were not identified or clearly conceptualized in posts (e. g. Baltic ornaments), therefore I grouped such posts under a separate category. In some cases, such as intangible heritage, the mentioning of a period or date could be considered as of little importance.
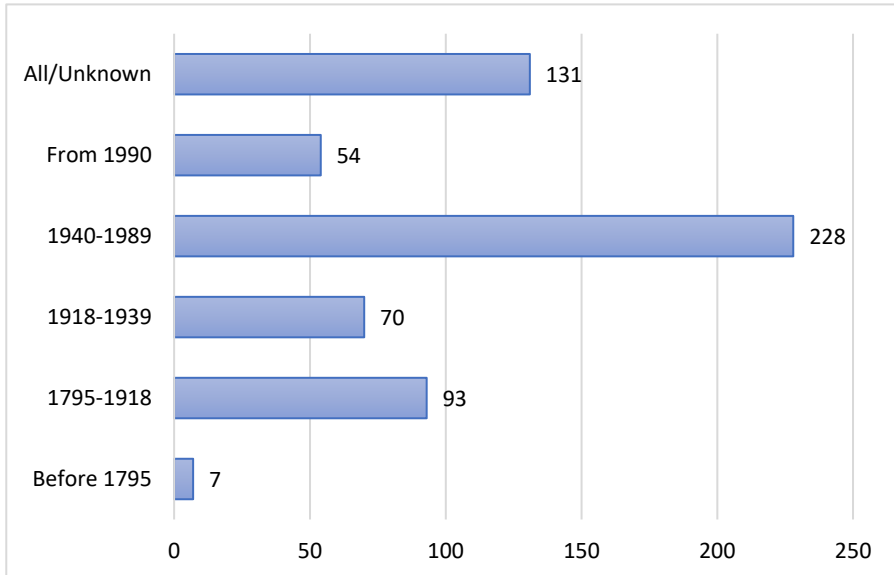
Figure 28. The overall distribution of heritage-related posts representing different time periods

The overall distribution of posts in terms of their timeline coverage showcases that the Soviet occupation period is the most discussed and displayed on Facebook social network sites, which constitutes active public participation and engagement. I think there are two reasons explaining this observation, which can be explained by the following diagram (Figure 29) showcasing the proportional distribution of classified posts in each community.
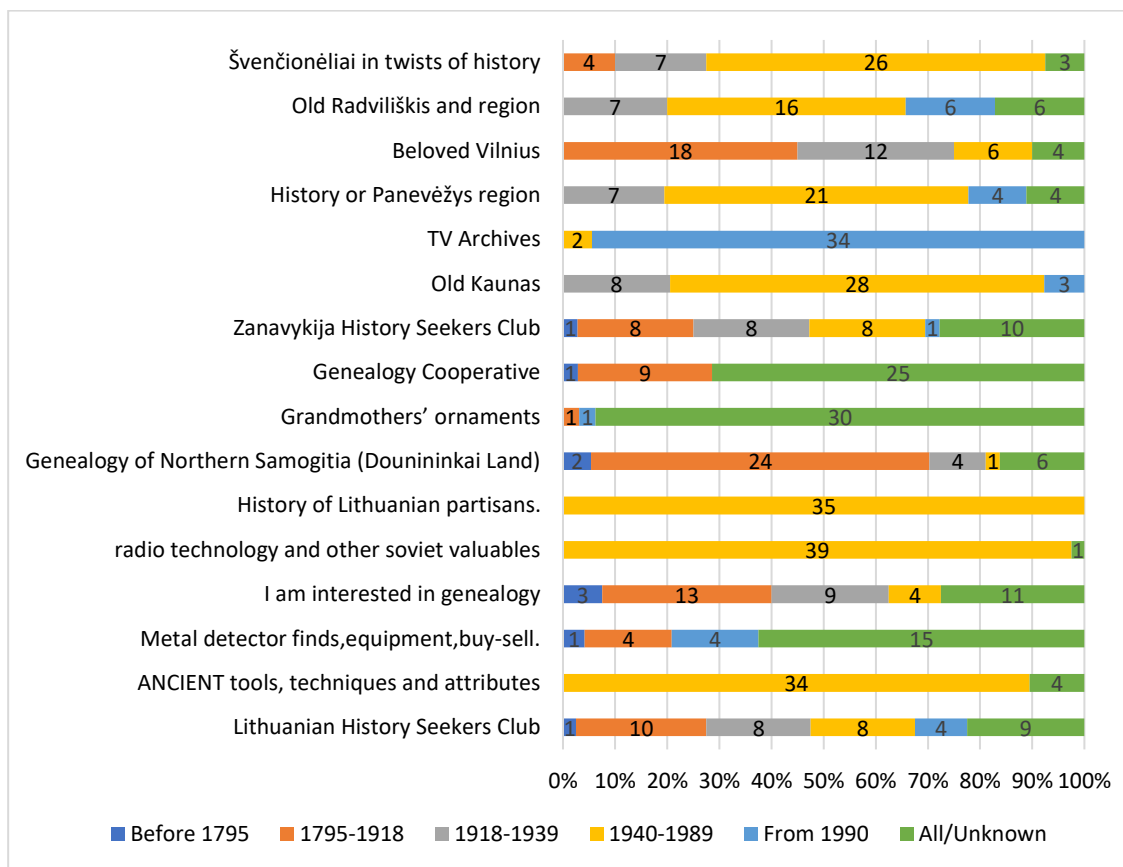
Figure 29. Proportional distribution of heritage-related posts representing time periods in each Facebook community

As seen in Figure 29, the Soviet period is of primary focus in such groups as 'ANCIENT tools, techniques and attributes' and 'radio technology and other soviet valuables', dedicated to selling and buying old collectables. Also, the Soviet period dominates in Facebook pages portraying place-based history marked by old photography sharing, such as those of Kaunas, Panevėžys, Radviliškis and Švenčionėliai. Finally, the period is of particular importance to the community representing the 'History of Lithuanian partisans.'. All mentioned communities are very different in terms of their scope, goal and topic, therefore I conceptualized that there are different reasons explaining the wide usage of Soviet-era heritage in social networking practice. The first is obvious and simply practical, because there is a critical mass of material legacy dating from that period (e. g. items, things, photos), as well as the living memories of people that lived through, experienced and remember those times. Another reason may refer to deeper meanings and motives hidden in such grassroots engagement focused on a particular time. As noted in the research literature, the sharing of material (especially old photos) on social networking sites can be understood as an act of de-contextualization, where images are re-signified with new meanings to navigate through a contested past and contemporary concerns (Ryzova, 2015). So, it is likely that in some cases of Lithuanian grassroots communities, people come together to discuss and re-visit our most contested, dissonant and traumatic period from the past. The most obvious example is the group representing Lithuanian partisan history, which due to its thematic coverage further shrinks in time with most of the posts speaking just about decade-long historic events, representing the peak and suppression of the partisan movement in Lithuania. In addition, old nostalgic ephemera deriving from the Soviet era are also the focus of attention of place-based communities with one exception, which is the case of Vilnius.

Facebook posts cover a variety of heritage-related subjects illustrating the focus of communities, with dominating topics being summarized in the table below (Table 7) together with time periods as I believe the two are inevitably connected and if shown together are more explanatory. As seen in Table 7, some communities (e. g. the 'Lithuanian History Seekers Club', the 'Zanavykija History Seekers Club') could be characterized as of diverse historic focus in terms of periods and topics, while others are exceptionally niche (e. g. the History of Lithuanian partisans, 'Grandmothers' ornaments', 'TV Archives'). Genealogy communities (3) form a separate thematic cluster showcasing quite huge grassroots interest in archival family records. Another

kind of public interest is on material items (finds and collectables) and their acquisition (either through transaction or act of discovery) acting as a significant driver for grassroots participation. Finally, place-based heritage, portrayed either through photos of places, buildings and landscape or photos of people and everyday matters, is the most common means for community engagement.

Table 7. Thematic classification of participatory Facebook communities

Name of community	Heritage focus: dominant time periods	Heritage focus: dominant topics
Lithuanian History Seekers Club	Various (well-balanced)	Various historic themes (heritage sites, WW2, serfdom, everyday life, Vikings, etc.)
ANCIENT tools, techniques and attributes	1940-1989	Old collectables: various old items (cars, kitchen appliances, tools, dishes, journals, coins, wooden boxes, gramophones, etc.)
Metal detector finds,equipment,buy-sell.	General	Old collectables: various finds (coins, pendants, rings, stamps, horseshoes, axes, tokens, etc.)
I am interested in genealogy	1795-1918	Genealogy and archival records, family history
radio technology and other soviet valuables	1940-1989	Old collectables: electronic devices (radios, gramophones, vinyl records, amplifiers, music journals, speakers, etc.)
History of Lithuanian partisans.	1940-1989 (1950s in particular)	Partisans, local people (villagers, exiled), events (battles)
Genealogy of Northern Samogitia (Dounininkai Land)	General	Genealogy and archival records, family history
Grandmothers' ornaments	General	Folk art, traditional ethno-ornaments, crafting traditions (embroidery, weaving, crocheting), crafters
Genealogy Cooperative	General	Genealogy and archival records, family history

Name of community	Heritage focus: dominant time periods	Heritage focus: dominant topics
Zanavykija History Seekers Club	Various (well-balanced)	Various historic themes (WW1, partisans, churches, cemeteries, old books), place history, history of local people (common and famous)
Old Kaunas	1940-1989	Place history (streets, squares, buildings, monuments, restaurants, shops, urban landscapes, etc.)
TV Archives	From 1990	Old TV programs (series, news, shows, sports, etc.) and TV commercials
History or Panevėžys region	1940-1989	Place history (streets, buildings, houses, stores, schools, etc.)
Beloved Vilnius	1795-1918; 1918-1939	Place history (streets, squares, stations, churches, castle, urban landscapes, Jewish and Tatars, old town)
Old Radviliškis and region	1940-1989	Place history (streets, buildings, shops, schools, etc.) and local people history
Švenčionėliai in twists of history	1940-1989	Place history (church, station) and local people history (families, workers, children, soldiers, teachers, officers, etc.)

These thematic groups can be also supplemented with additional qualitative and quantitative indicators which are described in this chapter, such geographical coverage, uses of old digitized content and nature of posts (Table 8). For quantitative indicators, I also considered the evaluation of frequency important, thus classifying them as low (≤30%) (or in some cases, non-existent), below average (>30% ≤50%), above average (>50% ≤70%) and high (>70%) frequency (Table 8). The table shows that some communities are, indeed, very similar in terms of their heritage focus, as well as in terms of other attributes. In the Lithuanian grassroots sample, the most popular types are place-based communities, genealogical research groups and communities of collectors.

My suggested classification provides an evidence-based schema that could be used to conceptualize participatory heritage practices on Facebook. Certain existing patterns point to seven types of heritage communities that exist on the Facebook social network:

1) Heritage communities characterized by their interest in place-based heritage, a high level of content creation and high usage of old photography. The heritage focus is dedicated to displaying places (streets, buildings, landscapes) and in some cases people. They tend to present periods of the most contested historic past.

2) Heritage communities characterized by their exceptional interest in genealogical research and distribution of archival records. There is a certain level of contradiction in other attributes as some communities highly rely on created content and place-based heritage, while others share sources and show lesser representation of localities. Some also tend to use more digitized content, in particular, scanned or photographed archival records. I will explain these differences in the Chapter 7, when trying to describe modes of participation and conceptualizing participatory heritage.

3) Heritage communities focused on material things as collectables, such as various old items, old electronic devices and finds. A certain aspect of hobbyist activity and transactions is also important for these communities. All other attributes are very homogenous meaning that they all can be characterized by a high level of content creation, a low use of old digitized content and a low focus on localities.

4) Heritage communities characterized by well-balanced and hybrid historic interests in terms of topics and time periods. They can be characterized by an average usage of old visuals, as well as a low level of content creation, instead working as groups of content curators. In some cases, a variety of historic themes is discussed in the context of place or locality (e. g. history of the Zanavykija region).

5) Heritage communities dedicated to niche (usually contested) thematic areas in terms of time and subject, such as that of Lithuanian partisans. In many ways they operate similarly to those representing hybrid historic interests, promoting historic narratives through content curation activities.

6) Heritage communities with an ethnographical and intangible heritage focus that also represent active nurtures of customs, crafts and traditions. They usually act as both content creators and curators, representing cultural heritage that is of national importance.

7) Heritage communities characterized by their niche and highly engaging heritage topics of emerging (recent past) heritage, usually presented in a simple and fun way. They are communities of content creators, who rely on the use of old digitized content.

Table 8. Grouping of grassroots communities according to their thematic focus and a representation of other attributes showcasing homogeneity or heterogeneity of indicated groups

Name of community (tr. in EN)	Heritage focus: dominant topics	Heritage focus: dominant time periods	Place-based heritage	Uses of old digitized content	Created content
1					
Old Kaunas	Place history (streets, squares, buildings, monuments, restaurants, shops, urban landscapes)	1940-1989	High	High	High
History of Panevėžys region	Place history (streets, buildings, houses, stores, schools, etc.)	1940-1989	High	High	Above average
Beloved Vilnius	Place history (streets, squares, stations, churches, castle, urban landscapes, Jewish and Tatars, old town)	1795-1918; 1918-1939	High	High	High
Old Radviliškis and region	Place history (streets, buildings, shops, schools, etc.) and local people history	1940-1989	High	High	High

Name of community (tr. in EN)	Heritage focus: dominant topics	Heritage focus: dominant time periods	Place-based heritage	Uses of old digitized content	Created content
Švenčionė-liai in twists of history	Place history (church, station) and local people history (families, workers, children, soldiers, teachers, officers, etc.)	1940-1989	High	High	High
2					
I am interested in genealogy	Genealogy and archival records, family history	1795-1918	High	Low	High
Genealogy of Northern Samogitia (Douninink ai Land)	Genealogy and archival records, family history	General	High	Above average	High
Genealogy Cooperativ e	Genealogy and archival records, family history	General	Below average	Low	Low
3					
ANCIENT tools, techniques and attributes	Old collectables: various old items (cars, kitchen appliances, tools, dishes,	1940-1989	Low	None	High

Name of community (tr. in EN)	Heritage focus: dominant topics	Heritage focus: dominant time periods	Place-based heritage	Uses of old digitized content	Created content
	journals, coins, wooden boxes, gramophones, etc.)				
Radio technology and other soviet valuables	Old collectables: electronic devices (radios, gramophones, vinyl records, amplifiers, music journals, speakers, etc.)	1940-1989	None	None	High
Metal detector finds, equipment, buy-sell.	Old collectables: various finds (coins, pendants, rings, stamps, horseshoes, axes, tokens, etc.)	General	Low	None	High
4					
Lithuanian History Seekers Club	Various historic themes (heritage sites, WW2, serfdom, everyday life, Vikings, etc.)	Various (well-balanced)	Below average	Above average	Low

Name of community (tr. in EN)	Heritage focus: dominant topics	Heritage focus: dominant time periods	Place-based heritage	Uses of old digitized content	Created content
Zanavykija History Seekers Club	Various historic themes (WW1, partisans, churches, cemeteries, old books), place history, history of local people (common and famous)	Various (well-balanced)	High	Below average	Below average
5					
History of Lithuanian partisans.	Partisans, local people (villagers, exiled), events (battles)	1940-1989 (1950s in particular)	Below average	Above average	Low
6					
Grand-mothers' ornaments	Folk art, traditional ethno-ornaments, crafting traditions (embroidery, weaving, crocheting), crafters	General	Low	Low	Above average
7					
TV Archives	TV programs (series, news, shows, sports, etc.) TV commercials	From 1990	None	High	High

7. ANALYSING MODES OF PARTICIPATION AND CONCEPTUALIZING PARTICIPATORY HERITAGE COMMUNITIES

The conceptualization of participatory heritage draws from the previous findings of the content analysis of cultural heritage topics, classified into seven groups, and closer qualitative investigation of existing differences in other attributes. These differences point to certain community motives and activities that lead to the sharing or creation of particular posts and the willingness of a community to engage in conversation about them. It means that there are versatile cultural and social contexts with diverse meanings applied to cultural heritage objects in the participation process.

In my theoretical framework I discussed the notions of participation and engagement (Section 2. 1.), and by evaluating engagement based on Facebook data I developed the MoP (Chapter 5). Nevertheless, I thought that the notion of participation could be elicited further by exploring possible modes of participation, which allow us to better understand and conceptualize participatory heritage. My theoretical framework builds on the assumption that participatory heritage can be defined through process rather than the notion of space, thus I sought to understand what purposeful activity takes place in Facebook communities. Also, as discussed in the theoretical Chapter 2, participation in cultural heritage does not necessarily, and probably to a lesser extent, mean civic participation, which in the theory of participation is considered particularly important. More broadly, public participation on the Web in many cases can be seen as creative efforts made by people, where a "framework for participation" should consider aspects adopted for a diverse array of purposes, such as communication, building of connections, sharing knowledge and skills, entertainment, social support or as part of a 'gift economy' (Gauntlett, 2011, p. 95). Therefore, by investigating modes of participation I sought to provide some insights to support these claims.

During the content analysis and identification of cultural heritage topics in posts, I made memos about any other post attributes related and not related to cultural heritage. I also created codes describing posts as information objects and their relations to a real-life activity, as well as noting their motives (e. g. nostalgia, promotion, education). In addition, I employed practical argumentation codes emphasizing issues (problems and questions) raised and positions (ideas and solutions) taken by community members. I also selectively marked certain posts as interesting or illustrative examples of various phenomena. In this chapter I will elicit my previous classification of

the seven types of heritage communities that exist on Facebook by providing a qualitative interpretation of additional codes and memos, and by presenting selected cases of posts that illustrate certain aspects of social networking practice, trying to understand how grassroots engagement in cultural heritage activities on Facebook enable community participation and empowerment.

7.1. Nostalgic communities and places of the past

The largest group of participatory communities in my sample are those affiliated with places and past nostalgia, usually presented through numerous vintage photos. Such cases are discussed in the research literature (Niemeyer, 2014; Gregory, 2015; Ryzova, 2015; Savaş, 2017; Westberg and Jensen, 2017) as it is a global phenomenon relevant to social media practice. Some authors call them emotional communities, where the history of a certain everchanging place, such as a city, usually portrayed through old photos, tends to build emotional communities brought together by nostalgia, an emotional motive related to the people's perception of the past (Gregory, 2014). As discussed in the Australian case of Perth's lost buildings, such communities could be utilized to generate the social capital needed to mobilize against the destruction of heritage buildings and places (Gregory, 2015). Other authors consider these communities to be responsible for the re-contextualization of images and the re-signification of their meanings (Ryzova, 2015). On the contrary to civic participation, nostalgia, embedded in contemporary concerns, seems to be a way to navigate through a contested past and difficult present, like in the case of old photos from Egypt (Ryzova, 2015). The Lithuanian sample that represents nostalgic communities has three main aspects in common; focus on a place-based heritage, high-level content creation and high usage of old photos, which seems to be similar to cases described by other authors calling them nostalgic communities. They are marked by an extensive usage of old photos and thus are relying on their iconic potential. I indicate that digitized vintage photos in such communities represent from 86% to 100% of all community posts. Such communities are only exceptionally Facebook pages, which links to participatory open self-selection (Fung, 2006) or highly motivated individual(s) dedicated to creating content, as well as managing and building a nostalgia-driven community. Some of the administrators of such pages are proud to present themselves and their honest motives describing the importance of their mission, and speak with a friendly and genuine voice to the community. For example, the creator of 'Old Kaunas' says: tr. "Hello, I am Omantas, I want to introduce you to Old

Kaunas. It all started in 2013 when I was looking at my grandmother's old photo album. Analyzing the facial features of interesting people hidden in the album and the ever-changing areas of Kaunas, I was overwhelmed with nostalgia. Then I became more interested in the history of Kaunas, looking for various photos and accumulating a kind of public collection on my Facebook account. With warmest regards." ("Sveiki, aš esu Omantas, noriu Jus supažindinti su Senuoju Kaunu. Viskas prasidėjo 2013 metais, kai varčiau seną močiutės fotografijų albumą. Nagrinėdamas albume slypinčius įdomių žmonių veido bruožus bei vis sparčiau kintančias Kauno vietoves, mane pluste užplūdo nostalgija. Tuomet pradėjau labiau domėtis Kauno istorija, ieškoti įvairių nuotraukų ir kaupti savotišką viešą kolekciją Facebook paskyroje. Šilčiausi linkėjimai.").

Heritage focus is usually dedicated to displaying places and buildings, a variety of photos with photographed oldtowns, streets, landscapes, monumental and historic architecture, but also shops, restaurants, cafeterias and apartment buildings. However, in some cases community focus turns to people and their everyday lives, where the story of a place is told through the stories of people. Such different thematic angles can be well seen in the cover photos of different pages and can be associated with the representation of community identity (Image 2).

For example, the page 'Švenčionėliai in twists of history' is one such community, which to a lesser extent shows town fragments, but very often shares photos sent by local people telling their stories through episodic fragments of their lives caught on camera. We can see smiling families and happy children in the kindergarten, Christmas celebrations and weddings, builders constructing railways, teachers and officers at their workplaces and groups of soldiers getting ready for their mission. The following short description of the page emphasizes the importance of people in the history of the place: "This page is *dedicated to people[11]* who are not insensitive to the history of Švenčionėliai town and its surroundings. To get to know the country, to preserve the heritage, to nurture traditions." ("Tai puslapis *skirtas žmonėms[12]* neabėjingiems Švenčionėlių miesto ir jo apylinkių istorijai. Krašto pažinimui, paveldo išsaugojimui, tradicijų puoselėjimui."). In addition, the page provides a 345-word long description reflecting on its mission, rules and uses of the page's contents resembling an operational community archive where people are invited to share old memorabilia and stories.

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[11] Emphasis added
[12] Emphasis added
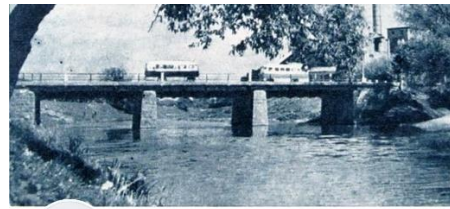
Image 2. Cover photos representing nostalgic place-based communities

Posts (photos) are sorted into albums and described with short semi-structured metadata (e. g. title, year, contributor), while community members supplement these photos with their voices, lively memories and emotional reactions (Image 3).

Photo description:
Carriers of the procession of Švenčionėliai church with the priest.
1960s.
LSAA

Facebook activity:
76 'like', 7 'love', 2 'care', 2 'comment', 9 'share'

Conversation:
User 1: Looks like I also recognized,User 2, you're are [like] your mom (emoticon: big slightly smiling face)
User 2 'care'
User 2: I see my mommy in the picture (emoticon: love)
User 3 'like' and User 4 'love'

Image 3. An old photo showing carriers of the procession of Švenčionėliai church with the priest in the 1960s from the 'Švenčionėliai in twists of history' Facebook page

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Place-based heritage representing one's relation to a place (usually hometown), and the emotional background it bears, can be seen as a driver for grassroots participation, and surely a huge incentive for many-to-many communication to happen. The value of such communities is created through the threads of communication, where community members share their views, opinions and emotional responses related to the past. Community members are keen to actively engage with posts through their comments and replies, thus co-creating context and relevance for the content. Such discussions, where community members reveal their views, create a multidimensional context around posts, which is a valuable source for social metadata. The latter is also of interest for memory institutions, which are keen to build participatory strategies and to learn how to best utilize their users' expertise that helps to enrich their descriptive metadata and improve their users' experiences (Smith-Yoshimura, 2011).

Another reason why nostalgic place-based grassroots communities appear on social networking sites is the lack of official settings where the memory of a place can be represented or revisited. Such is the case of the Facebook page 'Old Radviliškis and region' and one of the issues raised in community posts, that the town of Radviliškis does not have a museum. Therefore, the Facebook platform has been seen as a suitable digital space or perhaps has organically evolved into a digital museum. It simply starts with the sharing of old digitized photos, where the place mentioned in a page's title acts as affinity attracting other like-minded community members. In time, photos are supplemented with other information and other kinds of digitized material, basically anything old and ready to be digitized that people can find. In the case of the Radviliškis page, digitized flyers and booklets are made into archival "funds" and digital museum exhibits represent local history (Image 4).

The page is marked by a sense of community and a feeling that members are on an important mission acting in the name of memory and building pathways to the past, as said in one of the administrator's posts addressing the community: "2020 counts the last days and we see new ranks of followers! We already have 5300! Unreal! Thank you for being and supporting the page "Old Radviliškis and region"! This page works thanks to the memories and saved history of your homeland, families and loved ones. Let us not sink into oblivion the emotions, hopes and slightly smiling faces of our grandparents and parents that we once experienced." ("2020 metai skaičiuoja paskutines dienas, o mes matom naujas sekėjų gretas! Mūsų jau yra 5300! Nerealu! Ačiū, kad esate ir palaikote puslapį "Senasis Radviliškis ir

rajonas"! Šis puslapis veikia dėka jūsų gimto krašto, šeimų ir artimųjų prisiminimų ir išsaugotos istorijos. Neleiskime nugrimzti užmarštin kažkada išgyventoms mūsų senelių ir tėvų emocijoms, viltims ir jų šypsenoms.).

Photo description:
Starting from today, we are making another cycle of page publications - this could be an exhibit of the Radviliškis regional museum. The exhibits from the "home" funds will be placed and page visitors are invited to share their family history.

Facebook activity:
27 'like', 1 'care', 1 share, 0 comments

Image 4. A post of digitized flyers and booklets on the 'Old Radviliškis and region' Facebook page

Nostalgic communities operate on the same basic principles when creating their posts. They usually provide semi-structured metadata, such as a short title, year (if known) and a source (if applicable) to explain the photo that is shared. Usually, they avoid providing a personal point of view or interpretation thus leaving lots of place for community involvement as in this case the image itself together with its aesthetics and composition becomes the main "carrier" of the message. However, in some cases community members are presented with a short question, such as "How often you visited it? or ''Do you remember this?" stimulating emotional responses. It is no coincidence that every post ends up in a long thread of comments where people share their memories and emotional reactions about a place (Image 5). For example, a simple picture in the Facebook page 'Old Kaunas' representing a children's

cafeteria interior, which was probably used in a promotional brochure in the 1990s (Image 5), sparks a huge responsive reaction from the community. As the conversation evolves, commentators' views represent various associations embedded in their experiences and memories with mainly positive sentiments, such as "delicious desert", "nice to remember", "the most favorite cafeteria from my childhood", "beautiful stained glass", "it was a celebration", "extraordinary place". However, there is also one negative comment that tells a completely different story describing the cafeteria as "nothing special" and even terrible with "sausages, jelly and animation on TV" with "no normal tables, except in those 'houses'", finally concluding that "it was considered to be a miracle because we couldn't see Tom & Jerry on TV". In addition, other viewpoints of sad reactions and negative comments do not refer to the troubled past, but instead point to the present as being negative and less capable of creating nice places, as illustrated in this comment: "We often talk with such nostalgia about this children's cafe. Unfortunately, we will have nowhere to take grandchildren [now]. ("Dažnai kalbame su tokia nostalgija apie šią vaikų kavinę. Gaila, anūkų jau neturėsime kur vesti."). Many voices echo this feeling agreeing that there is "nothing similar, except McDonalds" or "pity and sad that they destroyed such beauty" or "I wish they created something similar now".

A spectrum of comments ranging from positive to negative reveal major contestations in public discourse related to the past. As discussed before, the majority of content in nostalgic (and overall) grassroots Lithuanian communities on Facebook represents the Soviet era, which could be perceived as the most contested time period in Lithuanian history. From the comments it seems that in some cases facts and past realities are overwhelmed by the feeling of nostalgia and tend to create a "stuck in the past" narrative because the past seems to be better than the present or the future. While on the other side stands those with "gloomy past" views. These opposing narratives constantly collide on social media if no middle-ground narrative appears in a discussion. A straightforward question, such as what keeps you or others from creating something beautiful in the present, remained rhetorical and was left hanging there unanswered.
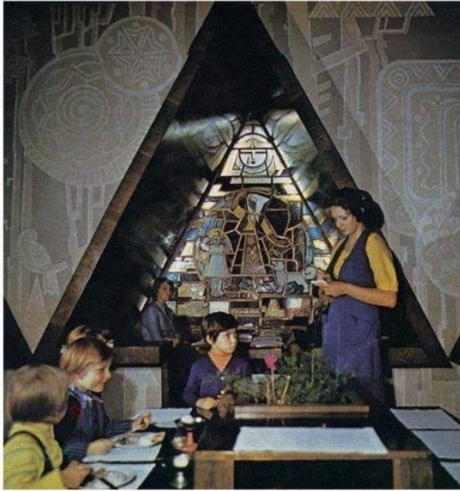
Photo description:
Here it was The Fairytale!
Year: 1986.
Author: unknown.
Do you remember?
-
You can share your photos by joining the group - https://bit.ly/SenasisKaunas

Facebook activity:
2100 'like', 470 'love', 42 'care', 2 'sad', 1 'wow', 286 shares, 338 comments

Image 5. A post of an old photo displaying the interior of children's cafeteria in 1986 from the 'Old Kaunas' Facebook page

A slightly different community management approach was observed in a Facebook page called 'Beloved Vilnius', where discussions are moderated by the administrator and texts are provided alongside the images and are considered to be equally important, representing the author's deeper knowledge about history shaped into a narrative (Image 6).

For this reason, the page stands out from all other nostalgic communities as it employs a certain level of "professional viewpoint". It is not accidental as this page is run by a cultural heritage professional, who also has a blog dedicated to Vilnius' history, where the Facebook page acts as a sidekick for the blog.

Photo description:
Vilnius railway station avenue of approach.
1915-1918 postcard
(ebay.com)

The photo was taken from Vilnius railway station. Looking straight ahead we see today's Station Street. At the time, it was called Ul. [ulica = street] Gościnna. The translation of the name of this street in 1936 found in the Lithuanian press is more beautiful than today – Guests' Street. I understand why. The guest of the city was greeted by a beautiful square decorated with an ornate lantern, and two 19th-century squares. Typical buildings in Vilnius framed the panorama of Guest Street moving away from the railway tracks. In the distance, the street, as it is today, branched into F. Chopin and Gardens' streets and led those who came to the city.

The robbers welcomed the guests who arrived with the evening train to the Guest Street. In XIX-XX c. press it was said that the only hope for the future victim was to hide in the darkest corner of the aisle hoping that the shadows creeping behind will go away. In a poorly lit street, thieves also saw poorly.

Walking on the grass of the square was also forbidden. Anyway, that was the hospitality of Guest Street.

Could I be wrong here?

Facebook activity:
148 'like', 9 'love', 5 'wow', 31 share,
34 comments

Image 6. A post of an old postcard displaying Vilnius train station in 1915-1918 on the 'Beloved Vilnius' Facebook page

Another important note I made about the 'Beloved Vilnius' page was that comments made by community members also reflected a certain level of professional knowledge about Vilnius' history. The discussion following the presented post example (Image 7) shows that more information about the area of the train station was gathered in a conversation in which the page administrator was actively involved and quick to correct inaccuracies made by commentators. The administrator also dealt with strong responses which led to conflicts, as illustrated by the fragment taken from the conversation below.

By looking more closely into the conversation we can see interesting patterns emerging in Facebook communication, which can be traced through careful documentation of social networking activities. In the fragment of conversation presented, we can see only 5 people (marked red) that are commenting in a discussion (Admin, User 1, User 2, User 10, User 12), but the actual number of participants is as high as 20, as some are reacting to comments by making themselves visible. Furthermore, we can see their reactions and which parts of the conversation they supported or not, and also how some reactions are related to comments that later were made. Basically, the core discussion is happening between two people – Admin and User 1, who shows huge interest in the subject and provides his own interpretation of past events, even though the details are not completely grounded by the facts. Another user (User 12) with an opposing view is quick to notice these inaccuracies, but he is not that quick to jump into the discussion, and instead he laughs at the first User 1 comment (Image 7) and then he laughs again at User 1's third comment when discussion unfolds. Actually, he is the only one providing the 'Haha' emoticon throughout the whole discussion. Finally, User 12 steps into the conversation and confronts User 1. At this point, Admin "cools down" the conversation by providing a more balanced and nuanced viewpoint of historic events that incorporates both opinions. That way, User 12 agrees with admin and doesn't follow-up on confrontation. Another two participants or commentators (User 10 and User 2) also contribute to the discussion, but to a minor extent. User 10 is the person who made a 'wow' emoticon after the first User 1 comment was made as perhaps the information was a surprise to him, so he got interested and stepped into the conversation by asking User 1 for more details. User 1 did not manage to reply as probably User 2, who followed carefully what User 1 said first and liked his comment, was faster to provide a knowledgeable answer. User 2 kept supporting the conversation by later providing a link to more information about events. User 10 keeps his interest into the overall discussion by continuedly providing 'wow' emoticons five more times.

Nuotraukoje iš šonų matomus pastatus nugriovė sovietų amunicijos ešelono sprogimas greitai po karo.

Skraidė katiušų sviediniai, sproginėjo, daugumos aplinkinių namų neliko. … See More

Like · Reply · 1y   11

^ Hide 17 Replies

o kodėl tas ešalonas sprogo?

Like · Reply · 1y

Berods stabdžiai. Kažką skaičiau apie tai. Nuo Lydos pusės įsibėgėjus, ten tokia biškį dar nuokalnė yra.

Like · Reply · 1y   2

Mylimas Vilnius · Author
išsamiai šios temos netyriau, bet šių pastatų ešalono sprogimas nesugriovė. Jie buvo nugriauti tiesiog rekonstruojant stoties aikštę, žinoma, netvarkant ir karo metu jiems padarytos žalos.
Taip tvirtinu todėl, kad sprogimas nesugriovė ir stot... See More

Like · Reply · 1y · Edited   2

Kad gi stoties pastatą ir sugriovė tas sprogimas.

Like · Reply · 1y

Mylimas Vilnius · Author
Vilniaus geležinkelio stotis 1948. Ešalono sprogimas įvyko 1945 m. sausio 12 d.

Like · Reply · 1y · Edited   7

Mylimas Vilnius geras, reiškia, kad jie šiaip sau griovė patys ką papuola.
Kiek kadaise teko kapstyti, tai labiausiai nukentėjo nuo tų sprogimų pastatai, buvę per 100-300 metrų nuo stoties. Priežastis tame, kad buvo ne paskiras vienas sprogimas, o sp... See More

Like · Reply · 1y   3

Čia truputį pagūglinau kirilica:
https://news.tut.by/society/537082.html

NEWS.TUT.BY
Засекреченная катастрофа. Как взрыв состава из Лиды в...

Like · Reply · 1y   7

gal apsieinam be frazių 'jie šiaip sau griovė patys ką papuola'? Netersiam grupės savo briedovom išvadom. Ačiū.

Like · Reply · 1y

Mylimas Vilnius · Author
svarbiausia išlaikyti abipusę pagarbą bendraujant.
Galbūt Ričardas ne visur teisas, bet pastaroji frazė nėra visiškai be pagrindo. Kiekviena valdžia siekė padaryti miestą geresniu, tačiau sovietinė tai darė mažiausiai atsižvelgdama į nusistovėj... See More

Like · Reply · 1y   3

User 1: The buildings seen in the photo were demolished by an explosion of Soviet ammunition echelon soon after the war. (…)

Users 2-9 'like', User 10 and User 11 'wow', User 12 'Haha'

User 10: @User 1 and why did that echelon explode?

User 2: It seems, the brakes. I read something about it. On the run from Lyda's side, there is a downhill slope there.

User 13 'like', User 10 'wow'

Admin: @User 1, I did not investigate this topic in detail, but the echelon explosion did not destroy these buildings. They were demolished simply by reconstructing the station square, without, of course, repairing the damage done to them during the war. I say so because the explosion did not destroy the station building either, let alone houses deeper in the city. That the echo explosion could have been chosen as one of the pretexts for the reconstruction of the station and its surroundings is entirely possible. But it was not the most important.

User 14 'like', User 10 'wow'

User 1: But the station building was destroyed by that explosion.

Admin: Vilnius railway station in 1948. The echelon explosion occurred in 1945. January 12 (posts photo of train station from 1948)

User 1, User 15-19 'like', User 10 'wow'

User 1: @Admin great, it means that they simply destroyed anything that popped up. As I read some time ago, the most affected by those explosions were buildings that were within 100-300 meters from the station. The reason was that there was not a single explosion, but an explosion that set fire to the catish missiles that spilled wherever they fell.

Admin 'like', User 10 'wow', User 12 'Haha'

User 2: I googled a little bit in Cyrillic: https://news.tut.by/society/537082.html (posts a link)

User 1, User 15, User 19-20 'like', User 10 'wow'

User 12: @User 1 maybe we can do without the phrases that 'they simply destroyed anything that popped up'? We do not trash the group with own false conclusions. Thank you.

User 14 'like'

Admin: @ User 4, the most important thing is to maintain mutual respect in communication. User 1 may not be right everywhere, but the latter phrase is not entirely unfounded. Every government sought to make the city better, but the Soviets did so without considering the city's established face. (…)

User 12, User 13 'like'

Image 7. A fragment of conversation following the post of Vilnius train station in 1915-1918 on the 'Beloved Vilnius' Facebook page

Such detailed documentation of conversational threads on Facebook is a worthy source of information that displays the complexity of conversations happening between people and historic topics. They are useful not just because they reveal public discourses and dominating narratives around cultural heritage, but they also show a great deal of interpretation made through social interactions and reveal a fluid process of cultural heritage meaning construction.

7.2. Genealogy enthusiasts and community-driven archival practices

The participatory sample of grassroots Facebook groups showcased a significant interest in genealogical research with enthusiasts forming participatory Facebook communities united by the common goal to discover their family history and who are actively engaged in sharing archival records and discussing their contents. A genealogy-driven interest that manifests in digital spaces, including social media, has been already emphasized by researchers (Terras, 2010; Silberman and Purser, 2012; Heimo, 2014). Furthermore, it was noted that such sites dedicated to family history and genealogical material are usually created by amateurs and heritage enthusiasts (Terras, 2010), so it is no accident that such a mode of participation came up as one of the most popular among Lithuanian grassroots communities on Facebook. Interest in genealogy relates to aspects of identity dependant on the depth of generational memory and driven by the need to extend the reach of family connections, in this case, with the help of digital technology serving as a facilitator of reconnection to history and collective memory (Silberman and Purser, 2012). Other authors call it an inevitable part of participatory history culture (Rosenzweig and Thelen, 1998) springing from a need to personalise and democratise history (Kramer, 2011; Heimo, 2014).

Furthermore, vast digitization has created lots of material for personal genealogical research making it quite a popular activity among people. But as more historic documents are digitized and made available online, it points to the emerging importance of grassroots activities in archival practice and a need for archives to become more participatory. The need to develop more participatory approaches in traditional archival practice has been already discussed throughout the research literature (McKemmish, 1996; Huvila, 2008; Labrador and Chilton, 2009; Flinn 2010; Garaba, 2012). By analysing social networking practices in Lithuania which represent genealogical focus and uses of archival material, I noted that there may be a lack of public-

orientated intellectual and technological services in the archives (digital and analogue), which could help users to better find, view or read archival material. Therefore, people's attention on social media can be understood as filling the gaps in professional support, services or the missing functions that institutions may be still failing to provide to their users. In the Facebook group 'I am interested in genealogy', from 40 posts that I analysed 33 of them represented issues or questions posted by users who were seeking help from other more experienced and knowledgeable community members. There were some common questions posted in a group, such as where could one find certain archival records or what was written in the archival record, which is not necessarily related to not knowing the language, but more often not being used to reading hand-writing or interpreting its meaning (Image 8).

Never such requests were left unanswered. Furthermore, members would provide slightly different interpretations and would engage in an active discussion about the meanings of linguistic expressions or translation nuances explaining their viewpoints and thus providing a multi-dimensional context for the record.
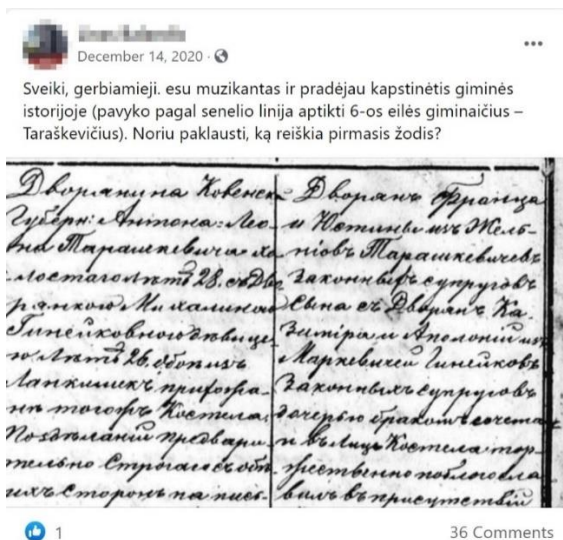
User posts a question:
Hello, dear ones. I am a musician and I started digging into the history of [my] family (I managed to find my 6th-degree relatives from my grandfather's line - Taraškevičiai). I want to ask, what does the first word mean?

Facebook activity:
1 'like', 0 shares, 36 comments

Image 8. An example of a typical question posted in the 'I'm interested in genealogy' Facebook group

In the provided example, the question presented above received several considerations whether the person mentioned should be perceived as a nobleman. As the first member posed a doubt in her reply (i. e. "Landlord

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from Kaunas province, etc. Perhaps a nobleman"), the second corrected by saying that he surely is a nobleman ("Not perhaps, but a nobleman" and "Taraszkiewicz is a noble family, there is nothing to doubt."). Another member questions such a claim, saying that "I would not be so assured. It could have been Jastrzębiec. It all depends on where these Taraškevičiai come from." After exchanging their opinions both finally agree that the matter needs to be further researched, preferably by a professional genealogist. The doubt of the first replier was also corrected by another expert opinion stating that "Дворянин is not a landowner (помещик), he is a nobleman" and the first replier thanked the person for their correction. When another member tried to doubt this claim again , saying that a nobleman (lt. *bajoras*) translated to Russian is *bojarin*, the latter replied with sarcasm: "Also tell me that "колдуны" are dumplings[13], and I will know for sure that you know Russian. Bojarinas - (rus. Боярин) – in XV-XVIII c. was the highest title of Russian civil servants awarded to people of the most noble families."

Other genealogical groups are similar, such as the one with a focus on a particular locality 'Genealogy of Northern Samogitia (Dounininkai Land)'. Questions and issues related to reading and understanding archival records were widely discussed by group members. In addition, users upload a lot of media (photographed and scanned documents, records, old family photos, and images of photographed gravestones) and files (books in pdf, excel sheets, MS Word notes) thus creating a valuable social archive and community of knowledge in the area of genealogy.

My sample was grouped under the thematic focus of genealogy, which consists of three Facebook groups (i. e. 'I am interested in genealogy', 'Genealogy of Northern Samogitia (Dounininkai Land)', and 'Genealogy Cooperative') representing the same thematic area. It is the most heterogenous if compared to other thematic samples in terms of other attributes (Table 8) indicating different uses of old digitized content, place-based heritage and the nature of content (i. e. shared vs posted). For example, the most contrasting group in the sample is 'Genealogy Cooperative', which is focused on content sharing and curation rather than creation like the other two groups, also it's far less focused on places or localities. Actually, this group operates through a slightly different mode of participation and it is focused on a community-driven archival practice seeking to overcome existing shortcomings by creating an index of archival records. Here, I distinguished the importance of

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[13] A linguistic joke as in Russian *колдуны* mean wizards, while the same sounding word in Lithuanian *koldūnai* means *dumplings*

crowdsourcing as a separate activity which could be done on a smaller or larger scale. Small-scale crowdsourcing occurs when a member asks for a community's help for personal (individual) purposes, e. g. to translate a sentence or word in an archival document or to identify a placename mentioned in an archival record. In other cases, crowdsourcing could be done on a larger scale as an intentional and facilitated activity, where a Facebook community is built to collaborate and pursue a particular endeavor (e. g. indexing, transcribing, interpreting archival records), such as the 'Genealogy Cooperative'. The contradiction between these slightly different modes of participation in the area of genealogy, where one community acts as a forum and a support group and another as a deliberate community practice and a crowdsourcing project, can be well illustrated by the following conversation between a member and group administrators that I stumbled upon in the 'Genealogy Cooperative' group (Image 9) showcasing obvious differences in their goals, such as "not to answer questions but to provide targeted information" as perceived by a moderator. The discussion shows a professional attitude towards indexing work emphasizing issues and complexities in digital archives systems, and collaborative efforts in searching for better solutions.

Indexing and transcribing of archival documents is an important task done by the community, where created Excel sheets are uploaded to the webpage for public use. A Facebook group serves as a community facilitator and communication platform helping to coordinate and discuss the work with community members. It also serves a particular purpose of filling the knowledge gap or providing crowd-based services, which are obviously lacking in archival practice. With the rise of digitization more information is put online, and more people are given access to various kinds of information. However, it seems that not all people are able to use this information properly, for example, not all are able to read old documents or know the language in which they are written. As databases run by institutions usually do not provide smart-services, users turn to virtual social networks to get help and support. The emergence of deliberate public crowdsourcing is a direct outcome of persistent shortcomings in the databases and digitized materials that are made available. For example, indexing of archival records by the public is done for the purpose of assisting users in finding information that they seek. Facebook in this case serves as a platform facilitating such efforts and building a community of interested users and collaborators.

Image 9. A post and a fragment of conversation between admins in the 'Genealogy Cooperative' Facebook group

7.3. Digital agoras for heritage collectors and hobbyists

Another popular category of cultural heritage representation circulating on Facebook is old collectable items, where the high popularity of such heritage represents the huge interest of grassroots communities to buy and sell old valuables, primarily focusing on their material features, usefulness, and market value. The collecting and trading of artifacts have been always important aspects in heritage, but not necessarily digital, practice (Brodie et al., 2006). In this case, digital venues, including social networking sites, help to facilitate various processes that to a broader extent represent activities happening in real life.

The vast majority of such communities on Facebook in my scoping study were identified by the keyword "antiquary" (antikvaras), which showcased a great public interest in old collectables. In my broader grassroots sample, I indicated many transactional communities marked by a high level of content creation, but most of the cases showed low levels of conversing. So, the difference here between numerous transaction communities and those that are part of the participatory sample is that the former serve as digital marketplaces, where people come to buy or sell old items, while participatory transaction communities are not just places acting as a market, but they operate as digital agoras or public spaces for assemblages of people, discussions, as well as transactions. Here, community members are interested not just in the price of these items, but also their histories (dating, material, where it came from, by whom it was used), retrieval, conservation and/or repair. Of course, in many cases this interest could be price-driven as this information helps to define the price, but the whole transaction resembles an organic process rather than a straightforward buy and sell activity as seen in an example of a discussion from the group 'ANCIENT tools, techniques and attributes' (Image 10).

Here, User 1 approaches community members having several questions about the items in his possession and, as he does not know the price, he is not here to sell them but to ask questions. As discussion evolves and more information about the items becomes known, offers from potential buyers start to appear. The end of the discussion suggests that User 1 after all is keen to sell the item (at least the smallest and the most valuable one) at the highest price possible following the suggestion of organizing an auction made by another community member. The conversation is marked by the use of informal language and some slang resembling "the bazaar" kind of talk (Image 10).

User 1 posts a message and uploads photos:
Hi, maybe someone has seen such ancient hand planes? One is made of bronze. Maybe someone knows anything about the production period, price, etc.? Thanks
Facebook activity:
3 'like', 0 shares, 13 comments

Conversation:
User 2: I have that smaller one, mine is Soviet. But I saw in the Depo store that is possible to buy. It is still in production. But iron. The fact that it is bronze, it could be pre-war.
User 1: Thanks for info
User 3: I am interested.
User 1: @User3 if you are interested, then name the price.
User 3: I'm too old to play hide and seek. The items are yours, I am just a buyer (potential).
User 4: It's probably pre-war and I would look for analogues in the British. Anyway, the blade presser often shows the manufacturer. I would suggest looking in google "spokeshave no. 80 (or whatever the no is) bronze antique" and I think it will throw out [the result] sooner or later
User 1 'like'
User 1: I tried to search on these pages. as well as ebay. So for bronze ones it threw out only 2 similar variants, all other were metallic
User 4: I would suggest slt [slightly] [photographed] in a better lighting to upload to some English-speaking "traditional handtool woodworking" groups. I know that the British really liked brass in tools, but it's hard to say. In the interwar countries, a large number of manufacturers made all kinds of fancy-schmancy tools.
User 1 'like'
User 5: I would shelter the smaller one
User 1: @User 5 I can't imagine the price
User 1: Many thanks everyone for provided info
User 6: Announce the auction if you don't know the price.
User 1: @User6 It will probably be necessary, because for the small one [someone] offered from 10 to 75 euros (emoticon: slightly smiling face)

Image 10. A conversation about old items in the 'ANCIENT tools, techniques and attributes' Facebook group

The group called 'radio technology and other soviet valuables' is of a similar sort, though the main difference is that it is exceptionally focused on technical Soviet-era devices (speakers, radios, TVs, cameras, etc.). Furthermore, apart from engaging in discussions of device values or functions, community members also more actively discuss issues of repair, where responses and the use of technical terms suggest that it's a community of hobbyist technicians.

Another participatory hobbyist community engaged in discovering old items represent metal detectorists gathered into a private Facebook group entitled 'Metal detector finds, equipment, buy-sell.' Even though the activity is very specific (i. e. metal detecting) and the focus of attention is different (i. e. finds in the ground), in many ways it resembles the other two transaction sites functioning as digital agoras. The similarity of these three communities has been also confirmed by the homogeneity of the sample (Table 8) characterized by their low interest in places (or rare place references in posts), no use of old digitized content and a high level of content creation. Metal detectorists usually post photos that represent their finds, as well as photos and videos displaying the process of detecting or cleaning and conservation. An aspect of transaction is also important to this community as it is mentioned in the title (i. e. buy-sell), but usually they trade metal detecting equipment and very rarely their finds. An additional observation about transactions among metal detectorists is that communities vary a lot in the number or type of transactions that appear. For example, all metal detecting communities have aspects of transaction, but one of them is more keen to sell or buy equipment, while others may be more focused on selling/buying finds. Overall, there is a lot of contradiction about the metal detecting activities and the legality of the hobby depending on the cultural heritage legislation in each country (Hardy, 2016; Makowska et al., 2016). At the same time, there is also a lot of discussion about the ethics of the hobby and how finds should be handled or recorded (Reeves 2015; Gundersen et al., 2016; Thomas 2016). The official norms and attitudes in the area of metal detecting vary greatly across Europe, while in Lithuania it somewhat resembles an activity which is in a "grey area". Officially, the use of metal detectors depends on the territory, where it is used and the purposes of such uses defined in the national legislation (Lietuvos Respublikos kilnojamųjų…, 1996). It is forbidden to use a metal detector in cultural heritage areas, unless for the purpose of archaeological or historic research, where good practice cases between hobbyist detectorists and researchers have been recorded (Naudojate metalo ieškiklį? Ieškodami…, 2020). The Association of Metal Detector Users in Lithuania represents a

network of people engaged in metal detecting as a professional or hobbyist activity, organizing meetings and events, which represent an active community of practice in real-life. Of course, it does not mean that some illegal activities or trade of valuable archaeological finds do not happen via Facebook as communities consist of not just members of the association, but also outliers, who may have different views and attitudes towards metal detecting. More broadly, it was noted that social media and other digital platforms support illicit transactions of cultural heritage finds and even human remains (Graham and Huffer, 2017; Huffer, 2019). But in the cases that I observed in Lithuanian grassroots communities on Facebook, especially those representing metal detectorists, I did not consider those social networking sites to be facilitators of "bad behavior". On the contrary, by exposing illegal activities, as well as showcasing "good behavior" and good practice examples, it represents metal detecting in a more positive light destigmatizing metal detecting communities and showcasing the rudiments of civic participation. For example, a member (User 1) in a group shares a post, which links to a video on a Youtube blog made by another metal detectorist (User 2) during metal detecting. By sharing this video, User 1 seems to be concerned and asks for community opinion saying: "What do you think, a search in Latvia, the finds seem old and worthy of museum. User 2, as I understand from his other videos, lives in Lithuania" (Ką manote, paieška Latvijoje, radiniai atrodo senoki verti muziejaus. Vartotojas 2, kaip suprantu iš kitų jo video gyvena Lietuvoje.) In the discussion that follows, community members identify a person, reveal an exact place in Lithuania where the video was filmed, and provide their observations about the finds and the cultural heritage sites that were presented. A lively discussion reveals different views and expressive emotional reactions from members of community, of whom many thought that such behaviour to be bad and/or shouldn't be tolerated. However, the discussion does not reveal if community members decided to take any action against the identified metal detectorist. There are other similar examples of posts that point to responsible communities of practice who are quick to reveal inappropriate behaviour, in ways such as sharing and discussing articles published in the mass-media about illegal metal detecting activities and damage done to cultural heritage sites. In all cases, such articles are greeted with resentful reactions from users emphasizing the community's standpoint on the issue. Similarly, in other cases, seeds of civic activism manifests in Facebook posts that showcase good practice in the field and boosts a community's interest, commitment and responsibility towards the occupation. For example, a metal detectorist shares a post representing his successful

cooperation with a national Cultural Heritage Department, saying: "So. We communicated with the CHD [Cultural Heritage Department]. The money was collected and registered. The existing museum exposition will be supplemented." ("Tai va.Pabendravom su KPD.Pinigėliai užpajamuoti,užregistruoti.Bus papildyta muziejaus esama ekspozicija."). However, some of the comments also reveal disappointment and a lack of trust in legal systems and in national institutions responsible for cultural heritage management.

The representation on Facebook of metal detecting may also give guidance on the scale of activity. For example, the largest metal detecting group has over 10 000 members who sometimes create up to 100 posts per day and enable discussions which have thousands of comments and replies. Additionally, I counted certain activities in a one-week period, where I noted 63 posts representing on-site activities and/or finds found in-situ, which means that at least 63 metal detecting expeditions took place in one summer week. I also identified 9 posts during the same week related to buying or selling metal detecting equipment, which shows that the activity is evolving and bringing new interested members. Based on these indications, I suspect that metal detecting in Lithuania happens on a larger scale. Even though such an interpretation of indicators is based only on my assumptions, they can be used in developing models aimed at assessing the scale of amateur and professional activity and its possible impact in the area of cultural heritage based solely on Facebook data.

7.4. Forums for history curators and narrators

Historic heritage covers a wide range of subjects and time dimensions, both making history gripping and easily relatable to any other cultural heritage interests. Communities of history curators and narrators are interested in discovering history and spreading information about it by linking into reliable sources of historic information, such as mass media, news portals, websites and the Facebook pages of memory institutions, profiles of public figures and historians, and history-related blogs. A presented narrative of historic information, supplemented with the opinion or historic knowledge of a content curator, is a good kick-starter for discussion. Some posts also point to a real-life activity that members are engaged in, such as the most popular which is organizing group trips to visit heritage sites, and consequently sharing photos and videos as impressions from such visits. These communities, such as the 'Lithuanian History Seekers Club' and the 'Zanavykija History Seekers Club'

are characterized by their hybrid historic interests in terms of topics and low level of content creation, instead, acting as content curators and sharing information through links. In some cases, a variety of historic themes are discussed in the context of a particular place, such as the history of the Zanavykija region. Digitized material and old photos are also shared but they are not the focus of attention as in nostalgic communities. Here, we more often can find text-based information (articles, blog posts, opinions) narrating national history and telling a story about objects, events, places or people from the past from a Lithuanian perspective (Image 11).

On December 13, then there was the year 1577 AD, the legendary sailor Francis Drake sailed with his ships from Plymouth on a famous voyage around the world. It was the second time (at least known) when this was done. Clearly, this was not a tourist or sightseeing trip. During it, Drake did not study flora or fauna, nor was he interested in the customs of the nations he met. Much more interesting to him were the wealthy Spanish ships. He attacked them and he succeeded. In June 1580, he returned to Plymouth. Queen Elizabeth was entitled to half his cargo. And that value surpassed the crown's revenue that year from other sources. But Lithuanians – are not English, we have not become a maritime state, but that does not mean that we did not have brave people at sea. We need to teleport to the 18th century, when Austria, Prussia and Russia were sharing the state of Poland and Lithuania. The country's patriots, led by Tadas Kosciuska, did not want to come to terms with that and rose up to fight for their homeland. Among them was the farmer Lukošius Kalinauskas.

On May 25, 1794, an incredible thing happened. One Prussian ship with 7 crews from Curonia tried to descend through Palanga. He disobeyed the rebels' demand to stop. The captain even threatened to fire from the cannon. Then Kalinauskas dived into the sea, sailed to the ship, boarded and forced the astonished captain to surrender. This march resounded throughout Lithuania and Poland at that time. The most interesting thing is that the same

Kalinauskas tried to repeat his deed later – to take a Russian ship into captivity in the same way. This time, however, he was not properly supported by one's owns. And he fell fell himself into captivity, but soon he managed to escape.

The top government awarded him the rank of the officer. This is how one of the officers of that time wrote about the farmer Lukošius Kalinauskas. "When we dressed him in a uniform for the first time and took him into our company, it seemed from his behaviour that he was born with that uniform. He has not changed in any way, and he was not shy as if he had been involved in such matters since childhood."

Facebook activity:
27 'like', 1 'love', 1 share, 0 comments

Image 11. Post representing text-based information and national narratives in the 'Lithuanian History Seekers Club' Facebook group

Interestingly, any international subjects in these stories tend to blend with a national theme, like in the post example provided below (Image 11) "nationalising" the narrative in a certain way, e. g. "(…) Queen Elizabeth was entitled to half his cargo. And that value surpassed the crown's revenue that year from other sources. *But Lithuanians – are not English, we have not become a maritime state, but that does not mean that we did not have brave people at sea[14]*. We need to teleport to the 18th century, when Austria, Prussia and Russia were sharing the state of Poland and Lithuania. (…)".

Communities of history narrators do not avoid confrontations and discussions between members having opposing views, which is not that uncommon, but they are usually caused by "flamethrowers" or members that are keen to spark such discussions (not sure if intentionally or not). In my sample of 40 posts, I observed two such discussions appearing in the 'Lithuanian History Seekers Club' and both of them can be treated as political subjects that concern minorities (Polish and Jewish). For example, it seems that in the case of Poles, User 1 deliberately posts a political and contested historical question to community members: "Did the Poles ever tried to apologize for Zeligowski,for Vilnius,or did it never happened and never will

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[14] Emphasis added

be?" (Ar nebandė lenkai kada nors atsiprašyti dė Zeligovskio,dėl Vilniaus,ar taip nebuvo ir nebus niekada?). The response to this question received a strong reaction with 31 comments and 3 shares, as well as 23 emoticons showing 17 users posting 'like', 4 'Haha', 1 'love' and 1 'wow'. By grouping responses into certain narrative-related categories, I distinguished several types of opinion in this Facebook conversation forming two prevalent and completely opposing opinions, that is "Poles are bad" vs "Lithuanians are to blame", neither of them being true. In the first, the Polish government are referred to as "half-wits", i. e. "Therefore, those half-wits Poles and etc. are plenty in Polish government - just remember "the Polish card" (Užtat tų lenkų „pospročių" ir t.t. yra pilna Lenkijos valdžia - tereikia prisiminti „Lenko kortelę".), while other users don't hesitate to post hateful epithets, like "Poles are predators of foreign land and non-friends of Lithuanians" (Lenkai yra svetimu žemiu grobikai ir lietuviu nedraugai), "Kurwa Poles" ("Kurwos lenkai") or one user posting a gif with a cat, who just pooped. Similarly, on the other side stand "Lithuanian blamers" implicitly calling them a nation of cowards, e. g. "the fact that Lithuania itself signed an agreement on "peace and friendship " in 1993, [they] did not even dare to write or mention in the Treaty ..." (tai kad pati Lietuva kai pasirasinejo 1993 metu "taikos ir draugystes" sutarti, net nedriso niekur irasyti ar pamineti Sutartyje..."), as well as "fools", e. g. "these are Lithuanians that are dumb because they allow to be made fools" (tai lietuviai durni, kad leidžiasi mulkinami") or "not as [self-orientated as] Poles", e. g. "If we were like Poles, the streets would have been named after the mayor. The name of the commander of the Marijampolė infantry division would also have been commemorated. You are to blame." (Jei mes būtume, kaip lenkai, tai burmistro pavarde jau būtų pavadintos gatvės. Marijampolės pėstininkų divizijos vado pavardė irgi jau būtų įamžinta. Patys kalti.). For some reason, other narrators are keen to make an association with other minorities, such as Jews, again only implicitly referring to them as somewhat of a "fraud nation", e. g. "The Poles, well you asked, they are like Jews, we apologized, but not like that...." (Lenkai,nu tu ir paklausei, jie kaip žydai ,atsiprašėm, bet ne taip....) or "We are not Israel.that everyone started get on their knees and say sorry and pay" (Mes gi ne Izraelis.kad visi pultu mum ant keliu atsiprasineti ir moketi). In such an emotional and even offensive discussion a professional historic view and a voice of reason is much needed. Gladly, such voices exist in these communities presenting well-grounded and temperate opinions: "In any case, there are no real culprits among the living. Also, I saw many comments made by Poles that their compatriots should not have occupied Vilnius, so they apologize for that. Not

everyone is the same, although ordinary people hardly have anything to do with this. (…) So it seems to me that Lithuanians are more anti-Polish, some even do not even realize why Lithuanians treat them coldly." (Bet kuriuo atveju, tikrųjų kaltininkų tarp gyvūjų nėra. O šiaip teko matyti ne vieną lenkų komentarą, kad nederėjo jų tautiečiams okupuoti Vilniaus, tad atsiprašo už tai. Ne visi vienodi yra, nors paprasti žmonės vargiai kuo dėti. (…) Tad man atrodo, jog lietuviai daugiau nusistatę prieš lenkus, kai kai kurie nė nesupranta, kodėl lietuviai šaltai su jais elgiasi.). Other users add to this by remembering the official opinions of well-known Polish historians, such as "Jerzy Ochmanski (a famous historian) regrets this. Wrote on this topic in his "Historia Litwy". Even more notable prof. Juliusz Bardach also felt sorry - I remember his speech at VU [Vilnius University] about 25 years ago." (Jerzy Ochmanski (garsus istorikas) yra dėl to apgailestavęs. Rašė šia tema savo "Historia Litwy". Dar žymesnis prof. Juliusz Bardach taip pat neigiamai vertino - atsimenu jo pasisakymą VU prieš kokius 25 m.), while others reminded of a certain past events and documents that already ensured the peace between the two nations, like the declaration of Lithuanian independence and other initiatives, e. g. "Juozas Dowiatt-Antanaitis 2008 was, as far as I remember, even signed as a friendship agreement between Poland and Lithuania" (Juozas Dowiatt-Antanaitis 2008 buvo kiek atsimenu net pasirašyta tokia kaip draugystė sutartis tarp Lenkijos ir Lietuvos). Such uses of cultural heritage objects and themes to construct political discourses have been observed in other social networking sites as well, especially on Twitter, which, by exposing private debates to the public and by fostering asynchronous and asymmetrical conversations, create places for dissonance and antagonistic public discourses (Farell-Banks, 2019). Similarly, some Lithuanian grassroots Facebook groups serve as new arenas for emerging memorial debates and interpretation of political history.

In this sense, another group of history narrators and curators dedicated to the Zanavykija region is not in the attention of politically motivated individuals. Most likely this is because of its local, rather than national historic focus and much lower public exposure. This community consists of over 2000 followers, while the previous has over 20 000 members. Instead, alongside sharing various pieces of related history information, it also talks about current events, such as published historical books about the region, organized local museum exhibitions, reconstruction of local cultural heritage buildings and monuments, cemetery digitization initiatives and it promotes educational quizzes about famous local people, thus building a community interested in local memory (Image 12).

The left side shows a Facebook post screenshot with the following content:

November 13, 2020

Kitoje puseje nuotraukos yra uzrasas "1944m Ukininkai, kuriems vokieciai grazino nuosavybes teises"
Gal kas pazystat esancius ukininkus?
Griskabudis

34   8 Comments 6 Shares

Like   Share

Viduryje sėdinti moteris yra lyg panaši į mano giminaitę,bet reikėtų pasitikslinti.
Like · Share · 19w

Du sėdintys ūkininkai: Šrimaitis Antanas iš Šukėtų; kitas - Kuras Petras iš Katilių km. Abu šie ūkininkai yra mano vyro seneliai. Tokią pat nuotrauką mes turim. Dar šioje nuotraukoje, antroje eilėje, stovi mokytojas Pėstininkas, vardo nežinom.
Like · Share · 19w

gal galite patikslinti kurie yra Jūsų minimi žmonės?
Like · Share · 19w

Sėdintis pirmas iš dešinės - Kuras Petras, iš dešinės sėdintis penktas - Štrimaitis Antanas. Stovintis pirmoje eilėje iš kairės šeštas - mokytojas Pėstininkas.
Like · Share · 19w

ačiū, paskutinėje eilėje centre su skrybėle, manom, yra Jurgis Šulskis iš Katilių.
Like · Share · 19w

Gal tas pats mokytojas? https://www.metrikai.lt/index.php
Like · Share · 18w

tiksliai atsakyti negaliu. Dalinuosi Aldonos Štrimaitytės-Kurienės prisiminimų detalėmis. Patikslinti informacijos jau nėra galimybės. Tiek tik ir galiu parašyti.
Like · Share · 18w

!
Like · Share · 15w

User 1 posts a question and uploads a photo:
On the other side of the photo is the inscription "1944 Farmers to whom the Germans revoked property rights"
Maybe someone knows the farmers who are there?
Griskabudis
Facebook activity:
33 'like', 1 'angry', 6 shares, 8 comments

Conversation:
User 2: The woman in the middle is exactly like my cousin, but needs to be clarified.
User 3: Two seated farmers: Šrimaitis Antanas from Šukėtai; next – Kuras Petras from Katiliai vl. Both of these farmers are my husband's grandparents. We have the same photo. Still in this photo, in the second row, stands teacher Pėstininkas, the name is unknown.
User 4-6 'like', User 1 'love'
User 7: @Use could you specify who are the people You are referring to?
User 3: Sitting first from the right is Kuras Petras, sitting fifth from the right is Štrimaitis Antanas. Standing in the first row from the left sixth - teacher Pėstininkas.
User 7 'like'
User 7: @User 3 thanks, in the last row in the center with a hat, I think, is Jurgis Šulskis from Katiliai.
User 3 'like'
User 7: @User3 maybe the same teacher?
https://www.metrikai.lt/index.php
User 1 'like'
User 3: @User 7, I can't answer exactly. I share the details of Aldona Štrimaitytė-Kurienė's memories. It is no longer possible to check the information. That's all I can write.
User 7 'like'
User 1: !

Image 12. A conversation about old items in the 'Zanavykija History Seekers Club' Facebook group

In this way, the community maintains knowledge about the history of a region and are ready to act as local experts by answering specific questions and concerns and being active keepers of collective memory. For example, User 1 approaches the community with a photo asking to identify local people and receives a reply that sheds light about the people portrayed in the historic photo. It leaves User 1 startled and speechless ending the conversation with an exclamation mark (Image 12).

7.5. Online memorials and commemorative communities

I indicate a certain type of participatory heritage communities dedicated to the commemoration of niche and contested historic subjects, such as Lithuanian partisans, driven by the need to communicate war or traumatic historic events and usually to honour those that had fallen. In the Lithuanian case of participatory communities, the most active community of commemoration is one dedicated to Lithuanian resistance movements against the Soviet Union between 1944-1952 (Lithuanian partisans). There are other less engaged groups in terms of participation dedicated to other areas of memorial heritage, usually the memory of war, as well as the crimes of war (holocaust and deported people), or earlier movements against Russian governance (uprisings in 19th c.), or special initiatives, such as the commemoration of the Baltic Way in 1989.

The public attempts to commemorate history tend to interplay with new forms of meaning in war memorials that are "influenced by reinterpretations of political history that enhance, contradict, or deemphasize the status of past wars" (Mayo, 1988). Memorials are also highly related to heritage's social value referring to contemporary perceptions held by current communities allowing for the expression of the changing, ambivalent or contested meanings attached to memorials (Murray, 2008). As noted in the case study of Youtube representations of fallen Danish soldiers in Afghanistan and Iraq in 2003 and 2007, such online places of communal grief attempt to construct the soldiers as national heroes. However, this image is repeatedly disputed and opposed by people making comments, therefore, it establishes a new type of commemorative practice, which, unlike the traditional war monuments of the nation-state, is marked by explicit differences of opinion concerning the status and legitimacy of the war. This leads to the transforming of the arena of commemoration into a political space of democratic struggle (Knudsen and Carsten, 2013). More generally, online commemoration is driven by the growing need to act individually and on a personal level instead

of taking part in organisationally or institutionally organised acts of memorialisation (Heimo, 2014). It is also related to the retrospective commemoration of painful events and deaths, which were not given proper attention in the past (Ashton et al., 2012). For this purpose, social media is used extensively to draw likeminded people and to offer a place of comfort in trauma, crisis, grief and mourning (Sturken, 2007) and a chance to provide initial impressions and testimonies transforming into online archives. It also allows the means to create a multivocal dialog, which is difficult to achieve in conventional museum exhibitions or at memorials (Arthur, 2009).

The commemoration group, the 'History of Lithuanian partisans.', was established in 2011 and it is one of the two earliest grassroots groups dedicated to partisans that were created on Facebook with an aim to commemorate significant state events related to partisans and their personalities. Here, at the centre of attention, is content representing people, i. e. partisan heroes and villagers as victims of the regime, whose roles interconnect with historic tragic events (battles) and monuments or symbols of memorization. In terms of the Facebook activity and the nature of information objects, the group operates similarly to those of history narrators and is mainly involved in content curation and the sharing of links with an average focus on old photos and relations to place-based heritage. Instead the group can be seen to be focusing on the stories of people and their biographies. The group description makes a short introduction to the history of partisans supported by historic facts and numbers of how many died during the resistance. It also provides strict rules describing content uses and behaviour. The formal tone of the description and identification of group administrators naming them "citizens of Lithuanian Republic", i. e. "Currently, this group, in addition to its founder, is administered by the following citizens of the Republic of Lithuania" (Šiuo metu šią grupę, be jos įkūrėjo, administruoja šie Lietuvos Respublikos piliečiai), and is reminiscent of a description of a citizen movement rather than a memory-related social networking group. Overall selection and sharing of content related to partisans is a meaningful activity as it narrates partisan history by enlightening members about the subject and communicating it to people in a certain way. But even though the group represents a grassroots community, the voice of national authoritative discourse deriving from official memory institutions' settings is heard here, because it serves as a source of information for the group's content. For example, 5 shared posts link us to information in an established digital partisan archive (2) and cultural news' portals (3), while 15 from 18 shared posts coming from other Facebook sources belong to institutionalized settings or

collectivises dedicated to partisans, such as museums, archives, national television, research centres and non-profit organizations (remaining 3 ones linked to other grassroots communities). Links from Youtube direct us to an educational movie prepared by school pupils and an interview with the Chairman of the Memorial and Freedom Fight Commission discussing the history of partisans. In addition, we also can listen to partisan songs infusing emotional reactions about the history of partisans. Information that was shared from 4 Facebook profiles displays people who represent expert opinions in the public discourse of Lithuanian partisan history, these are a historian and a public figure, a politician, a researcher of cultural memory and a daughter of partisan. We can even see and hear her old father telling us his story in videos uploaded onto the Facebook group representing painful memories of the past that are still alive. The same live memories (told or experienced) appear in numerous users' comments describing episodes from tragic past events, e. g. "My uncle, partisan Juozas Volungevičius from Perloja, was killed in this battle." (Šitame mūšyje žuvo mano dėdė, partizanas Juozas Volungevičius iš Perlojos.), "My father's uncle Rokas Bingelis-Vaidevutis was later arrested, interrogated and shot in Vilnius" (Mano tėvo dėdė Rokas Bingelis- Vaidevutis vėliau suimtas, tardytas ir sušaudytas Vilniuje), "Everything about my grandfather's brothers Balčiūnai is not described correctly here .... it is a pity ... judging by everything, the facts about partisans are not completely correct .... probably only the real TRUTH is known to the partisans themselves ... (…) (Apie mano deduko brolius Balčiūnus cia nevisiskai viskas teisingai aprasyta....gaila...sprendziant is visko faktai apie partizanus nevisiskai buna teisingi....turbut tikraja TIESA zino tik patys zuve partizanai (…)), and also thanks from offsprings of historic personas: "(…) thank you very much for a detailed description of Kazimieraitis' life with photos.I am the granddaughter of Kazimieraitis,so I am extremely grateful to You,because you make it public for others." ((…) ačiū Jums labai už išsamią Kazimieraičio gyvenimo apybraižą su nuotraukomis.Esu Kazimieraičio vaikaitė,tai esu Jums nepaprastai dėkinga,kad kitiems viešinate.).

    The importance to document and share these memories is also driven by the need to safeguard the collective memory which in some cases is already fading: "A. Garolis' sister, Marytė Garolytė - was in Inta's camp, with my mother, in the same cell. With them, there was, older than them - Petronėlė Mažylytė, Liudas Mažylis' aunt. And , together - col. [colonel] L. Butkevičius' daughter - Gražina. I knew them all and admired them... M. Garolytė – left us, more than 13 years ago. My Mom- left before three ...." (A. Garolio sesuo , Marytė Garolytė - sėdėjo Intos lageryje, su mano mama, vienoje kameroje. Su

jomis, sėdėjo, vyresnė už jas - Petronėlė Mažylytė, Liudo Mažylio teta. Ir , kartu - pulk. L. Butkevičiaus dukra - Gražina. Visas jas - pažinojau ir žavėjausi...M. Garolytė - anapilin iškeliavo, daugiau, nei prieš 13 metų. Mano Mama- prieš tris....)

Some memories bear an aura of admiration and glorification of partisans describing them as "tall and beautiful" like in the following comment: "My aunt told me how partisans came to them at night, to warm up, to eat .... so she said [they were] beautiful, tall men with officer uniforms ....." (Mano teta pasakodavo , kaip naktį pas juos užeidavo partizanai , sušilti , pavalgyti ....tai sakydavo gražūs , aukštį vyrai su karininku uniformomis .....).

Numerous positive and even symbolic epithets are used, describing them as "heroes" (didvyriai) of Lithuania or of the nation, "defenders [diminutive] of Homeland Freedom" (Tėvynės Laisvės gynyjėliai), "sons of the Nation" (Tautos sūnūs), "soldiers of Lithuania" (Lietuvos kariai), "brave sons and daughters of Lithuania" (drąsuoliai Lietuvos sūnūs ir dukterys), "loyal sons of the Homeland" (Tėvynės ištikimi sūneliai), "brave ones" (drąsuoliai), "dignified and honourable" (kilnus ir garbingas), "great ones" (šaunuoliai), "bright ones" (šviesūs), "wonderful and holy" (nuostabus ir šventas), "brothers partisans" (broliai partizanai), "our oaks,oaks" [diminutive] (Mūsų ąžuolai,ąžuolėliai) and "Homeland's falcons" (Tėvynės sakalai).

Overall, the voices of community members sound in complete agreement when reacting to post messages (Image 13) echoing a sacred image of Lithuanian partisans.

User 1 shared a post.
December 10, 2020

Lietuvos Gyventojų Genocido ir Rezistencijos tyrimo centras
December 10, 2020

#Atmintinosdatos

Prieš 110 metų, 1910 m. gruodžio 10 d., Marijampolės aps. Raudenio vls. Pakirsnių k. gimė Tauro apygardos Perkūno rinktinės vadas Vaclovas Navickas-Rytas (žuvo 1946 m. spalio 28 d. Lazdijų aps. Rudaminos vls. Paliūnų k.).

Daugiau:
http://genocid.lt/.../Atm.../2020/20201210_navickas_biog.pdf

157   6 Comments 7 Shares

Like   Comment   Share

Garbė Lietuvos didvyriui!
Like · Reply · Share · 15w   7

AMŽINA ŠLOVĖ LIETUVOS SŪNUI!!!
Like · Reply · Share · 15w   5

Jų pralietas kraujas amžiams ragina kovoti už laisvę
Like · Reply · Share · 15w   4

Garbė per amžius tau, DIDVYRI, mirtimi laisvę atpirkai.
Like · Reply · Share · 15w   7

Pagarba Lietuvos patriotui.
Like · Reply · Share · 15w   2

AMŽINA GARBĖ DIDVYRIUI!!!
Like · Reply · Share · 15w   3

User 1 shares a post from Facebook page 'Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania':
#Memory dates
110 years ago, in 1910 December 10, Marijampolė dist. Raudenio cty. Pakirsniai vil. Vaclovas Navickas-Rytas, the leader of the Tauras district Perkūnas team, was born (died in 1946 October 28, 1946 in Lazdijai dist. Rudamina cty. Paliūnai vil.).
More information:
http://genocid.lt/.../Atm.../2020/20201210_navickas_biog.pdf

Facebook activity:
117 'like', 23 'sad', 13 'love', 4 'care', 7 shares, 6 comments

Conversation:
User 2: Honor to Lithuanian hero! (emoticon: LT flag)
User 3-9 'like'
User 10: EVERLASTING GLORY TO THE SON OF LITHUANIA!!! (emoticons: 3 LT flags)
User 4, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12 'like'
User 13: Their shed blood forever calls to fight for freedom
User 4, 6, 8, 14 'like'
User 15: Everlasting honour to you, HERO, repaying freedom with [your] death.
User 4, 6, 8, 16, User 19 'like'
User 19: Respect to the patriot of Lithuania.
*User 6, 7 'like'*
User 20: HONOR FOREVER TO THE HERO!!!
User 6, 7 'like', User 21 'love'

Image 13. A typical example of a post and a conversation honouring Lithuanian partisans in the 'History of Lithuanian partisans.' Facebook group

The image of the heroes is in the centre of a communicative message in the partisans' legacy as I observed in social networking conversations. In addition, community members' messages are accompanied by extensive user of expressive and powerful emoticons representing symbols of national identity and glorification of heroes building a digital memorial to Lithuanian heroes of the past (Image 14).
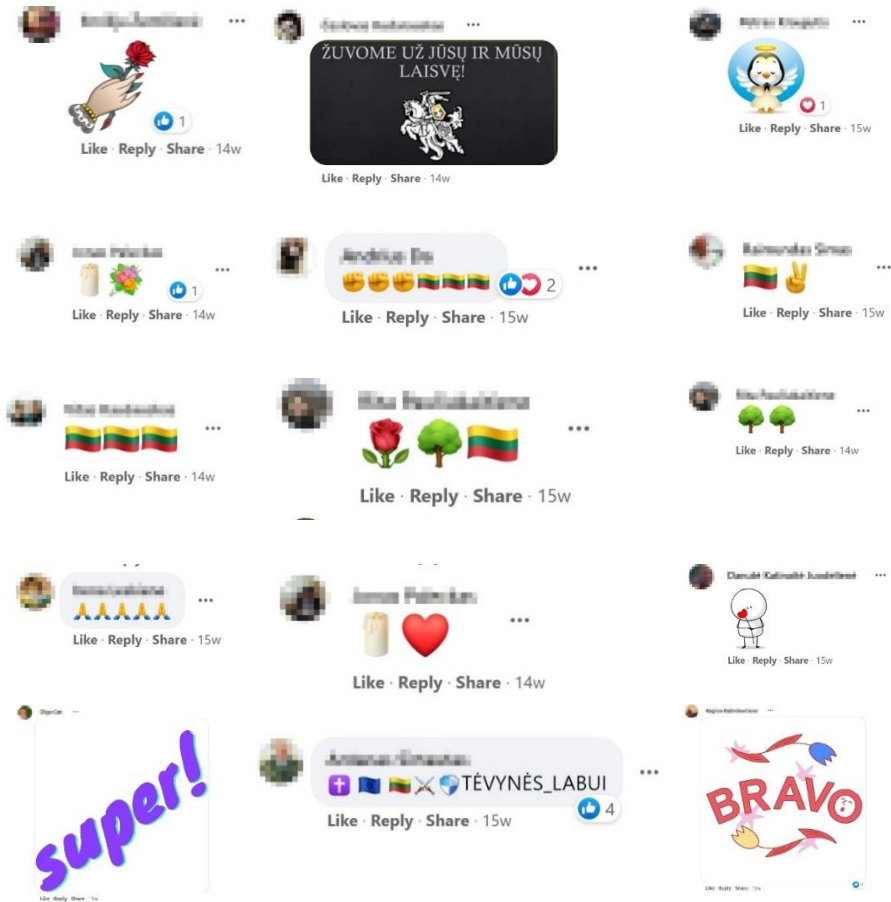
Image 14. The use of symbols and emoticons to honour Lithuanian partisan in the 'History of Lithuanian partisans.' Facebook group

The Lithuanian partisan case confirms that Facebook can be an important platform for online dissemination and transmission of memorial heritage, and a place to commemorate trauma. On the contrary to the controversial case of the commemoration of Danish soldiers on Youtube (Knudsen and Carsten, 2013) recorded in the research literature, the

Lithuanian partisan group is reminiscent of "a church" echoing prayers and glorifying voices dedicated to eternalizing the memory of Lithuanian partisans, almost in a sacred sense. However, it does not mean that controversial opinions do not exist as I noted one such case in a group posts sample. A message was posted by one of the community members sharing a print-screened comment and seeking for a community opinion how to deal with such "terrible illiteracy" (baisus neraštingumas) and "finger-broken "facts'" [=false facts] (iš piršto laužti "faktai"). Indeed, the referenced comment was full of mistakes, misspelled words, strangely formulated sentences and mixed-up facts. Other users described the comment and the commenter as "he is thinking in Russian, but trying to write in Lithuanian" ("jis galvoja rusiškai, o bando rašyti lietuviškai") and "nation's damaged gene pool" (tautos genofondas pagadintas), while a third referred to him as simply "garbage" (šiukšlės). On this issue, community members agreed to ban users like this, to remove such comments from the Facebook group and to report them as inappropriate. As overall the group is absent of political discussions or confrontations, it could mean that a stricter group administration is being employed, where many similar comments are deleted and users with controversial views are banned.

On the other hand, as posts messages and community reactions are in-line with each other, it is more likely that the commemorative discourse displaying partisans as heroes, with the participation of professional historians, active citizens and descendants of partisans, became a dominant and well-established narrative showcasing the national commemorative unity on the topic of partisans in this Facebook group.

7.6. Crafters and keepers of live traditions revealing family treasures and forgotten stories

A unique grassroots initiative in the participatory sample was a Facebook group named 'Grandmothers' ornaments'. The group is dedicated to promoting traditional crafts and folk-art and involved in sharing information about ethnocultural and intangible heritage, as well as exhibiting photos of old crafted materials, such as woven blankets and ribbons, tablecloths, napkins, decorative wall hangings, bed coverings, etc. acquired from their mothers and grandmothers. The community represents professional and hobbyist practitioners of crafts (crafters), active nurturers of customs and traditions as part of intangible cultural heritage (weaving, crocheting, embroidery, etc.), Lithuanian folk-art lovers and enthusiasts, and promoters of ethnocultural

heritage. In a broader context, crafts and crafting has attracted growing attention marked by the cultivation of skills and engagement of communities that emerges into forms such as 'craftism', where craft combines with social media tools (wikis, Youtube) and activism (Greer, 2008; Stuedahl and Mörtberg, 2012). More recent attention also has been given to the individual skills of craft practices and the understanding of making or the relations between personal value, as well as the hand and the mind of the crafter (Sennett, 2008; Niedderer and Townsend, 2010), which induces the growing involvement of grassroots, enthusiasts and minority communities (Stuedahl and Mörtberg, 2012). More recently, it was also noted that museums and galleries, which historically have been hostile environments for the display of crafts, in the past decade (and the past few years in particular) have seen a dramatic increase in such exhibitions. Textile techniques such as knitting, crochet, and sewing have been also experiencing a dramatic resurgence with crafts becoming "the new cool" (Robertson and Vinebaum, 2016).

The Facebook group 'Grandmothers' ornaments' probably represents this trend as the group is relatively new, established in 2018, but already has over 7000 followers (in 2020). The group consists of content creators and curators representing a balanced distribution between created (posted) and shared content with very little interest in digitized heritage content or place-based heritage. It rather focuses on people by promoting their work through posted photos of old crafted materials and by educating about ethnocultural heritage through shared information about workshops, published books, organized exhibitions and videos displaying aspects of intangible heritage and keepers of live traditions.

The most distinctive thread in the 'Grandmothers' ornaments' group, constituting about ¼ of group contents, represents photos posted by community members exhibiting old woven blankets, tablecloths, napkins, decorative wall hangings and bed coverings acquired from their family members (usually mothers or grandmothers) or other relatives (Image 15).

The focus on material objects and the posting of photos to showcase the item to some extent resembles collectors' communities, such as those of metal detectorists and antiquary sellers. However, in the 'Grandmothers' ornaments' Facebook group transactions involving old items or their financial value have never been discussed. It is important to note that crafting enthusiasts are engaged in various crafting activities which are not necessarily part of heritage practices, but rather hobbyist and professional occupations, which draws inspiration from old heritage objects, so transactions are sometimes discussed but only in relation to newly crafted items.

As for the old items, community members consider them to be representations of important ethnocultural heritage that should be treated with respect. For example, as said by one of the commenters: "I also protect the handicrafts inherited from my mother and grandmother and grandmother. But when the Kaunas City Museum asked me to organize their exhibition, I was pleasantly surprised with how respectful the museologists touch them, not with their fingers, but only with white gloves on." (Aš irgi saugau iš mamos ir močiutės ir promočiutės paveldėtus rankdarbėlius. Bet kai Kauno miesto muziejus paprašė surenkti jų parodą aš buvau maloniai nustebinta su kokia pagarba muziejininkai prie jų liečiasi, pirštais ne, o tik užsidėję baltom pirštinaitėm.). The collection and exhibition of these items on Facebook is an act of "heritization" because it seems that some of the items were not even considered to be precious until they were discovered, so the activity is driven by the need to safeguard these kinds of old valuables, usually also bearing sentimental and emotional values (Image 15), i. e. "So I am showing a wall hanging that I "saved" because it was [used as] a mat in a puppy's or kitten's bed" (Tai rodau "išgelbėtą" sieninį kilimėlį, nes jis buvo šuniuko ar kačiuko gulte). Or another one: "I'm not keeping it but rescuing :) The grandmother herself crammed it into the closet." (as ne saugau o gelbeju:) Pacios mociutes buvo sugrustas I spinta.).

The conversations that follow sometimes tend to focus on discussing the origins of such ornaments or just simply showing admiration for them (Image 15). The main conceptual heritage object displayed through Facebook posts, as also suggested by the group name, is "the ornament" taking a special place as a national treasure in the heritage perceptions of community members. All handicrafts are from the relatively recent past as they may be no more than two generations old, and in most of cases they are no older than the beginning of 20th century with most of them coming from the mid-century. Despite this, sometimes they are referred to as "Baltic" ornaments, thus making a connection to a much older tradition deriving from archaeological finds displaying Baltic ornaments. Similar to digital agoras, community discussions evolve around the items depicted in the photos, but the tone of conversation is completely different and to a higher extent resembles talk a about museum exhibition and its exhibits representing valuable items (almost relics) as suggested in one of the comments: "of course.someday it will be under glass and we can see them for a big money....priceless things) (žinoma.kadanors tai bus po stiklu ir pamatyt galėsime už didelius pinigus....neįkainuojami dalykai").

Peržiūrėjau šios grupės nuotraukas, bet tokios ornamentikos nemačiau. Tai rodau "išgelbėtą" sieninį kilimėlį, nes jis buvo šuniuko ar kačiuko gulte 😉

⬤⬤😮 Jurgita Uzsieniete and 395 others   28 Comments 6 Shares

👍 Like   💬 Comment   ↪ Share

Labai gražu. Nežinau, gal čia baltarusiams būdingi raštai? Tokie lyg neįprasti?
Like · Reply · Share · 15w

Author
Kiek teko domėtis, tai Sibire toks raštas buvo populiarus, gali būti, kad įpinta kitos tautos elementai.
Like · Reply · Share · 15w   👍 1

Write a public reply...

Tokia ornamentika su spalvų perėjimais tulpytės buvo labai dažna pas mano močiutę, Kėdainių raj. Tik spalvos variavo rožiės-violetinės, geltonos. Neturiu nuotraukų.
Like · Reply · Share · 15w   👍 4

Tokios tulpytės dzūkų pirštinėms irgi būdingos.
Like · Reply · Share · 15w   👍 3

Author
Rastas Tauragėje 😊   👍 2
Like · Reply · Share · 15w

juk raštais dalintasi, nusižiūrėta, jie tobulinti, keliavo iš krašto į kraštą kaip ir žmonės.
Like · Reply · Share · 15w   ⬤😍 3

Write a public reply...

Ir dzūkų prijuostėms.   👍 2
Like · Reply · Share · 15w

Bet šuniukai ir kačiukai geruliai - nesudraskė 😉
Like · Reply · Share · 15w

Author
Aga, nedaug papešiojo 😊
Like · Reply · Share · 15w

Write a public reply...

Turiu mamos siuvinėtas labai panašias tulpeles. Tik kompozicija kitokia.
Like · Reply · Share · 15w

Prabangiai šuniukai kačiukai gulėjo 😊   ⬤👍 2
Like · Reply · Share · 15w

User 1 posts a message and uploads a photo:
I looked through the photos of this group, but did not see such ornamentation. So I am showing a wall hanging that I "saved" because it was [used as] a mat in a puppy's or kitten's bed (emoticon: winking face)

Facebook activity:
292 'like', 90 'love', 13 'wow', 1 'care', 6 shares, 28 comments

Conversation:
User 2: Very nice. I don't know, maybe Belarusians have ornaments like this? Quite unusual?
User 1: As far as I know, such ornament was popular in Siberia, so it is possible that elements of another nation were intertwined.
User 2 'like'
User 3: Such ornamentation with colour transitions tulips were very common at my grandmother, Kėdainiai district. Only the colours varied rosy-purple, yellow. I don't have photos.
User 1, User 4-6 'like'
User 2: Such tulips are also typical for Dzūkian gloves.
User 4-5, User 7 'like'
User 1 Found in Tauragė (emoticon: slightly smiling face)
User 4, User 5 'like'
User 2: @User 1, after all, the ornaments were shared, copied, enhanced, [they] travelled from region to region like people.
User 4 'like' User 1, User 5 'love'
User 8: And Dzūkian aprons.
User 4, 7 'like'
User 8: But puppies and kittens are goodies – [they] didn't tear [it] up (emoticon: blink)
User 1: Yes, just plucked a little (emoticon: slightly smiling face)
User 9: I have very similar tulips embroidered by my mother. Only the composition is different.
User 10: Puppies kittens were lying in luxury (emoticon: happy face)
User 11 'like', User 1 'Haha'

Image 15. A fragment of conversation discussing ornaments on old embraided decorative wall hanging in the 'Grandmothers' ornaments' Facebook group

Some other posts are of extreme admiration, like that made by a daughter displaying an album of several items made by her mother together with a photo of her mom. The tone of the commenters is friendly and respectful, showing support for the woman and her work. Among 33 comments made I counted 12 epithets used to describe her handicrafts, all showing positive sentiments and admiration, such as "splendid" repeated 6 times, „"very nice" or "nice" repeated three times, as well as "of high value in the future", "priceless" and "trendy". Equally, another part of the positive sentiments were dedicated to the mother (crafter) describing her as "wonderful", "strong and unbroken", "with bright eyes", "joyfully hearted", "sacred patience", "diligent", "great" and "hardworking". Among those, one peculiar self-reflection appeared in the comment of a user, who expressed a feeling of loss and lack of self-recognition: "Looking at such amazing works of women, I always feel bad that I couldn't, that I didn't contribute to the preservation of traditions." (Žiūrėdama į tokius nuostabius moterų darbus visada jaučiuosi prastai,kad nemoku,kad neprisidėjau prie tradicijų saugojimo.).

Here, a certain narrative emerges from women of an older generation and their views to such handicrafts not just as hobbies, but as self-reflections and as a means to safeguard traditions. A certain motive of "feminism" has been articulated in the conversations as well, which is no accident as most participants were women. Overall, if summing up all comments related to the display of old handicrafts, we can see that only 17 from 219 are made by men (only 3 of them), while all other were provided by women bearing a significant aspect of a "woman's perspective" in all conversations. An interesting post case was a photo, which explicitly showcased a feministic narrative displaying embroidered cloth with a words "Woman's faith is to love and suffer" (Moters dalia mylėti ir kentėti) (Image 16). It inspired a great reaction from community members with 91 comments and emotional impressions ranging from 'angry' and 'sad' to 'wow' and 'love'. The conversation evolved around the rights and responsibilities of women in the past interconnecting with personal stories, memories, considerations and self-reflections. Even the word "feminism" was included in one of the comments, making reference to the famous 20th century Lithuanian author Žemaitė, who wrote about peasant domestic life and society, violence against women and a woman's role in the family, thus signifying feminist ideology, e. g. "I am now grateful that as a teenager it fell into my hands and I read Zemaite's "the happiness of the wedding" - the first sprouts of feminism broke out (emoticon: happy face)" (as dabar dekinga, kad

paauglysteje i rankas pakliuvo ir perskaiciau Zemaites "laime nutekejimo" - prasikale pirmieji feminizmo daigeliai (jaustukas: juokas).

Image 16. A post showcasing a decorative cloth with embroidered feministic narrative in the 'Grandmothers' ornaments' Facebook group

Many commentors agreed that the history of the position of Lithuanian women in the first half of the 20th century and even later during the Soviet era, especially those in villages, should be considered as difficult, as one of the commenters remembers: "The "Hostess' Guide" said that a woman has the right to cry when she goes to the bathroom. We have more rights now (emoticon: slightly smiling face" ("Šeimininkės vadove" rašoma, kad moteris turi teisę nuėjus į vonią išsiverkti. Dabar turim daugiau teisių (jaustukas: šypsena). Others emphasized the hard and complex domestic life of older - generation women, i. e. "(…) because everything was needed to be done by hands from morning to evening ... and what to eat, what to dress, and how to make a bed, and see after the children, and take care of the household with the gardens, and pray to God for everyone ... a lot, right? That is the suffering ...." ((…) nes viską reikdavo rankelėm nuo ryto lyg vakaro...ir ką valgyt, ir ką apsirenkt, ir ką pasiklot, ir vaikus apžiūrėt, ir buitį su daržais apeit, ir Dievui pasimelst už visus...daugoka, ar ne? Tame ta ir kančia....), as well as their social vulnerability and widespread violence against them, e. g. "I could write a book about such suffering. And how he runs after her throwing bricks, and how a man sits on a hay cart, and a woman with children pulls instead of a horse and many, many terrible faiths." (Knygą apie tokias kančias galėčiau parašyt. Ir kaip aplink gryčią vejoja plytom besimėtydamas, ir kaip vyras sėdi

ant šieno vežme, o moteriškė su vaikais vietoj arklio traukia ir daug, daug baisių likimų.). In this context, crafting or handcrafting constitutes an act of forgetfulness (užsimiršti) and a way to "escape the routine", i. .e "(…)often weaving was their way of escaping from the routine. One woman used to say, "So now I am happy" ((…) daznai audimas buvo ju budas pabegti nuo kasdienybes . Viena moteris po dienos darbu sesdama i stakles sakydavo " Va dabar tai as laiminga).

Existing research literature recognizes that social media can play a significant role in the transmission and dissemination of intangible cultural heritage and craftsmanship. Even though it cannot substitute the embodied performance of heritage practice, it can involve stakeholders from different communities in the revitalization of heritage by providing a space for communication and dialogue (Stuedahl and Mörtberg, 20212). Social media also has the ability to challenge power relations maintained through heritage policies that particularly privilege representations of patriarchal practices as expressions of national identity by excluding women practitioners from national heritage (Pietrobruno, 2003). Furthermore, it has been observed that handicrafts, such as knitting, have become a new form of feminism, and potentially represent a redefinition of a devalued and traditionally domestic feminine craft as empowering and creative (Kelly, 2014). It seems that the Lithuanian participatory heritage community on Facebook, 'Gradmothers' ornaments', incorporates all these aspects. It can be conceptualized as a way to communicate and safeguard not just crafts and traditions, but also underappreciated histories of older-generation women and the "silenced" feminine voice through the dissemination of intangible heritage and handicrafts, which with the help of social networking sites, are finally finding their ways from puppies' beddings and crammed closets to digital display spaces and interested digital audiences.

7.7. Hedonistic cultural heritage and venues for community entertainment

Television, film, radio or any other productions comprising of moving images and/or recorded sounds, constitutes audiovisual heritage, which represents an important transmission of memory in the 20th – 21st century. It is characterized by a new, technological form of memory, though, as a discipline it is still building its foundations (Edmonson, 2016). In comparison to other types of audiovisual heritage (radio, cinema) and its means of archiving, TV archives moved towards home-modes of collecting and increased

personalization made by recordings of favourite TV programs and the growth of home video, thus establishing a new practice of 'Do-It-Yourself' TV history (Spigel, 2005). With the rise of Internet technologies television history became a favourite subject of many amateur and museum sites, but because of slow transmission, memory capacity and copyright laws, Internet archives are for the most part unable to display all their potential (Spigel, 2005). In addition, it is also common for enthusiasts and amateurs to use social media to develop cultural heritage resources online and to cover niche areas that are usually overlooked by memory institutions (e. g. comic books, defunct technologies, vintage advertising displays) (Terras, 2010). Furthermore, the use of archive services for audiovisual heritage by the general public is "mainly determined by its hedonic characteristic (enjoyment) and nostalgic feelings rather than its instrumental value (usefulness)" (Ongena et al., 2013, abstract). The notion of *hedonistic heritage* in the research literature has been discussed in a broader sense to name any enthusiastic communities that are engaged in leisure and hobbyist activities, stating that interconnected amateurs commit themselves to the cultural circuit of heritage through playful hedonistic (leisure) activities, which blend production and consumption, creation and transmission, and tend to redraw heritage communities (Rautenberg and Rojon, 2014). However, I would like to propose a narrower definition of the term suggesting that hedonistic cultural heritage represents enjoyable and entertaining digital heritage content that creates an emotive and nostalgic community of interest.

As I describe in the example of the Lithuanian Facebook page 'TV Archives', I consider this case to be one of such hedonistic heritage initiatives established by enthusiasts, who are engaged in disseminating carefully selected short and fun video clips from Lithuanian TV programs representing a time-period from the late 1980s and 1990s to the beginning of the 21st century. The latter time period representing the relatively recent past is generally underrepresented in digital spaces, even though it is of great interest to a wider public as it is shown on Facebook. The page 'TV Archives' was established in 2017 and currently (2020) has over 70 000 followers showcasing that TV heritage and pop-culture is of huge interest to the public. Even though the page is named "archives" it little resembles archival, even if informal or community-driven, practice. Here, the videos are very carefully selected and edited, thus creating fragmented content that is reminiscent of the videos of TikTok, a popular platform that is a new global social media phenomenon, influencing other already established "traditional" social media

platforms to develop similar features, such as Instagram Reels (Introducing Instagram Reels, 2020) and Facebook Watch (About Facebook, 2016).

The comprehensive description of the page is informative and displays many aspects of page management, such as, its "nostalgic" orientation to the post-Soviet period described as "old nostalgia [that] is flowing [alongside with] Russian wallpapers on the walls and the smell of cheap linoleum" (plūsta sena nostalgija, rusiški tapetai ant sienų ir pigaus linoleumo kvapas). The description also states page's main sources of the content, which, indeed, are acknowledged to be mostly personal (home) TV archives: "Almost all of the content is from personal VHS collection pulled from mold-soaked basements, pads and attics, but there is content from the deep web" (Beveik visas turinys - asmeninė VHS kolekcija, ištraukta iš pelėsiu prasmirdusių padvalų, skladukų ir palėpių, bet yra turinio iš gilaus interneto.). Administrators also note main principles of content management, i. e. "We try to keep videos and photos unique and of high quality" (Video ir foto stengiames laikyti unikalius ir aukštos kokybės.).

We also can gather some insights about the admins, stating that, indeed, they are not professionals, but amateur enthusiasts, i. e. "none of the admins work on any TV channel" (nei vienam televizijos kanale nei vienas iš adminų nesidarbuoja), and have distributed roles, i. e. "There are two (fairly constant) video uploaders and matters' managers, and there is a third one who occasionally rewrites something from his personal collection and helps the page expand.)" (Du (ganėtinai pastovūs) video kelėjai ir reikalų tvarkytojai, yra ir trečias kuris prie progos perrašo ką nors iš savo asmeninės kolekcijos ir padeda puslapiui plėstis.).

The page also has a logo, which is displayed on every video that it posts, and the admins explain its use stating that content creation and management is a huge effort, therefore the logo helps to prevent plagiarism, e. g. "Creating such videos takes a lot of free time / Rewriting a tape from start to finish - 4-5 hours / Reviewing a tape after rewriting - an hour, two. (Unless you are doing this during the rewriting) / If you have a lot of tapes and do not want to overwrite them completely, it can take up to 12 hours to search for 40 minutes of content between tapes and rewrite separately. / As a result, there is much headaches and stress when the video is copied without credits" (Tokių video kūrimas užiima laaaabai daug laisvo laiko / Kasetės perrašymas nuo pradžios iki galo - 4-5 valandos / Kasetės peržiūrėjimas perrašius - valanda, dvi. (Nebent tai darai perrašydamas) / Jeigu kasečių daug ir nesinori pilni perrašyti, 40 minučių turinio suieškoti tarp kasečių ir perrašyti atskirai gali

trukti net iki 12 valandų. / Dėl to, daug galvos skausmo ir nervų kai video paiimamas be creditsų).

The page also encompasses aspects of crowdsourcing and the need for community help and support in collecting TV content as stated in the description: "We need VHS tapes or any format of physical or non-format recordings. If you have - Give it here! If it's needed - we will return it. We also can pay for shipping if needed." (Mums reikia VHS kasečių arba betkokio formato fizinio ar ne formato įrašų. Jeigu turi - Duok čia! Jeigu reikia - grąžinsim. Už siuntimą irgi mokam jeigu reikia.). However, in a sample of analyzed posts I did not notice any mentions of contributors, so it remains unclear to what extent the crowdsourcing is employed, but it seems that the page tends to operate by answering public demand and uploading more videos of the same type or longer videos if asked by community members. In terms of types of content, the group shows the following distribution of content topics: Factual TV (7), Music and comedy shows (7), TV announcements and commercials (7), News (4), Tabloid TV (4), Sports (3), Interviews and debates (2), TV series (2).

Overall, the page mainly relies on the posting of old digitized videos and the creation of original (posted) content, which resembles other nostalgic participatory communities described in Section 7. 1., and to some extent can be conceptualized as a certain type of nostalgic past re-visitation, because many conversations incorporate such nostalgic notices. For example, community members reacting to the most iconic Lithuanian commercial of the newspaper "Respublika" popularized in late 1990s say "I still remember the words of this advertisement ... (emoticon: slightly smiling face) After 20 years ... (emoticon: slightly smiling face)" (Šitos reklamos žodžius dar iki pat šiol atsimenu... (jaustukas: šypsena) Po 20 m... (jaustukas: šypsena)" or "[I am] Taken nw [now] by such nostalgia (emoticon: slightly smiling face) to remember those times" (Apėmė db tokia nostalgija (jaustukas: šypsena) prisiminus tuos laikus). But differently to the nostalgic place-based communities, the content of the page is not focused on places, but on cultural expressions that illustrate TV history, pop-culture and display past realities, especially those from 1990s culture. Most importantly, the content is designed to be short, entertaining and enjoyable. The selected and carefully clipped video fragments, similar to those that people share on TikTok, are fun, engaging and straight to the point, where the language in posts addressing the community is friendly, unstructured and very informal (Image 17).

TV Archives posts and uploads a video:
Show in the "Orbit of the Stage". 80s music' topicalities and aesthetics. In the second part, Youth Stage '89 announcement
P.S. Music by foreign artists has been cut out due to copyright.
Facebook activity:
261 'like', 18 'love', 4 'Haha', 1 'wow', 1 'care', 26 shares, 14 comments

Conversation:
User 1: More such old videos in (emoticon: slightly smiling face) In 89 ' there were great sounding LT music, of course maybe there weren't as many of them as nw [abbreviation: now], but the fact is that there were. Even nw [abbreviation: now] after more than 30y those songs have become hits and are still known and performed. (emoticon: slightly smiling face)
User 2 'like' User 3-12 'like'
User 2: The professional comments of Kazimieras Šiaulys painted the musical works of vocal instrumental ensembles in new colors (emoticon: winking face
User 1 'like' User 3, User 13 'like'
User 14: @User 1 Trust me there were cassettes of all kinds (LT, RU, ENG, etc.) (emoticon: slightly smiling face) Who is from Alytus from those times when all this matter was and knows the store Zuvintas so inside at the entrance there were cassettes sold (emoticon: slightly smiling face)
User 15: @User 16, maybe also @User 17, do you remember how we went with the school to Vilnius, to Top10? (emoticon: rock on emoticon: happy face)
User 16, User 18 'like'
User 16: @User 15 There is no way I can remember (emoticon: beaming face with smiling eyes). What was the class?
**User 15:** @User 16, perhaps, I was a 9th-grade. I don't remember you specifically, but if User 19 was, so you should have been too, because how are you two without each other? (emoticons: 2 Happy faces)
User 19 'like', User 15 'Haha'
User 19: @User 15 (Gif: audience of applauding minions)
User 19 'Haha'

Image 17. A fragment of conversation discussing a pop-music TV show in 1989 in the 'TV Archives' Facebook group

Community members reply in a similar informal way with expressions that are constructed in common language and slang, and emotional reactions marked by quite heavy use of emoticons, and in other cases memes as gif images (Image 17).

The most discussed video in my sample is a fragment from the president election night in 2000 and a former elected president Algirdas Brazauskas being interviewed by Tabloid TV journalists persuading him to take a shot of moonshine (Image 18). This very short video (41 s) is bizarre, but it sparked an enormous community response, consisting of opposing personal opinions about the president with the majority seeing him as "true" and "charismatic", while some referring to him as "a thieve" and "a communist". Overall, the conversation is very emotive and mainly consists of personal reflections, opinions and views.
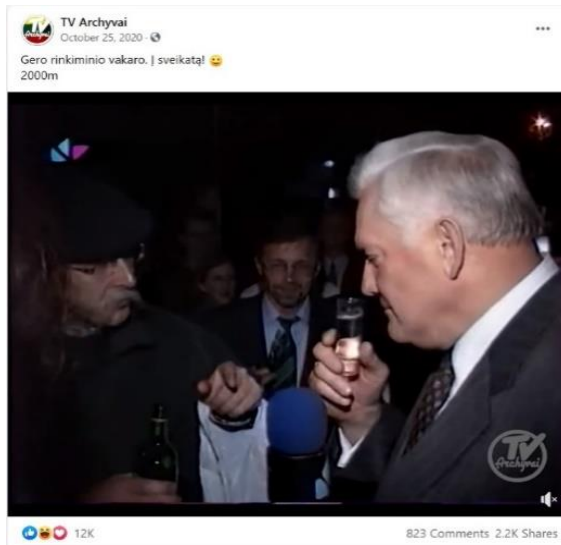
TV Archives posts a post and uploads a video:
Good election evening to everyone. To your health! (emoticon: slightly smiling face)

Facebook activity:
10K 'like', 1.2K 'Haha', 878 'love', 51 'care', 26 'wow', 17 'sad', 17 'angry', 2.2K shares, 823 comments

Image 18. A president election night video sparking a huge response from the community in the 'TV Archives' Facebook group

These conversations are usually cacophonic and eclectic, composed of personal reflections of past events with comments very much being embedded into the present – probably the only prevailing narrative representing a comparison between "then" and "now". For example, a crime story on the News in 1990s shows a body of a dead person, and commenters reflect on the changes in TV work ethics, e. g. "How nice to see dead body on tv, and now what? Csi miami is bled [curse word?] blured (emoticon: hear-

No-Evil monkey emoticon: clown" (Kaip grazu lavona per tv matyt, o dabar ka? Csi miami rodo bled blured (jaustukas: Beždžionė-negirdžiu-blogio jaustukas: Klounas)), or another one: "bleeding eyebrow is shown on farai [police reality TV show] in black and white (emoticon: happy face)" (prakirstą antakį per farus nespalvotai rodo (jaustukas: juokas). A variety of subjects emerge in these conversations, where the perspective of the past is displayed and perceived through change.

Also, the page's posts and conversations can be characterized by the use of common unstructured language, including omitting Lithuanian letters, using abbreviations and applying "freestyle" syntax. But in some cases, there is also common slang and English words used in conversations, suggesting that people a from younger generation also constitute a significant part of community. Such insights about the possible younger age of community members I made during the analysis, memoing videos which represent the flawed side of Lithuanian Television history as considered by the page's administrators, as well as community members. For example, a posted video of a Lithuanian series reflects admin's opinion: "Nothing could be better (or maybe worse) than Lithuanian thriller (emoticon: slightly smiling face) 2001" (Niekas negali būti geriau (o gal blogiau) už lietuvišką bajavyką (jaustukas: šypsena) 2001m)", which suggests that Lithuanian TV is extremely incapable of producing great action-thriller series. Interestingly, for some community members, this aspect of "authenticity" rather than "aesthetics" is significant and a huge driver for engagement, as one member replies: "Shortly, I watched all 9 series of this thriller (emoticon: slightly smiling face) after this post – for me it's a booooombbbb.... to see those time 2000 (emoticon: slightly smiling face) cars which I still drive... (emoticon: slightly smiling face) brick-like mobiles (emoticons: 3 slightly smiling faces)" (Zodziu as paziurejau visas 9 serijas sito bajevyko (jaustukas: šypsena) po sio posto - man tai booooombaaaa.... matyt tuos laikus 2000 (jaustukas: šypsena) masinas su kuria as lyg siol vazineju ... (jaustukas: šypsena) mobylkes - plytas (jaustukas: 3 šypsenos)). The importance of authenticity on social media has been recently noted in the area of marketing, recognizing its capability to demonstrate realistic and authentic experiences, which are the main factors defining consumer behaviour in the younger generation, those born between 1995-2010 and known as Gen Z (Francis and Hoefel, 2018; Gen Z & Millennials are getting Real…, 2019). It seems that these trends for more authentic and realistic experiences, as well as more enjoyable cultural heritage content, are coming in-line with the needs of younger audiences, and hedonistic heritage,

such as audiovisual, will be important factors defining engagement with digital heritage on social media in the future.

In this way, the described case of TV heritage and the community it represents can be conceptualized as a new hedonistic heritage space that acts as an entertainment venue, which is especially appealing for the younger generation. As has been acknowledged, TV history and archive sites are products of the contemporary nostalgic archival imagination, always bearing certain tensions between the artifact and its ephemerality in terms of medium and cultural form is unavoidable (Spigel, 2005). This is well illustrated by the Lithuanian case on Facebook representing "nostalgic" use value for old TV programs to amass a particular kind of practice that appeals to the community and operates as a venue for entertainment. But together with its fun-focused attitude, the page also provides a great reflection of Lithuanian TV history, pop-culture and the 1990s, which is one of the most significant historical periods in Lithuania that coincided with Independence and breaking out of the Soviet regime.

As digital archival TV practice has not yet established its foundations on a national scale, the representation of such old audiovisual content "falls into the hands" of grassroots communities and the mode of participation is chosen to be simple and authentic, which genuinely builds engaged and emotive communities of interest. It is clear, that with current technical possibilities to produce and re-produce audiovisual material it will become a dominant heritage resource, so the role of such heritage and its archiving will only increase in the future. I believe digitized or born-digital audiovisual heritage also has the potential to represent other types of heritage, such as theatre or modern dance heritage, which is currently missing in the overall sample of Lithuanian grassroots communities on Facebook.

8. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the attained outcomes, this study has several major implications that contribute to the research fields of digital cultural heritage, communication and information science. The contributions of my work are, firstly, made to an emerging field of research that it is still building its theoretical foundations. On this account, my study fills a gap by investigating grassroots communities or practices that occur outside institutional domains. I proposed an interdisciplinary explanation of participatory heritage by building an integrated theoretical framework, which combines theories of participation, engagement, cultural heritage studies, and social networking sites research. My conceptualizations of participatory heritage derive from cross-disciplinary theoretical considerations and from the employment of grounded theory to substantiate my claims with evidence from Facebook. I believe that the application of grounded theory generated new insights on the phenomenon based on a substantial amount of empirically attested qualitative and quantitative Facebook data. It allowed me to build a middle-range theory that took into account the contextual and constructed nature of knowledge and covered a closer-to-evidence range of phenomena. Besides, as participatory culture is a global phenomenon, I believe that models that are present and functioning in Lithuania, together with the developed conceptualization, should be generally applicable on a broader (global) scale.

In addition, I made a principal methodological contribution to the field of study, which is the development of the 'Matrix of Participation' (MoP), used in evaluating and representing different levels of engagement. The MoP can be also applied in other studies aimed at researching Facebook communication that do not necessary involve cultural heritage practice.

In regards to answering the first research question, what are grassroots cultural heritage communities on Facebook in Lithuania and what is the scale of grassroots activity? (R1), I discovered that grassroots cultural heritage practice is a large-scale Facebook activity that emerged in 2008, representing 266 communities involved in dissemination and representation of cultural heritage. It is, indeed, a quite common and constantly growing practice which represents a steady public interest to engage with cultural heritage on Facebook. It encompasses communities of wide thematic focus bearing public interest in all kinds of cultural heritage objects and topics, but among those broader history and place-based history, as well as old valuables (antiquaries) stood out as the most popular. Overall, the rate of communities' creation remains higher than the rate of their demise, which represents a

steadily increasing public interest to engage with cultural heritage on Facebook.

Place-based heritage indicates significant grassroots heritage affinities, having the power to build communities of interest. The importance of places already appeared during the initial data analysis and scoping study, revealing that apart from being interested in certain thematic areas associated with keywords representing particular cultural heritage categories, grassroots communities also tend to gather around places, and many such keywords representing places, usually bigger Lithuanian cities, appeared in my data sample.

There are underlying differences in the operation and management of Facebook pages and groups, but grassroots communities show quite a balanced distribution between the two. Because of their technological design, pages are perceived as market and brand orientated establishments, while groups are collaboration-focused Facebook formations genuinely representing online communities. The distribution between the two types of community does not display a significant difference and shows a higher share of pages (59%/158) created, while groups account for 41% (108). It is not uncommon for grassroots communities to be established as additional dissemination channels promoting already existing webpages or blogs rather than simply undertaking collaborative content creation. Both types are equally capable of building large audiences (up to 10 000), however, only pages a capable of expanding them even more, reaching over 100 000 members.

Active grassroots communities represent 72% of the whole sample, whereas their levels of activity and engagement varies greatly. I indicate that 16% (42) of grassroots communities are non-active (40) meaning that in the last year no content was shared or created, or they even ceased to exist (2). Even though grassroots communities are often displayed as those genuinely fostering engagement, I concluded that merely the existence of a grassroots community does not foster participation by default, as it does not create meaningful relations with the past. It is meaningful participation, which I associate with modes of participation and particular types of heritage, that leads to higher forms of engagement.

The indication of communities' differences in terms of activity invited us to conceptualize and evaluate engagement on Facebook, when trying to answer the second research question, what does cultural heritage engagement and participation on Facebook entail, and to what extent

grassroots communities can be described as engaged or participatory communities (R2)? Based on the existing theoretical background of engagement and the theory of participation, in particular Fung's model (2006), I developed the participation model, i. e. 'Matrix of Participation' (MoP), that can be used to evaluate community engagement on Facebook. Regarding the MoP, I concluded that engagement on Facebook can be perceived as a combination of activities representing content co-creation and conversation, and that it can be measured. The definition of engagement connects participatory heritage with a new shift in broadly existing cultural heritage practice and emphasizes the role of engagement as a purposeful co-creative and communicative activity lead by people. I made a distinction between lower (liking, sharing) and higher (posting, commenting) forms of community interactions on Facebook, where the higher forms of interactions I associated with existing dimensions that are similar to Fung's model of participation (2006), emphasizing the role of participant selection (similar to my proposed index of content co-creation) and communication intensity (similar to my proposed index of conversation intensity). Thus, I considered engagement to be not a vertical (ladder) structure, but a dimensional matrix that incorporates both mentioned activities, that based on their intensity could be calculated as indexes. My developed 'Matrix of Participation' (MoP) accounts for existing complexity that represents different engagement levels and displays a genuine connection between them and participatory communities.

I discovered that engagement is unequal with bigger (less engaged), and smaller (more engaged) clusters of communities, as well as outliers representing the most engaged communities. By representing lower and higher forms of engagement, the MoP clustered engaged communities according to community type (pages and groups), which is associated with underlying factors that shape engagement. Clusters do not represent a well-balanced distribution and showcase certain phenomena in grassroots practice with highly engaged grassroots communities being not a common tendency but an exception, representing only 9% (16) of communities in the analysed sample. The main underlying factor that separates engagement on Facebook between pages and groups is content co-creation. The calculated indexes showed great differences in group and page samples shaping the overall distribution of clusters in the MoP, which led me to develop two MoPs. This underlying factor also shaped the nature of engagement with groups being more focused on content co-creation and page participation being driven by conversation.

The quantitative and cluster analysis leading to the development of the MoP helped me to distinguish the sample of the most engaged (participatory) communities, which I used in further content analysis seeking to develop an understanding of how participatory heritage works in the cultural heritage practices of grassroots Facebook communities in Lithuania. This was done by, firstly, trying to answer which themes of cultural heritage objects attract most attention and activity on Facebook, and what are the traits of such participatory heritage activity across different themes (RQ3)? I employed a grounded theory approach, and performed quantitative and qualitative content analysis, which revealed that cultural heritage content on Facebook is proved to be of a multidimensional and hybrid nature representing a vast variety of cultural heritage topics, places, people, and time periods interplaying with the nature of information objects, but there are certain emerging patterns that bind some communities together. I managed to distinguish the seven differences related to thematic heritage areas that characterizes communities as: interested in place-based heritage (1), which are also highly engaged in sharing old photos; genealogy communities (2) representing a huge public interest to research family history; those interested in old valuables or collectables (3); communities having diverse historic focus in terms of periods and topics (4), which usually act as content curators; communities engaged in niche historic topic (5) (e. g. partisans); and two emerging heritage areas, such as intangible heritage and handicrafts of older generation women (6) and old TV videos (7). In addition, the distribution of posts in terms of their timeline showcases that the history of the Soviet era is the most discussed and displayed on participatory Facebook social network sites, firstly, because of the critical mass of material legacy coming from that period (e. g. items, things, photos), but also as the living memory of people who lived through, experienced and remember those times. This means that these resources, as any shared materials with which the public engages on social networking sites, and the historic period they represent are the constant subject of the highest level of recontextualization and re-signification of their meanings, usually embedded in contemporary concerns.

Grassroots cultural heritage communication on social networking sites displays a complex picture not just on different levels of engagement, but also in relation to the different types of cultural heritage content that communities engage with, which proved to be inevitably related to motives and activities fostering participation. During the last stage of my analysis, I focused on distinguishing these modes, composed of activities (online and offline), factors (motives and intentions), issues (questions raised) and

positions (any other ideas expressed), seeking to answer how, and to what extent, does grassroots activity around cultural heritage on Facebook contribute to community participation and empowerment (RQ4)? By distinguishing modes of participation, I also sought to discuss versatile cultural and social contexts and the diverse meanings applied to cultural heritage objects in the participation process, and, therefore, to contribute to the elaboration and understanding of participatory heritage as the main goal of my study. To this end, I conceptualized participatory heritage as *new forms of cultural heritage practice that emerge through the co-creation and conversation of people who engage with cultural heritage objects for a variety of purposes, such as nostalgic incentives, commemoration, hobbyist interests, self-expression, pleasure or searching for an alternative source of knowledge and information*.

To support this notion, I provided numerous examples that illustrate my arguments made about participatory heritage practice, as well as connected them with a broader set of literature deriving from the interdisciplinary research corpus, which led me to make the following insights about participatory heritage. For example, place-based heritage and the sharing of old photos tend to create nostalgic communities, engaged in impressionable and emotion-driven participation. Place-based heritage, representing one's relation to a place (usually hometown), and the emotional background it bears, is a strong drive for grassroots participation, and surely a huge incentive for many-to-many communication to happen. The history of the place is the focus of attention but depending on the content it could be revealed differently, i. e. through posts representing monumental architecture and landscapes, or posts displaying people and everyday life history. The value of such communities is created through the threads of communication, where community members share their views, opinions and emotional responses related to the past. In rare cases such participation emphasizes the lack of an official settings (museum) where the memory of the place can be represented or revisited by people, therefore the social networking site is used for this purpose.

Genealogical research is one of the most popular interests among grassroots enthusiasts, which promotes community-driven archival practices. Apart from a widely known and discussed enthusiastic interest in discovering one's own family history (offline and online), people's attention to social media can be perceived as supplementing professional knowledge, intellectual support, services or service functions that are missing (e. g. indexing, transcription, translation, knowledge) and which archival

institutions may be still failing to provide to their users. In this case, grassroots communities take the lead in creating such services and support through crowdsourcing.

Social networking sites serve as digital agoras for heritage collectors and hobbyists. The collecting and trading of artifacts have been always important aspects in heritage, where digital venues, including social networking sites, help to facilitate processes that to a broader extent represent activities happening in real life. The difference between numerous transaction communities operating as marketplaces and participatory communities is an interest in collectibles and their features as objects that enable discussion.

Historic topics and narratives tend to circulate in content curators' communities, where conversations echo contemporary concerns. History is of huge interest to grassroots communities because it is the most relatable discipline that builds bridges with many other heritage areas, and basically works as an umbrella term for cultural heritage itself. Due to its versatile and hybrid nature it could be easily adopted to serve different purposes and may have different meanings for people, therefore communities of history narrators do not avoid confrontations between members having opposing views. These controversial discussions tend to be ignited by "flamethrowers" or members that are keen to start such conversations. Smaller and/or place-based history curators' communities usually avoid such political confrontations.

Partisans' online memorials and commemorative communities transmit memories glorifying those that have fallen. Commemorative communities are driven by the need to communicate war or traumatic historical events, thus online memorials represent contested historic subjects, such as Lithuanian partisans, which are communicated in the manner of respect and glorification. The image of heroes is at the centre of the communicative message in the partisans' legacy as I observed in social networking conversations. The commemorative discourse displaying partisans as heroes is created together with the participation of professional historians, active citizens and descendants of partisans, thus becoming a dominant and well-established narrative showcasing national commemorative unity on the topic of partisans as displayed on Facebook.

Silenced histories, feminine voices and other types of "underappreciated" heritage have their unique ways to become visible with a help of social networking sites. In the Lithuanian case, sharing of traditional handicrafts can be conceptualized as one of the ways to communicate and safeguard not only folk art, crafts and traditions, but also underappreciated

histories of older-generation women and the "silenced" feminine voice. Photos of discovered grandmothers' handicrafts are displayed as valuable exhibits in a Facebook group, finally finding their admiring audiences. In addition, conversations of community members articulate feminism and the silenced histories of older generation women.

Finally, I proposed a narrower term describing hedonistic cultural heritage that represents enjoyable and entertaining digital heritage content, which creates an emotive and nostalgic community of interest. My arguments have been supported by a case study of TV heritage use in a grassroots Facebook page showcasing a great reflection of Lithuanian TV history, pop-culture and the 1990s, one of the most significant and most digitally underrepresented historical periods in Lithuanian history. A Facebook page can be conceptualized as a new venue of entertainment and a place for the sharing of hedonistic heritage, which seems to appeal to wider audiences of different generations.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix 1. Glossary

Table 1. Main English concepts used and proposed in the dissertation and their translations in Lithuanian

Term and definition in English	Term and definition in Lithuanian
Engaged Facebook communities Communities that enable active conversation among members and foster co-creation of user-generated content (Kelpšienė, 2021)	**Įsitraukusios „Facebook"** **bendruomenės** Bendruomenės, kurios įgalina aktyvią narių tarpusavio diskusiją ir skatina vartotojus bendrai kurti turinį (Kelpšienė, 2021)
Grassroots heritage A participatory, bottom-up process of making meaning, and also heritage as a living entity and as a form of social action (Liu, 2011)	**Žmonių paveldas** Dalyvaujamasis, "iš apačios į viršų" principu grindžiamas, prasmių kūrimo procesas, taip pat ir paveldas, kuris veikia kaip gyvuojanti esybė ir kaip socialinio veiksmo forma (Liu, 2011)
Hedonistic cultural heritage Hedonistic cultural heritage represents enjoyable and entertaining digital heritage content, which creates an emotive and nostalgic community of interest (Kelpšienė, 2021)	**Hedonistinis kultūros paveldas** Hedonistinis kultūros paveldas reprezentuoja pramoginį ir linksmą skaitmeninio paveldo turinį, kuris suburia emocingą ir nostalgišką juo besidominčių žmonių bendruomenę (Kelpšienė, 2021)
Online (virtual) community A cyberspace supported by computer-based information technology, centered upon communication and interaction of participants to generate member-	**Virtuali bendruomenė** Kompiuterinių informacinių technologijų palaikoma kibernetinė erdvė, orientuota į dalyvių bendravimą ir sąveikavimą, siekiant generuoti narių kuriamą turinį ir

Term and definition in English	Term and definition in Lithuanian
driven content, resulting in a relationship being built up (Lee et al., 2003)	užmegzti santykius (Lee et al., 2003)
Participatory culture A culture that embraces the values of diversity and democracy through every aspect of our interactions with each other – one which assumes that we are capable of making decisions, collectively and individually, and that we should have the capacity to express ourselves through a broad range of different forms and practices (Jenkins et al., 2015)	**Dalyvaujamoji kultūra** Kultūra, kuri perima įvairovės ir demokratijos vertybes, pasireiškiančias visuose mūsų tarpusavio sąveikavimo aspektuose, remiantis nuostata, jog mes visi esame pajėgūs priimti tiek kolektyvinius, tiek individualius sprendimus, ir kad visi galime išreikšti save per platų skirting formų ir praktikų spektrą (Jenkins ir kt., 2015)
Participatory heritage It is new forms of cultural heritage practice that emerge through co-creation and conversation of people, who engage with cultural heritage objects for the variety of purposes, such as, nostalgic incentives, commemoration, hobbyist interests, self-expression, pleasure or searching for an alternative source of knowledge and information (Kelpšienė, 2021).	**Dalyvaujamasis paveldas** Tai nauja kultūros paveldo praktikų forma, atsirandanti iš žmonių bendradarbiavimo, kuriant turinį ir diskutuojant, bei tikslingai dalyvaujant kultūros paveldo veiklose dėl nostalginių paskatų, atminties įamžinimo, mėgėjiškų interesų, saviraiškos ir pomėgių bei ieškant alternatyvių žinių ir informacijos šaltinių (Kelpšienė , 2021).
Participatory institution A place where visitors create, share, and connect with each other around content (Simon, 2010)	**Dalyvaujamoji institucija** Vieta, kurioje lankytojai kuria, dalijasi ir palaiko ryšius vieni su kitais, ir su turiniu (Simon, 2010)
Social media	**Socialinės medijos**

Term and definition in English	Term and definition in Lithuanian
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 and Haenlein, 2010)	Internetinių programų grupė, kurios remiasi ideologiniais ir technologiniais Žiniatinklio 2.0 principais, įgalinančiais vartotojų turinio kūrimą ir jo mainus (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010)
Social networking sites A networked communication platform, that is part of social media technologies, in which participants 1) have uniquely identifiable profiles that consist of user-supplied content, content provided by other users, and/or system-provided data; 2) can publicly articulate connections that can be viewed and traversed by others; and 3) can consume, produce, and/or interact with streams of user generated content provided by their connections on the site (Ellison and boyd, 2013)	**Socialinės tinklaveikos svetainės** Tinklo komunikacijos platforma, priklausanti socialinių medijų technologijoms, kurioje dalyviai 1) turi unikaliai atpažįstamus profilius, kuriuos sudaro vartotojo pateiktas turinys, kitų vartotojų pateiktas turinys ir (arba) sistemos teikiami duomenys; 2) gali viešai skelbti sąryšius, kuriuos mato ir peržiūri kiti; 3) gali vartoti, gaminti ir (arba) sąveikauti su vartotojų sukurto turinio srautais, kuriuos įgalina jų esami ryšiai svetainėje (Ellison and boyd, 2013)
User engagement User's state of mind that warrants heightened involvement and results in a personally meaningful benefit (Di Gangi and Wasko, 2016)	**Vartotojo įsitraukimas** Vartotojo psichologinė pozicija, užtikrinanti stipresnį įsitraukimą, susijusį su asmeniškai prasminga gaunama nauda (Di Gangi and Wasko, 2016)

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