Social Media in Libraries and Archives: Applied with Caution

Les médias sociaux dans les bibliothèques et les archives : Appliqués avec prudence

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Abstract: Participatory social media has the potential to transform the services provided by cultural heritage institutions and the relationships between these institutions and their user communities. However, a global survey of social media usage by libraries and archives demonstrated that although there has been an enthusiastic uptake of social media tools there is little evidence of the current use being transformative. The purpose of this article is to present the survey findings in the context of the claims made in the literature for the transformative nature of technology in general and social media in particular.

Keywords: social Web, cultural heritage, Archives 2.0, Library 2.0, participatory social media

Résumé : Les médias sociaux collaboratifs ont le potentiel de transformer les services fournis par les institutions culturelles patrimoniales et les relations entre ces institutions et leurs communautés d'utilisateurs. Cependant, une enquête mondiale sur l'utilisation des médias sociaux par les bibliothèques et les archives a démontré que même s'il y a eu absorption enthousiaste des outils de médias sociaux, la preuve n'est pas faite que l'utilisation actuelle est transformatrice. Le but de cet article est de présenter les résultats de l'enquête dans le contexte des allégations formulées dans la littérature sur la nature transformatrice de la technologie en général et des médias sociaux en particulier.

Mots-clés : web social, patrimoine culturel, Archives 2.0, Bibliothèque 2.0, médias sociaux collaboratifs

Introduction

This article begins with some scene setting, considering the claims made for the profound influence of digital technologies on the nature of our traditional conceptualizations of cultural heritage institutions. It follows with a report of findings from the survey and a discussion of the implications of these findings. The article concludes with suggestions for further research.

Digital Technologies and the Cultural Heritage Landscape

From the latter part of the twentieth century onwards, there has been extensive concern with the influences of digital technologies on the provision of services by the cultural heritage sector. Discussion of the use of social media is the latest iteration of this concern. This literature review begins with an overview of social media and its implications for cultural heritage institutions. It follows with a specific consideration of Archives 2.0 and Library 2.0 initiatives.

Social media is commonly understood as Internet-based technologies that provide a platform for knowledge sharing, content creation, content evaluation, content editing, and content contribution (Boyd and Ellison 2007). Previous studies acknowledge the opportunities afforded in the use of social media by archives and libraries, yet the research to assess the transformative nature of this type of media in these institutions is lacking.[1] Hindered by a lack of frameworks and empirical evidence to support understanding (Theimer 2011), examining the transformative agency of these technologies within a library or archive context is a challenging proposition. This is because it not only requires engagement with the media and institutions but also a broad understanding and acknowledgement of the socio-materiality and affordances of Web 2.0 technologies.

While there is undeniable potential in digital infrastructure and new media to engender transformative change in our libraries and archives, critical analysis of the digital space and user engagement within that space is paramount to the successful integration of technology with this information culture. Transformative information architecture affords new opportunities for community engagement and the management of our library and archive collections. However, digital purely for digital's sake, while definitely transformative, does not always generate positive change. Intrinsically tied to a digital imperative, digital for digital's sake is, and can, be saturated with elements of technological determinism, without analogue mindfulness (Smith and Marx 2001; Wyatt 2008).

While there is still considerable debate over what precisely "Web 2.0" refers to and just how significant a development it is, the concept has become increasingly widely used and applied in a variety of fields, including libraries, archives, and museums (Miller 2005; Madden and Fox 2006; Notess 2006; Umbach 2006). The term was used to identify new developments in the Internet that were seen as transforming it into something qualitatively different in character from before (O'Reilly 2005). Initially, the World Wide Web had operated as a traditional one-way broadcast model, in which producers provided static content to passive consumers. Web 2.0, on the other hand, made use of interactive tools that allowed users greater scope for participating and collaborating in, as well as

customizing, the creation of dynamic content. As a result, the traditional boundaries between information producers and consumers became blurred.

Social media is not only media, but it is imbued with socio-cultural elements that are inherent in these platforms. Moreover, the characteristics associated with these platforms (the affordances) transfer and permeate their adoptive organizations. The adoption of social media in libraries and archives needs to be considered in light of these affordances, along with the socio-materiality of these platforms (Orlikowski and Scott 2008). The entanglement between actor (user) and artifact (social media services, interfaces and platforms) is such that considering one without the other provides a very limited picture (Zhao et al. 2013).

While the technological features and, in some cases, broad functionality of social media platforms are fairly consistent, the cultures that encapsulate their identity and use vary widely (Boyd and Ellison 2007). These affordances, as applied in a human computer interaction framework, are concerned not only with understanding the perceived use of an information technology artefact, such as social media, but also with the implicit and explicit properties (sociotechnical and socio-cultural) of that platform and its perception by users (Norman 2008). Thus, the potential for transformative agency of social media in libraries and archives, both positive and negative, rests in the match or mismatch between platform, communication, culture, organization, and user. At best, social media use in libraries and archives engages new communities of users, provides powerful tools for advocacy and outreach, and democratizes the institutional management of cultural memory. At worst, the affordances of social media may impact negatively on institutional branding, alienate users, and compromise information dissemination.

One particular case study serves to highlight explicitly the complexities of social media use in a cultural heritage framework, demonstrating how the affordances of these platforms can hinder the messages that institutions attempt to convey. The dissemination of content by the Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC, using Flickr and YouTube generated challenges for the institution. The choice to adopt and manage content via these channels impacted both the "representation and control of the museum's brand, and also their digital objects" and resulted in the museum having to close down and closely monitor the communication features on both platforms (Wellington and Oliver 2015, 590–91). On YouTube, it was necessary to manage the culture of hating, which permeated both the comments and the thumbs up/thumbs down functionality on the site. On Flickr, it was necessary to embed additional layers of content control to prevent the appropriation and repurposing of content by users beyond the ethical mandate of the institution (Wong 2011). In summing up their experience of social media Wong stated, "if the medium is part of the message, museums are limited in what messages they can relay, especially by the architecture of social media sites" (102).

Archives 2.0
One of the defining components of Archives 2.0 is the use of interactive software by archival institutions to deliver online digital collections. At the same

time, an important theme that emerges from a review of the literature is the extent to which, for advocates of Archives 2.0, technology is only half the story. Just as important is the particular stance toward archival practice that breaks with the traditionally inward-looking, materials-centred, custodial approach exemplified by classical theorists such as Sir Hilary Jenkinson (1980). In its place, advocates of Archives 2.0 promote a more open, collaborative, and user-centric attitude toward their work. In this regard, the emergence of the underlying philosophies associated with Archives 2.0 predates the creation of the actual technologies on which it is based by at least two decades.

One important strand of thought can be traced back to the work of Elsie Freeman (1984) in the 1980s. Reflecting her background in public programming—a neglected area of archival practice at that time—Freeman's "client-centred" approach held that archivists needed to break with their traditional custodial mind-set and become more zealous about promoting awareness of, and access to, the records in their care. As a key to this approach, archivists needed to find out who their users were and what they wanted and re-orient their activities to better cater to these needs. Following Freeman, many other archival thinkers called for attention to be paid to public relations and to the development of more "user-friendly" forms of access (Jimerson 1989; Ericson 1990–91; Grabowski 1992; Malbin 1997). Like Freeman, they drew heavily on the work of management theorists, particularly the marketing and "quality gurus" prominent at the time. Accordingly, they tended to emphasize an image of archives as a "business," in "competition" with other information providers for "customers," whose "survival" depended on learning how to more efficiently satisfy their users' needs (and, in the process, to impress "resource allocators"). For this way of thinking, they were criticized by Terry Cook (1990–91, 131), who argued that they sought to move archives in the direction of a "trendy consumerism." Cook also warned that giving primacy to user needs could undermine the materials-based authority control necessary for securing a record's status as evidence.

An example of the continuity between the views espoused by Freeman and her colleagues and more recent work on archives and Web 2.0 is provided by Gordon Daines and Cory Nimer (2009). Like the majority of literature in this field, theirs is not a methodologically formal research project so much as a piece of advocacy linked to a survey of current developments. Appropriately enough, their research takes the form of a wiki, run in conjunction with the Society of American Archivists, to which archives are invited to contribute case studies reporting on their own experiments with interactive applications such as wikis, blogs, and mashups. In a similar manner to Freeman and her colleagues, Daines and Nimer's accompanying essay has a customer service orientation that draws on marketing theory to justify the greater use of these tools by archives. Their paradigm is "wikinomics": the idea that Web 2.0 has created a new business environment based around mass collaboration and the blurring of the line between producers and consumers. Don Tapscott and Anthony Williams (2007) argue that companies must adapt to the expectations created by this new environment or perish. Daines and Nimer (2009) maintain that commercial precepts

apply equally to non-profit organizations such as archives, which, to remain relevant, should abandon their "anachronistic parochialism" and, via Web 2.0, open up their data to patrons.

Moreover, they state that the right attitudes are as important as the right technologies, with the four key principles being openness, peering, sharing, and acting globally. Collaboration with users and with other archivists is seen as a means of promoting the use of collections and securing the support of funding bodies. While the pendulum swings back and forth between advocates of openness and participatory engagement, on the one hand, and an authoritative, closed, and tightly managed archival ethos, on the other hand, it must be remembered that archives are not libraries, nor are they museums. The archival mandate, as Cook (1990–91) states, is embedded in the record's status as evidence and all that this implies in the management of these records. Embracing participatory platforms such as social media within an archival context must be considered not only within this mandate but also in light of the affordances of the archival record itself.

Not unlike the digital imperative, democratization of the archive for democratization's sake serves neither the users nor the records. The variety and hybrid nature of archival collections, and the institutions managing those collections, means that application of these technologies to different archival environments can have very different impacts. An open democratized participatory model for some communities and their cultural memory is advantageous, but a blanket call to democratize across the board is simplistic and fails to account for the nuances of individual archival communities. A connected strand of thinking in the literature on Archives 2.0 is the influence of postmodern ideas. Rather than emphasizing the "business case" for adopting Web 2.0, writers in this vein point to its value in advancing a political–ethical imperative of "democratizing" archives. This position draws on earlier postmodern-influenced critiques of a positivist archival science, which were criticized for adhering to presumptions of objectivity and a monolithic notion of "truth." These notions, it was argued, merely masked the degree to which archives have been organized to serve the interests and perspectives of dominant groups. According to postmodernist-aligned accounts, repositories should be re-organized to better reflect and serve the pluralistic character of society as a whole (Harris 1997; Brothman 2001; Cook 2001; Light and Hyry 2002; Nesmith 2002). Archives should recognize "the diversity, ambiguity, and multiple identities of records creators, information systems, and archive users" (Cook 2001, 15) and find "new ways to open up archival description ... to create holes that allow in the voice of our users" (Duff and Harris 2002, 279).

Library 2.0

The discussion of Web 2.0 in a library context is similar to that of the archival circles. The term Library 2.0 is often credited to Michael Casey. It was first used widely by Casey and Laura Savastinuk (2006) and by Ken Chad and Paul Miller (2005). Casey defined the term and publicized it through his *LibraryCrunch*

weblog (www.librarycrunch.com). His description was mainly concerned with libraries needing to create and adopt a strategy to cope with change in a Web 2.0 environment—notably to encourage increased participation from library users in the creation of both the physical and virtual services they desire.

Not surprisingly, the earlier debate around the Web 2.0+Library / Library 2.0 concept largely took place in weblogs. There were those that argued that the number of additional resources that could be made available, and the way they were converging on Web 2.0 platforms, resulted in a revolutionary change in attitude toward the provision of information (for example, institutions moving away from one-way communication that was non-participatory and "authoritative" practice toward a more open, participatory, and collaborative form of communication), a change in the role of library end-users (being more "active" and participative), and was leading to a range of new generation library services (Chad and Miller 2005; Casey and Savastinuk 2006).

On the other hand, some individuals held the view that the concept was not new at all to libraries, arguing that while some resources and utilities could enhance some existing library services, they did not amount to a fundamental shift in the way in which library users and communities had been, and could best be, served (Crawford 2006; Lawson 2006; Plutchak 2006). Walt Crawford (2006) interestingly devoted an entire issue of *Cites and Insights* to the topic. He noted the distinction between the "concept of Library 2.0" and the "bandwagon called Library 2.0." His overall conclusion was that most of the ideas behind the concept were constructive and could lead to improvements in library services— an evolutionary improvement. However, the bandwagon he argued was simply hype and actually served to detract from the constructive ideas in the concept by its confrontational tone and negative assertions about libraries at that time when it proclaimed revolution and the desperate necessity to focus on the use of new technologies to rescue or revive libraries. Somewhere in between these viewpoints was the common view voiced by Jack Maness (2006), who explained that arguing and debating around terminology was not productive. Instead, libraries should serve users as effectively as possible, and the more important matter was to look at how Web 2.0 and the additional tools and resources it afforded could be used to enhance existing services and to bring about additional benefits to the user communities.

Libraries and those working in them have continued to evolve in response to the changing environment and communities around them. Web 2.0, Libraries 2.0, and Archives 2.0 are attempts to describe the changes the current web environment has brought to society. Within a few years, there was a flurry of interest in social media activities and projects among cultural heritage institutions. There has also been a growing body of professional and academic literature that both documented and advocated on behalf of these initiatives (Huvila 2008; Daines and Nimer 2009; Samouelian 2009; Cocciolo 2010; Nogueira 2010; Oomen and Aroyo 2011; van den Akker et al. 2011). Some of the social media activities and projects have become sufficiently well established to require attentive review and consideration. There are potentials as well as challenges that come with these activities.

Five main challenges in the adoption of social media by archives and special libraries were identified by Marissa Mason (2014, 163–65) in an analysis of the bodies of literature on social media engagement and outreach. These five challenges included: (1) appropriateness and trust, in terms of third party platforms versus institutionally generated content on official websites; (2) digital rights, in terms of copyright implications in the control of distributed content; (3) limited resources, in terms of time, expertise, and funding, which were also acknowledged as a barrier to engagement for archives and special collections with social media; (4) limited user engagement, which was perhaps the most concerning, in terms of institutions that lacked uptake and participation with their user base as a drawback (limitations in terms of institutional knowledge of popular and/or trending platforms was also noted as a challenge); and (5) limited empirical evidence of successful adoption and/or a reliance on anecdotal evidence of the success of these platforms, which was considered a fundamental barrier to adoption.

The Survey

In September 2013, a web-based survey was distributed to archives and libraries worldwide via relevant electronic mailing lists. The aim of the research was to explore decision making and practices underpinning the implementation or non-adoption of social media in cultural heritage institutions worldwide. Specifically, we were interested in finding out what motivated these institutions to consider engaging with their stakeholders via social media, the reasons for implementation/non-implementation, what measures were put in place to ensure that the adoption and use of social media had direction and support, whether or not institutions evaluated their social media efforts (and, if so, how), and the actions they had undertaken to plan for the sustainability of their social media activities. The questions included in the survey reflected these areas of interest and the related issues often discussed in the literature that we believed warranted investigation.

Overall, 370 responses were received (one response per institution). Figure 1 shows the breakdown of respondents by geographical location. There were eighty-six responses from archives, sixty of which had implemented social media. Of the 247 responses from libraries, 194 had implemented social media (see table 1).
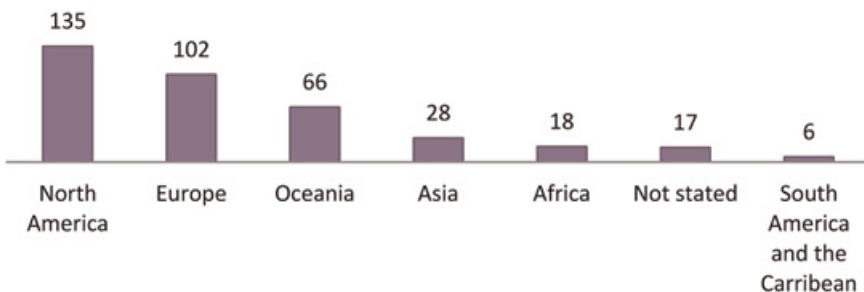

Figure 1: Geographical distribution of respondents

Table 1: Breakdown of archival institutions that responded to the survey

Sector to which organization belongs (archives)	
National	14
Regional or state	18
Municipal	13
College or university	21
School	1
Community	4
Corporate	3
Other (Please specify)	12

Table 2: Breakdown of libraries that responded to the survey

Sector to which organization belongs (libraries)	
National	19
Regional or state	14
Public	51
College or university	117
School	9
Special	26
Corporate	2
Other (please specify)	9

Representatives from archives who selected "Other" reported being part of a research hospital, a local authority, an independent research group, a religious organization, Parliament, and a number were reportedly associated with international organizations and professional associations (see table 2).

Representatives from libraries who selected "Other" reported being part of a research institution, two were part of a museum, five were associated with medical/healthcare institutions, and one with a government department.

The Findings

Table 3 shows the response to the question about words associated with social media. The list of words reflects concepts commonly found in the literature about social media use in libraries and archives. Respondents were asked to select all of the options that apply. "Communication," "interactivity," "participation," "collaboration," and "new audiences" were among the most popular, followed by "openness," "innovation," "user focus," and "collective intelligence." All of these terms have a positive inclination and reflect the participatory aspect with which the social web has widely been associated. The departures from these were "time-consuming" and "distraction," and, interestingly, "transparency" was ranked quite low. Further terms were put forward by the respondents, and the following word cloud (created using Wordle) depicted them (see figure 2).

Table 3: Words associated with social media

Which of the following words do you associate with social media? (Please check all options that apply)	Number of responses	
Communication	302	93%
Interactivity	247	76%
Participation	234	72%
Collaboration	217	67%
New audiences	200	62%
Openness	187	58%
Innovation	166	51%
User focus	132	41%
Collective intelligence	131	40%
Time-consuming	111	34%
Distraction	109	34%
Facilitation	108	33%
Flexibility	107	33%
Low privacy	93	29%
Addiction	64	20%
Transparency	58	18%
Narcissism	48	15%
Trivial	32	10%
Rights infringement	24	7%
Passing fad	6	2%
Other (please specify)	29	9%

Figure 2: Word Cloud of further terms respondents associated with social media

Non-Implementation of Social Media

For institutions that did not implement social media, lack of support from senior management and lack of fit between social media and the institutions' strategic foci and priorities appear to be the main reasons. Perceived risks (security,

Table 4: Influences for non-implementation

What factors influenced your organization's decision not to implement social media?	Major influence	Minor influence	No influence	Total responses
Lack of staff resources	8	13	2	23
Lack of funding	7	2	3	12
Legal risks	6	5	2	13
Security risks	7	5	2	14
Risk of using third-party application	6	4	3	13
Risk of inappropriate use by staff or users	7	3	4	14
Risk of negative feedback from stakeholders	2	4	7	13
Risk of stakeholders not participating	3	3	7	13
Risk of content being taken out of context	5	3	5	13
Potential challenge to institutional authority	3	15	5	23
Incompatibility with organizational culture and values	15	3	5	23
Other (please specify)	4	0	0	4

legal, and inappropriate use) and a lack of funding and staff resources were deemed to have had an influence on the decision. Risks of negative feedback from stakeholders and non-participation from stakeholders and potential challenge to institutional authority were deemed to be of no, or of less, influence (see table 4).

Further comments provided by some respondents give insight into organizational contexts that are a poor fit with social media objectives.

> We did attempt to use the government's account via the Communications department. It was to promote the public launch of a new onsite exhibition, highlighting a press release and public tours for the exhibition. We crafted the wording carefully to ensure our partners in the exhibition were included and the message was sent to them three days before it needed to be posted. It was posted three days after the opening event (which made it look silly to even bother with) and was modified to the point of excluding our partners in the project (which was insulting to our partners). Since then we have not felt that our work would be done justice through the sister department that is required to vet and post the content.

> Right now, social media is attached to informality and casualness and the image my organization is trying to convey is a responsible organization representing the social goods of community and citizens.

> Senior management have no concept of social media and believe it has no place in a "serious" organisation.

> The Marketing/Public Relations Department does use Facebook, LinkedIn, YouTube, for Marketing purposes, and we are allowed to submit items to them to post however we can't see them at work on our computers. The thought is that it would distract us from our work.

Implementation of Social Media

In responding to the question about factors that had led their organizations to implement social media, respondents were of the opinion that "push" (from within organization) and "demand" (from stakeholders) were either minor factors

Table 5: Factors leading to implementation

What factors led your organization to implement social media applications/features?	Major factor	Minor factor	Not a factor	Total responses
Low cost	133	69	38	240
Access to a larger audience	214	28	4	246
Reaching new audiences	218	27	3	248
Rapid form of communication	188	46	12	246
Stakeholder engagement	122	80	36	238
Push from the top tier of the organization	30	61	144	235
Push from the bottom tier of the organization	41	94	96	231
Push from an internal champion	92	85	57	234
Demand from stakeholders	28	75	126	229
Similar organisations were using social media	114	102	23	239
Other (please specify)	14	1	11	26

or not relevant (see table 5). Major factors selected included "access to a larger audience," "reaching new audiences," "rapid form of communication," "similar organizations were using social media," "low cost," and "stakeholder engagement." Some of the open responses reflected these.

>Users are on social media so we should be there too.

>Opportunity for outreach.

>It was something we could do ourselves, rather than relying on our busy IT staff to find time to do.

>Collaboration with other archives and colleagues.

>Other universities have a presence so it was expected that we should, too.

>Complementary form of communication.

>New focus on engagement.

>This might fall under "stakeholder engagement," but we were largely motivated by the feeling that we needed to connect with users who were mentioning us online; we didn't want to be absent from a conversation that was clearly already taking place.

Also notable were the responses that indicated the exploratory, experimental approach that some were taking with regard to social media.

>Exploring new environments and methods of communication is important for us.

>Exploring the potential for service delivery in social media channels.

>Testing the value.

>Negative feedback from users is a positive; we want this sort of thing to learn and grow from, and it doesn't always come through formal channels.

When asked about factors that influence whether or not their organizations implement a social media application/feature, "lack of staff resources" was selected as the major influence. Related to this and reflected in the open responses were a

Table 6: Influences for implementation of a social media application/feature

What factors influence whether or not your organization implements a social media application/feature?	Major influence	Minor influence	No influence	Total responses
Lack of staff resources	131	78	24	233
Lack of funding	62	95	71	228
Legal risks	49	118	58	225
Security risks	43	115	64	222
Risk of using third-party application	32	115	78	225
Risk of inappropriate use by staff or users	48	118	62	228
Risk of negative feedback from stakeholders	32	117	77	226
Risk of stakeholders not participating	45	110	69	224
Risk of content being taken out of context	30	109	88	227
Potential challenge to institutional authority	23	83	117	223
Incompatibility with organizational culture and values	26	78	117	221
Other (please specify)	11	3	11	25

"lack of staff interests" and a "willingness to participate or contribute." Accordingly, in some instances, it was due to internal conflicts or politics (see table 6).

Other factors that were perceived to have a minor influence included perceived legal risks (for example, "risk of image copyright infringement—Pinterest"), security risks (for example, "privacy risks"), risk of using third-party application (further comments indicate issues around lack of information technology support and that some applications were incompatible with existing systems), risk of inappropriate use of social media by staff or users, risk of negative feedback from stakeholders, risk of stakeholders not participating, and risk of content on social media platforms being taken out of context. Interestingly, "potential challenge to institutional authority" and "incompatibility with organizational culture and values" were selected by most respondents as having no influence or only a minor influence.

Successes

In a previous study (Liew 2014), three non-exclusive categories of motivation for use of social media among libraries and archives were identified. The first relates to the perception that being on the social web is of practical necessity to meet users' and stakeholders' expectations. The second category of motivation involves institutions using Web 2.0 as a participatory platform to engage with users and stakeholders. The third category of motivation has the potential to be "transformational" with institutions moving toward "democratizing" knowledge creation through, for instance, co-curation and the integration of user-contributed contents. Respondents were asked to identify their successes with social media in an open-ended question. Their responses were analyzed against these three categories of motivation (see table 7).

Most of the successes described (103, 80.5 percent) were very pragmatic, for example, achieving greater visibility of content, being able to communicate with users quickly, and appearing up to date and technology savvy.

Table 7: Successes with social media

Overall, what are the main successes your organization
has experienced with its use of social media? (128 responses)

Types of success	No. of responses
No or very little success / none / not sure	6
Of practical business necessity	103
Engagement	19
"Transformative"	0

Engagement with users, picking up on potential problems quickly so can resolve them, general goodwill, demonstrating that we are in the places that our users are.

Getting content to much larger numbers of people than use the service in traditional way—particular success with Flickr, some sets achieving tens of thousands of views and being reused by others.

We have received in the last one year some positive and encouraging responses from our regular users and we do observe, even though we do not measure, increased interests in the services we provide and in the collections promoted through our social media platform. So, there has been a good level of enthusiasm from the users and from staff involved. For the projects to go on, however, we will need a greater level of support from our senior management and this will need to be reflected in the policies and actual allocation of resources.

Growing use, alters perception of the library service, a more informal channel to communicate with users and get some feedback than other library channels.

The interaction with people who are not local to the area has been great. We have also noticed an increase in awareness online about the services we offer, and it is a useful tool of getting information across to a large number of people very quickly. The informal nature of the social media we use (most notably on Facebook and Twitter) means we can be more relaxed in our tone, and hopefully we do come across well. For getting our collections known, it's a great tool to have at our disposal.

Awareness of the archives service has grown. We get a lot more queries as a result of our increased web presence and the sharing of the majority of our photographs online. Joining the Flickr Commons has increased use and interaction with the images dramatically.

Appearance of keeping abreast of new technology, more engagement with customers, sharing information with customers that cannot or do not visit physical library locations.

A much smaller proportion of the successes identified (nineteen, 14.8 percent) could be considered to be alluding to engagement and participatory factors.

Increased audience development and engagement, well positioned in the local social media community, new partnership opportunities with other organisations, wider recognition of the services we provide.

Through organizing some common social media campaigns with other memory institutions information exchange and collaboration on a national scale has improved significantly. It's rather simple to start with first social media actions without putting significant resources into it. Still—even these little actions have had a huge impact on the user base and their inclusion.

We held a book trailer contest for teens that had over fifty teens creating and uploading their trailers. Tumblr has been successful with teens. Our Twitter and FB are well followed and used.

Being able to lead and engage at times of controversy (not letting social media chatter "run away" and damage reputation); increased success in student engagement / assisting with student recruiting through social media connection; engagement with the wider artistic community (we are an art and design university).

Only one success could perhaps be considered as touching on the transformative potential of social media. The brief comment ("appear human and less stuffy") does not contain enough detail however to confirm whether any actual transformative activity took place.

Six respondents noted that no or very little success had been achieved. For example, "the activity level was never much when we began four years ago. After three years of trying the social media interaction and still gaining no more contact, we discontinued such social avenues in 2012." However, given that respondents were not asked about unsuccessful initiatives, and only 128 responses were made to this question, it is possible that a significant number of social media initiatives were perceived as not being successful.

Vision

Respondents were asked to comment on their organization's vision for social media use in an open-ended question. Their responses were again analyzed against the three categories of motivation for use of social media in archives and libraries (see table 8).

Of the eighty-six responses, thirty (34.9 percent) reflected pragmatic concerns relating to business needs.

We see social media as a gateway to a bigger market share.

To increase awareness of our services and collections to a worldwide audience by investigating new platforms as they arise, and maintaining current platforms.

To help meet our strategic goals in new and interesting ways; to go where people are, instead of making them come to us; to allow people to interact with us in the way they choose.

A smaller proportion (nineteen, 22.1 percent) indicated participatory objectives.

The primary vision for social media is engagement with our community. We would like to expand our content so that people want to connect with us because we are fun, engaging, and useful.

Table 8: Vision for social media

Please comment on your organization's vision for its social media platform (86 responses)	
Nature of vision	No. of responses
None / not sure	17
Related to practical business necessity	30
Related to engagement with users / stakeholders	19
Related to "transformative" potential of social media use	3
"No comments" / other comments	17

> We want to use social media as a tool to build community, to give potential students and others a "window on our world"; to also create places and spaces where ideas and trends and debates about art and design can take place.

> To establish the library as a trusted voice in an online community ... to engage with our users in an informal way.

Only three respondents (3.5 percent) indicated a more holistic vision for social media that could be considered to be transformative.

> My vision is that social media platform will be the driving force of our small library and museum- connecting readers and enthusiasts and researchers ... My vision is to have a network of larger community that can enrich our collection and research.

> Our department wishes to use social media to promote collections and services, distribute news, and interact with our researchers in a more open forum where others may contribute their knowledge.

> Attract new users. Promote collections. Promote UGC (user-generated contents).

Other comments (seventeen, 19.8 percent) indicated the absence of an articulated vision for social media, while some respondents took the opportunity to stress the precarious nature of social media application in their institutions and, indeed, frustration with the slow uptake.

> I don't know what the organisation's vision is ... I feel strongly that we should drop a few administrative tasks that we are doing and refocus efforts to social media—there is a big unwillingness from staff to do this. People are stuck in silos. It is very difficult for them to embrace change and the opportunities that social media brings.

> Social media provides us with a quick and cost effective way of sharing events and information with a specific group of people ... But until we have a wider audience we cannot transition to innovative delivery methods in a social media ... Also, the non-hierarchical nature of social media does not sit well within a "command and control" organization as spending time on social media is not seen as "work" by most managers so we lose our audience that way as well.

> Our department doesn't yet have a vision for our blog. Though it is 4.5 months old, a key person has been on extended leave, and we can't meet to talk about things like vision and goals until this person returns.

The view is rather vague—each department is left to "do their own thing." Although there are moves toward supplying best practice based on successful usage by some departments.

Our main barrier is the parent organisation's current information technology policies. In order for us to increase our social media output, we would have to move outside of the current firewall, which is not allowed. Alternatively, we could move our website away from the parent organization servers, but this would then involve a cost to the service and at present this isn't something we are budgeting for.

We are a small organization with only one staff member. The social media platform is highly dependent on that staff member and would be at risk if that person left and no one was willing to take over the social media reins.

Discussion and Conclusions

The purpose of this article is to present findings of a survey on the use of social media in archives and libraries in the context of the claims made in the literature for the transformative nature of technology, in general, and in social media, in particular. There are several limitations that need to be acknowledged. Even though it was meant to be a worldwide survey, the majority of responses came from representatives in North America and Europe. In addition, many more libraries participated in the survey (66.8 percent) than archives. Also, some of the questions asked respondents to select from several optional answers even though the respondents were always given an opportunity to select "other" and invited to comment further. The nature of the questions posed, and the orientation of the options given, could have influenced to some extent the eventual responses. Nevertheless, we believe the overall response rate was reasonable, and the findings enabled a useful snapshot of the use of social media in archives and libraries at the time of the survey. The responses to the open-ended questions also provided a vivid picture of the challenges that institutions face, the factors that are perceived to be driving decisions, and the perceived successes and views of the respondents on the way forward.

Overall, the findings from our global survey reflect very pragmatic attitudes toward the use of social media in cultural heritage institutions, plenty of grassroots activities, but little strategic vision and few strategic objectives. Motivations for use are predominately opportunistic—these are the communication channels that are popular with users, therefore these channels should be used to promote services and showcase collections. Implicit in our findings seems to be a rather conservative reliance on the one-way broadcast model of the early World Wide Web by libraries and archives, rather than an enthusiastic uptake of the transformative potential by senior managers.

As identified in a previous study (Liew 2014), there are three non-exclusive categories of motivation for the use of social media among libraries and archives. The first relates to the perception that implementing some form of Web 2.0 is a practical business necessity. This generally arises from the perceived need to meet users' and stakeholders' expectations to be technologically up to date (that

is, to be visible on the social web), and the use of social media in this case is generally restricted to communicating general information and news, raising awareness of collections and services, and promoting events to a broad (new) audience.

The second category of motivation involves the belief among institutions that the social web affords a participatory platform that can be used to further the pursuit of core cultural heritage goals. These include actively engaging users and stakeholders in conversations about their collections and services and, in some cases, leveraging users' knowledge to strengthen their information base and services, and using the social media platform to communicate and collaborate with stakeholders.

The third category of motivation has the potential to be "transformational." In this case, institutions see the potential of using the participatory social web to move beyond the seemingly "elitist" aspects of their traditional practice (Flinn 2010) to "democratizing" knowledge creation. This action will need to involve careful coordinated efforts of soliciting and provide meaningful ways for participatory creation of cultural heritage knowledge and/or enhancement of current knowledge base in institutions. It also means that user-contributed contents will be absorbed back into institutions, which will have implications. First, sustaining meaningful participation will depend to a great extent on mutual respect, trust, and a sense of belonging to a community that contributes to a worthwhile cause. Stakeholders need to trust the digital cultural heritage 2.0 platforms as a meaningful environment to want to contribute to them. Likewise, the institutions will need to have trust in the contributors (Liew 2013). Impact that needs to be considered includes potential changes in the nature of cultural heritage institutions' relationships with their audience and stakeholders, their institutional missions, and the need for, and implications for, revised models of authority.

Most of the successes identified by survey respondents relating to their use of social media describe factors that correspond to this first category of practical business necessity, with far fewer reflecting participatory factors. The transformative potential of social media was barely acknowledged. Findings from our survey indicate that there is a large gap between the vision of social media usage by cultural heritage institutions, as reflected in the literature, and the reality of actual implementation.

Decisions to use social media as an individual or in an organizational context are not value-neutral activities. Choices to manage information (develop, store, and disseminate) via platforms and interfaces such as databases, intranets, social media, webpages, m-commerce, and so on speak volumes about organizational mandates. Successes and failures must be considered not only in light of how these platforms best support information needs but also in the cultural context of implementation.

Further research is needed, in particular, to investigate failed social media initiatives and the reasons for these failures. The significance of time must also be taken into account. Operational successes are the quick wins and easy to identify; transformation, however, is likely to be a much longer-term phenomenon.

A longitudinal study could provide more insight into the transformative potential of social media for the cultural heritage sector. Furthermore, the sector appears to be in need of an appropriate framework for assessing the success and the impact, if any, of such transformation.

Notes

1. For an excellent overview of recent case studies of social media use in libraries and archives, organized by platform—for example, Facebook, Twitter—see Mason (2014).

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